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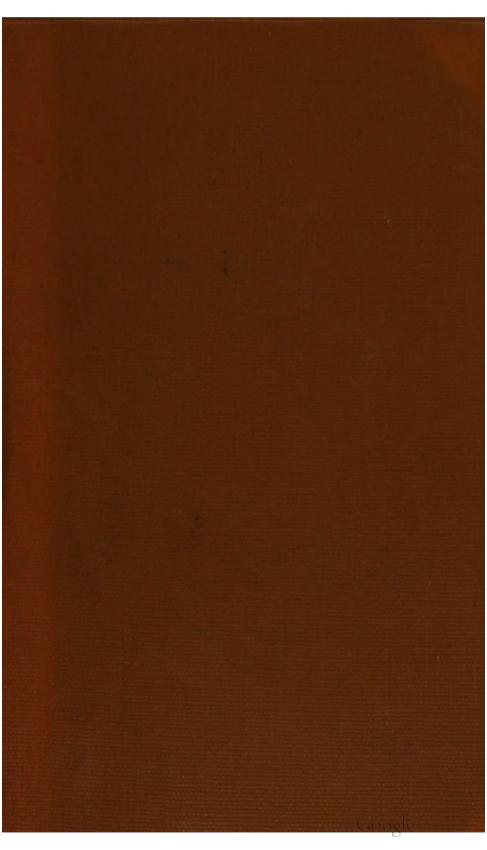
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THE

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THE

NEW YORK REVIEW.

No. XVII.

JULY, 1841.

ART. I.—1. Demosthenes als Staatsbürger, Redner und Schriffsteller. Von Albert GERARD BECKER, Pastor zu St. Aegidii in Quedlinburg. Erste Abtheilung Literatur des Demosthenes. Quedlinburg und Leipzig. 1830.

Zweite Abtheilung. Nachträge und Fortsetzung der Literatur vom J. 1830 bis zum Schlusse des J. 1833. Quedlin-

burg und Leipzig. 1834.

- 2. Quæstionum Demosthenicarum Particula tertia. De Litibus quas Demosthenes oravit ipse. Scripsit Antonius Westermann, in Academiâ Lips. Prof. Ord. Accedit epimetrum de repetitis locis in orationibus Demosthenis. Lipsiae, MDCCCXXXIV.
- 3. A Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients, with an Appendix, by LORD BROUGHAM, in Lord Brougham's Speeches, vol. 4. Edinburgh; 1838.

THE subject of popular eloquence, always an attractive one in free countries, has been invested for us with a more than ordinary interest by the events of the last year. A new era seems to have occurred in the development of our democratic institutions. There have been congresses of the sovereigns in proper person. We have seen multitudes, probably

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greater than any addressed by the ancient masters, brought together, by means of the steam engine, from the most distant parts of our immense territory, to consult with one another upon the state of the nation, and to listen to the counsels of men distinguished among us for their influence or ability. We have seen the best speakers of the country called for from all parts of it, compelled to leave their homes however remote—some of them drawn forth even out of the shades of private life—to advise, to instruct, and to animate their fellowcitizens, exhausting all their resources of invention to supply topics, of strength to endure fatigue, of oratory to command attention, and even of voice to utter and articulate sound, in order to meet the almost incessant demands made upon them by a people insatiable after political discussion. It was not one part of the country that was thus awakened and agitated, the commotion was universal; yet nothing was more remarkable in these stirring scenes than the order, decorum and seriousness which in general distinguished them. These eager throngs listened like men accustomed to inquire for themselves, and to weigh the grounds of their opinions. There was to us, we confess, something imposing and even majestic in such mighty exhibitions of the Democracy. But quiet and patient as these vast popular audiences certainly were, to a degree much beyond anything that could have been imagined beforehand, their attention was far from being uniform and undiscerning. They never once failed to listen to the best speech with the deepest silence, and to award the highest honors to the best speaker. We mean the best in the proper, critical sense of the word; for our previous opinions, founded upon the experience of other times, have been fully confirmed by our own, that it is impossible to speak too well to a vast and promiscuous assembly; and that it is by qualities which would insure success at any time under a popular government similarly circumstanced, that Demosthenes, the most exquisite of writers, was the delight, the guide and the glory of the Democracy of Athens.

Considering, as we do, the masterpieces of this great orator as the true and only models of popular eloquence—as its beau idéal—not Greek, not Attic, not ancient, not local or transitory or peculiar, as Lord Brougham vainly imagines them to be, but made like the Apollo or the Parthenon for all times and all nations, and worthy of study and imitation wherever genius shall be called to move masses of men by

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the power of the living word, we know not how we can do anything more profitable or more acceptable to our readers, than to fix their attention, for a few moments, upon the excellences which distinguish him beyond every other orator that has ever appeared in any period of the world's history. Nor let it be feared that we shall be found dealing in the stale trivialities of a subject long since worn out. It is true that the name of this Homer of orators,* and certain epithets which school-boys are taught to associate with it, are as familiar as household words. But it is also true, to an extent not to be conceived by any but scholars, that anything but a just idea — nay, that a very absurd idea — of the Demosthenian style, is suggested by those same familiar phrases. We want no better proof of this than is furnished by the dissertation of Lord Brougham, the very latest thing that has appeared upon the subject, placed, with two other publications much more entitled to the attention of scholars, at the head of this paper. But of that by and by. The truth is, that in common with all the other departments of philology, the schools of Germany have, within the last twenty-five years, addressed to this, with signal success, their vast research and their matchless criticism. The work of Mr. Becker, mentioned in our rubric, contains sufficient evidence of this. is entitled, as our readers will have seen, the "literature" of Demosthenes, that is, it is a succinct account in two Parts containing together but three hundred pages, of all that has been published in regard to the orator, to his life and character, editions and translations of his works, or essays and commentaries upon them; everything, in short, that can make us acquainted with the man or the speaker. It is quite remarkable how much more has been done in this way, within the short period just mentioned, than during the whole seventeenth and eighteenth centuries put together.† This same author published in 1815-16 a work upon Demosthenes, which was one of the first contributions to a more critical knowledge of its interesting subject. That work (Demosthenes als Staatsmann und Redner) we have never been so fortunate as to meet with, having ordered it repeatedly in vain from Germany. Mr. Becker complains that living where he does, (at Quedlinburg, at the foot of the Hartz,)

^{*} Lucian Encom. 4, 5.
† F. A. Wolf first awakened the true taste for the Attic orators, and with them for the whole subject of Greek Antiquities, says Becker, p. 109.

he has not the advantage of access to any of the great public libraries of Europe, and that he feels very sensibly the want of such an instrument.* What would he say if he shared our privations in that respect? Yet much as we regret the not having had an opportunity of reading a work, to which he often refers, and of which we have so often seen honorable mention made, we are the more reconciled to be without it by the reflection that this branch of knowledge has made great progress since it was published, and by the confession of the author that he feels the necessity of recasting it with a view to that progress. Indeed, the work before us is a preparation for the projected improvement in the first, and contains a collection of the materials out of which it is to be reformed

and completed.

M. Becker is a devotee to his subject, if there ever was one. He assures us that since the year '91, when a dissertation of his to prove that the Oration on the Letter of Philip was spurious, was shown to F. A. Wolf, and honored with the approbation of that admirable critic, he has never lost sight of the orators. At the end of half a century his zeal seems nowise abated. He collects with a tender care and repeats with fond complacency whatever has been uttered in any time or tongue, of praise to his author, or in extenuation of faults which, until recently, none was found bold enough Some of these Testimonia auctorum are really very striking and eloquent, and did our space permit us, we would willingly translate one or two of them for the benefit of our readers.† They show that M. Becker's enthusiasm for Demosthenes, not only as an orator, but as a man and a patriot, is the common feeling of most of his contemporaries in Germany. Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself, who sacrifices not only Isocrates, but even Plato and his favorite Lysias to the prince of the art, does not indulge in a more lively and rapturous strain of encomium, than is almost universal among these quiet students of climes so much nearer the pole than Greece. But it is not in these times only that Germany has confirmed the vote by which the Demus of Athens crowned the immortal champion of Ctesiphon. Among the bibliographical notices with which this volume of M. Becker is filled, are those of two scholars, scarcely known but to men devoted

[•] See Vorrede to Th. 2, s. vi.

[†] Especially a portrait of Demosthenes by Zell, p. 276, and some remarks of Raumer, p. 141.

to the same studies, Jérôme Wolf and Jo. Jac. Reiske; who are instances of that enthusiasm remarkable enough to be To the first of these editors the modern world is under greater obligations for the advantage of reading Demosthenes in a correct form than to any other individual whatever. He lived in the sixteenth century, a century during which no less than seven different editions of the whole works of the orator were published, beginning with the Aldine in 1515, and ending with Wolf's last; not to mention an incredible number of the Philippics and of single orations, and a great many translations into various tongues. Becker observes that, in this respect, the "literature" of no other writer is to be compared to that of Demosthenes. Thousands upon thousands of copies were rapidly spread through the schools and universities of Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France and Italy, Poland, Spain, and even Eng-Wolf's third, it seems, and celebrated edition of the speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines, was published in 1572. This remarkable man—as remarkable in his humble way for patience and heroic martyrdom as his sublime subject himself — devoted his whole life to the thankless task of an editor, amidst every sort of difficulty and discouragement. It is really touching to read the accounts he gives in his various prefaces and epistles, of what he was doomed to suffer, in his obscure labors for the sake of philology.* Yet he consoles himself, like the famous Strasburg goose in the Almanach des Gourmands, with the idea, that albeit his life was not the most enviable, and he had been treated with but little favor by some of his countrymen, yet foreign nations had heard of Wolfius, and posterity and studious youth and the learned of all ages would honor the "consuls and senate of Augsburg" for protecting him. † In one of these prefaces, written in Greek, the devoted scholar speaks with a complacency akin to that of Gibbon on the completion of the "Decline and Fall," of the services which he had rendered to the "great and heroical orator," and hopes that the name of Wolf will be for ever identified with that of Demosthenes. And, in very deed, if his disembodied spirit can content itself with the admiration of a fit audience, though few, it may well be reconciled to its long agony of injured merit and

[•] Pref. to Fugger, sub. init. † Ad nobiles et magnificos viros, etc. H. W. in D. et Æ. Græco-latinos

struggling ambition while in the flesh, by the acknowledgments now made to him by the learned in Germany. have seldom read a more beautiful tribute than that offered by Vömel (1828) to his memory, and republished in this volume by M. Becker, (p. 94.) We would be glad if it were possible to lay it before our readers, together with an extract to be found in a note (p. 95) from the rhapsodies of the poet Kosegarten, prefixed to his German translation of Wolf's autobiography.

After the lapse of two centuries, (1770,) the labors and sufferings of Jérome Wolf, for the sake of Demosthenes, were repeated in the person of another German (whose estimate of the moral character of his author was not a flattering one, however,) Jo. Jac. Reiske. It would almost seem that the contagious bad luck of the ill-starred orator, with which Æschines taunted him, and which Juvenal has handed down

in his famous satire on all human aspirations —

Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,

— was destined to pursue his friends to the end of time. reading Reiske's own account of his life and labors, from which M. Becker furnishes an extract, we find that he undertook the printing of his edition of Demosthenes at his own expense. "The work," says he, " is begun in the name of Whether I shall live to see it finished, depends on God. If I had to rely on man, I should most certainly fall a sacrifice to my own good will and their ingratitude and cruelty." It deserves to be mentioned, as an instance of woman's self-devoted generosity, that his wife, who assisted him in his literary labors, pawned her jewels in order to have the printing begun. Becker assures us, that this auto-biography exhibits the character of that worthy scholar in a most estimable light; and adds, that his correspondence with Lessing,* (which we regret we have not the time even to look into,) completes the picture of "a great man." We are glad to find that Schäfer has defended Reiske against the unmeasured reproaches which it was once so fashionable to heap upon him, and without denying his defects, has vindicated his incontestible claims upon the gratitude of scholars.

But whatever was in other respects the ill luck of Demos-

^{*} Lessing's Werke, XXVI. S. 275.
† See, for instance, Payne Knight's contemptuous language in note to II. H.
127-8, of his own Homer, (1830.)

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thenes, it did not reach the MSS. charged with the preservation of his master-pieces for posterity. His speeches have been as fortunate in this respect, as they were in the delivery. Not only are all his most celebrated orations, (with one or two exceptions, probably of extemporaneous, or at least unwritten harangues,*) come down to us, but if the acumen of modern criticism may be relied on, his name has saved from oblivion many more than his own. Of sixty speeches published in the usual collections, only forty-two are admitted into the canon of German scholars. Becker expresses with naiveté, a fond wish that no more may be thought to deserve a place in the Index Expurgatorius, and ventures even to hope that some of those now suspected may be reintegrated in their former rights. We will just permit ourselves to say, by the way, that we heartily rejoice to see the mark of the beast set upon one at least of those not doubted by the ancients, we mean the atrocious attack upon Timotheus, which, disgusting as every thing in their literature shows the morals and manners of the Greeks to have been, we still found especially revolting as a low libel uttered by the greatest orator against the greatest captain of Athens. This singular preservation of the works of Demosthenes, shows that there is more of design and discrimination than is commonly imagined, even in the ruins which time and barbarism deal about them. If we are to believe Payne Knight, Homer is in the same way overloaded with the interpolations of rhapsodists; and, with comparatively few exceptions, the works of genius, celebrated by the ancients themselves, have been saved for us by amateurs whom they found even amid the darkness of Gothic, Saracenic and Mongolian invasion. But in the case before us, M. Becker suggests an idea not unplausible, to say the least. He thinks Demosthenes owed something to the favor which he found with the fathers of the Greek Church. The Basils, the Gregories and the Chrysostoms, whatever might be the austerity of their aversion to the mythology of ancient Greece, still labored to emulate her eloquence, and nothing seems more natural than that the pupils of Libanius, that men educated in the schools of Athens and of Antioch, should share the admiration of their masters for the most perfect model of speech and reasoning.

The sixty-one, or more properly speaking, sixty speeches

^{*} The speech at Thebes, for instance; why have we not that?

now extant and vulgarly ascribed to Demosthenes, are divided into three leading classes. 1st. Those delivered in the popular assembly, and falling under the head of deliberative eloquence. 2d. Those addressed to courts of justice, or judicial pleadings. 3d. Panegyrical orations. Of the first class there are seventeen in all, of which the principal are the Philippics, the Olynthiacs, that de Chersoneso, etc. Four of them, however, have been rejected as spurious. The speech de Haloneso, and the two de Republica ordinanda, and de Fædere Alexandrino, were excluded from the canon by the ancient critics; the first has been shown to be the work of Hegesippus, a contemporary of Demosthenes. The 4th Philippic, though admitted by the Greek critics, is considered supposititious by most recent German writers, beginning with Valcnaer and F. A. Wolf, whose opinions have been adopted and confirmed by Böckh, Becker, Bekker, Westermann, etc. The speech ad Epistolam Philippi, is treated by them in the same way. We recommend this remark to the attention of our readers, for when we come, as we presently shall, to examine Lord Brougham's Dissertation, we shall find him taking his examples of the peculiarities of Demosthenes almost invariably from these spurious or suspected works, and sometimes treating as perfections the very blemishes by which their authenticity is disproved.

The judicial speeches, or arguments, as many of them ought rather to be called, are divided, again, into two very distinct classes. The first comprehends those of a public character, and as Demosthenes was of a stern and morose temper—the reverse of Cicero, who was so much given to the melting mood that the peroration was always assigned to him by his associate counsel.—we shall not be surprised to find them almost without exception, accusations, (**attylopiai.) Under this head Jerome Wolf classes the famous harangues de Corona, and on the Embassy, as well as those less known, though not less descrving to be known, against Leptines, against Androtio, against Timocrates, against Aristocrates, and against Midias. The speeches against Aristogeiton, which belong to this category, although quoted with honor by Pliny the younger, are most certainly not the work of

Orat. 37.

[†] Epist. IX. 26. We challenge the whole array of Roman critics of that age in regard to Greek eloquence. What could be expected of the author of the "Panegyric," and a man accustomed to address another as domine, sitting in judgment on the democratic art par excellence?

Demosthenes. Taylor, however, goes too far in treating the first as a miserable declamation, (declamatiuncula.) There are passages in it which are very good imitations of Demosthenes, though surrounded with others full of exaggeration and bombast, and which he could not have spoken without ceasing to be himself.* The second division of judicial speeches, are those written (with some exceptions) to be delivered by others as their own, in private causes, (dirai.) It is not necessary to say more of them in this connection, than that they are as many as thirty in number, of which, four have been rejected as spurious, and some others are questioned.

The panegyrical orations are only two—the funeral oration and the loyos sources, both of them unquestionably sup-

posititious, as Dionysius pronounces them.

Upon this formidable array, which will show the general reader at a glance, how voluminous are the remains of Demosthenes, the question will at once present itself to him, why it is he has scarcely ever heard of any but the Philippics and the speeches for the Crown and on the Embassy, and even of the last, but rarely? It seems very evident to us, for example, that Lord Brougham, though he does occasionally allude to the speeches in public or state trials, such as those against Aristocrates and against Leptines, has confined his attention, for any purpose of critical examination, exclusively to the famous harangues just mentioned. Now, we take it upon us in limite to pronounce, that no one can pretend to know what manner of speaker Demosthenes is, who has not - we will not say attentively read, but thoroughly studied the judicial orations, especially those in public causes. These are, as we have seen, against Leptines, Androtio, Aristocrates, Timocrates, and Midias. speeches here enumerated, together with the most famous of them all, that de Corona, and its fellow the one on the Embassy, were regarded by ancient critics as his master-pieces. Theo of Alexandria says so in words which, with a view to some of our subsequent remarks, it is important to notice. best of his public speeches are those containing an examination of some law or decree of the assembly or the senate."t The long and elaborate speech against Midias—a tremen-

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^{*} For instance, § 14 is very good, and § 16 is very bad, as also § 17. Westermann says Demosthenes might sleep sometimes but not snore outright. † Theo Sophist. p. 5, Elzev. 1626.

dous réquisitoire — in which he prosecutes a man of condition, who was to him what Clodius was to Cicero, for one of the greatest outrages, or rather, for a series of the greatest outrages that ever disgraced even a Greek city—was celebrated among the ancients. It is said, whether justly or not, to have been made the subject of a special commentary by more than one of them, especially by Longinus. Yet, though mentioned as a model of its kind by Photius, others have imagined it imperfect, because it was never delivered. The oration against Leptines is still more remarkable. shows none of the decrotys of its author. It is written, as Cicero observes,* altogether in the style for which Lysias was so much distinguished — simple, natural, flowing, equable, and above all, exquisitely elegant. F. A. Wolf says of it, that by reason of its high finish, none but a thoroughpaced critic is competent fully to appreciate its graces. Mere amateurs, as we are, we are thus to take the pleasure, great as it is, which we have derived from it, as only an antepast and earnest of that which will reward more profound studies. Of the class to which it belongs, Wolf thinks none but the speech against Androtio will bear a comparison with it. is not, perhaps, less on account of this wonderful perfection of style, than for its being replete with the most important and instructive matter, that the great scholar just mentioned chose it for the subject of a particular commentary, and by a learned edition of it in 1789, (says Becker), rendered as great a service to philology as by his famous prolegomena to Homer. But there is another remarkable feature in this speech, which commends it more highly than any other work of Demosthenes, to the acceptance of a modern reader - its moderate, decorous and well-bred tone. It was made a theme of constant reproach to him, by his contemporaries, that his maternal grandmother was a Scythian - as foul a stain in an Attic pedigree, as M. de Beaumont represents the smallest mixture of African blood to be in America. Diogenes the Cynic is said to have characterized him as Scythian in words, and civil (agrees) in battle. And it is true that his eloquence, with all its unrivalled power and beauty, breathes in general a spirit of rudeness, ferocity and violence, t

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^{*} Orat. 31.

t Æsch.

^{*} Since writing the above, we remark that Dionyaius says his only defect is want of xapes or surpersistes.

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that contrasts singularly, (let German critics say what they please,) with the politeness of Æschines, whose occasional ribaldry seems to us aliquid coronæ datum and mere retaliation. Be that as it may, there is nothing at all Scythian in his oration against Leptines. Whether it was that Leptines was an object of particular consideration to Demosthenes, or to whatever cause we are to ascribe it, certain it is, that numberless objections are urged against his system in the best possible temper. Some passages are distinguished by a striking degree of urbanity;* those upon Conon and Chabrias are splendid compliments. But, above all this, the argument is conducted with consummate ability. The subject, indeed, as Wolf justly remarks, is placed in every possible light and completely exhausted, and the speech deserves to be regarded as a master-piece of forensic disputation.

Inferior to the oration against Leptines only in tone and diction, not at all less important, (if not more important still,) for the matter it contains, and rising occasionally into far higher strains of eloquence, and even into the regions of the sublime, the speech against Aristocrates has attracted, both from ancient and modern critics, quite as much attention as the master-piece just mentioned. Indeed, we doubt whether there is any other single production of Demosthenes which deserves so much to be studied with a view to the matter, and especially which throws so much light upon the theory of the Athenian constitution, and the whole system of legislation established by Solon. It has, accordingly, been very much commented upon with a view to these subjects by learned men, such as Salmasius and Heraldus. markable for the harmony of its periods - and yet, strange to say, all this pains was bestowed upon a piece written to be delivered as his own by one Eutyches, who is only remembered for having pronounced it. The oration against Androtio is, as we have seen, in F. A. Wolf's opinion, the nearest approach in point of exquisite finish, to the perfection of the oration against Leptines. As Androtio the defendant, was a pupil of Isocrates, and a man of great forensic experience and celebrity, Demosthenes is supposed by critics to have bestowed, in a spirit of emulation, more even than his usual pains upon the composition of this speech. The oration against Timocrates belongs to the same cate-

• 4 5, cf. 4 31 32.

1 \$ 50 sq.

gory, and is altogether worthy to take its place by the side of the master-pieces just mentioned. It excels in the same features of close argument, acute and searching analysis, condensed and powerful summing up of topics.* It deserves to be mentioned, that these orations, so admirable in every point of view, were all composed by Demosthenes when he was a young man of only eight-and-twenty or thirty years, and like his arguments against Aphobus, when he was still a mere youth in his teens, indicate, by their faultless correctness and elegance, an extraordinary precociousness of mind. Wonderful that, beginning thus, he so completely surpassed himself by his subsequent efforts, that the author of the orations against Androtio and Leptines, is forgotten in the transcendant glory of the crowning speech! But one of his peculiarities as an artist was, that his whole life was progress; and it was progress, because it was study. He never put out his lamp, according to the tradition, until he was fifty, and his best speech was his very last—the ripest as the latest fruit of the autumn of life.

It is obvious to observe that the speeches to which we have just called the attention of our readers, reveal the powers of Demosthenes in quite a different light from that in which even our best English writers, Hume, for instance, have been accustomed to contemplate them. They are all (except that against Midias), to all intents and purposes, arguments, as we should call them, on points of constitutional law, as much so as any ever delivered in the supreme court of the United States by the Pinkneys and the Wirts. The mover of a decree either in the senate or the assembly (ψηφισμα) which was supposed to violate one of the fundamental laws, was liable to be impeached for it by any public-spirited citizen, before one of the tribunals of the Heliasts. The only restraint upon this power of impeachment was the provision that imposed a fine of a thousand drachmas upon the accuser in case he failed to obtain one-fifth of the voices of the jury, as happened to Æschines in the affair of the Crown. This prosecution of an unconstitutional law (γραφη παρανομών) was the palladium of Solon's legislation, yet in most cases it served only to show how wide the difference was between the theory and the practice of the government. We have endeavored to demonstrate in a former articlet in this journal, how little

[•] l. a. g. § 24 cf. § 19, § 25 and 26, are admirable for decrees, † N. Y. Review, No. XIII.

security there was, in that practice, under the abuses of a degenerate democracy, for either life, liberty, or property. A reader of the speeches in question would be inclined to question the accuracy of the opinion there expressed. They place, it must be owned, in a very striking point of view the wisdom of the lawgiver, or rather (since wisdom ought to be more practical) his knowledge of the sins that most easily beset democratic government, and of the restraints necessary to prevent abuses of power under it. But in truth, whatever of seeming paradox there may be in the opinions referred to, is explained by the fact, visible in every page of these speeches, without going any farther, that the constitution of Solon was become in fact the cobweb it was from the first wittily pronounced to be by one of the Seven wise men. The laws were a mere name. They were treated as obsolete. orators — the representatives by profession of the arbitrary will of the people - denied their authority in argument with as little reserve as they trampled upon their precepts in practice. Your laws are superseded, says Æschines, by detestable psephisms* — and he might have added by a still more detestable judicature. There never was a clearer case in point, as we shall have to observe hereafter, than the result of his own accusation of Ctesiphon, who had plainly violated the law by his motion, and who was almost unanimously acquitted by the judges, to the confusion and ruin of the prosecutor. The will of the demagogue for the time being, was the law of the land; and even in reading these orations, a man of any experience is enabled sufficiently to discern the true state of facts. The very attempts made to enforce the laws in their pristine severity show how frequently, how easily, and how glaringly they were violated with impunity.†

So much for the matter of these admirable speeches. The reader will perceive that it is difficult to overrate their importance to a philosophical student of the history of governments. But the point of view in which we now wish to present them to him, is exclusively philological. It is plain from

† "I know he will say the law is obsolete," is a common form of anticipating the reply of the adversary.

^{*} Æschin. c. Timarch. \$ 35.

who cares about your old laws, the psephism is a good one, c. Aristocr. § 14, cf. Ibid. § 26. The senate is bound by the law and the oath, but the tribunals are omnipotent, c. Timocrat. § 34. And look at the summing up in that speech, and in the oration against Androtio, for the multitude of laws violated without scruple by occasional psephisms.

what we have said of the tone, the diction, and the general scope and economy of these orations, that they belong to a class entirely different from that of the Philippics. fully verify the remark of Aristotle, that judicial speeches are altogether more curious and complex in structure, as they are less simple and direct in purpose and bearing than the deliberative; and are accordingly, as he adds, the chief object of all systems of rhetorical instruction. He, therefore, who knows Demosthenes only by the Philippics and other harangues in the assembly, may be said scarcely to know him at all; or, at any rate, to have a most imperfect insight into his intellectual character, and his infinite resources as an orator. Now this is precisely the case with the great majority even of highly educated people. Here is a melancholy instance of it before us in no less a personage than Lord Brougham, who has (or had some years ago) the reputation among his admirers, of being able to teach almost any branch of knowledge lectured on at the university of Edinburgh. His whole dissertation from beginning to end is a tissue of error and sophistry, which, in so able a person, can be accounted for only by a very superficial attention to his author, or an imperfect acquaintance with his language, probably both.

To do his lordship justice, we will permit him to state in his own language the propositions to which we object. The first is, that modern speeches are as much superior to the ancient in substance, as they are inferior to them in form, and that this is not an absolute superiority merely, resulting from what he thinks deeper philosophy, larger views, more diversified information, and subjects of greater magnitude and splendor, (as to all which, quære,) but relative also. That is, that a modern orator, in the very same place, and under the very same circumstances with Demosthenes, would have made speeches, better in point of substance for the practical purposes his were intended to accomplish than he did, and vice versa, that the Greek would have failed in the House of Commons by attending more to the manner than the matter, while Mr. Canning was quoting Horace and Mr. Brougham

lecturing on political economy.

The first passage we shall quote is at pp. 428, 429.

[&]quot; It is impossible to deny that the ancient orators fall nearly as far short of the modern in the substance of their orations as they

^{*} Rhat. l. ii.

surpass them in their composition. Not only were their views far less enlarged, which was the necessary consequence of their more confined knowledge, but they gave much less information to their audience in point of fact, and they applied themselves less strenuously to argument. The assemblies of modern times are eminently places of business; the hearers are met to consider of certain practical questions, and not to have their fancy charmed with choice figures, or their taste gratified with exquisite diction, or their ears tickled with harmonious numbers. They must, therefore, be convinced; their reason must be addressed by statements which shall prove that the thing propounded is just or expedient, or that it is iniquitous or impolitic. No far-fetched allusions, or vague talk, or pretty conceits, will supply the place of the one thing needful, argument and information. Whatever is beside the question, how gracefully soever it may be said, will only weary the hearer and provoke his impatience; nay, if it be very fine and very far-fetched, will excite his merriment and cover the speaker with ridicule. Ornament of every kind, all manner of embellishment, must be kept within its subordinate bounds, and made subservient merely to the main business. It is certain that no perfection of execution, no beauty of workmanship, can make up for the cardinal defect of the material being out of its place, that is, indifferent to the question; and one of the most exquisitely composed of Cicero's orations, the one for Archias, could clearly never have been delivered in any English court of justice, where the party was upon his defence against an attempt to treat him as an alien; though, perhaps, some of it might have been urged in favor of a relaxation of the law, after his alienage had been proved, and the whole of it might have been relished by a meeting assembled to do him honor."

Now, as far as Cicero is concerned, and especially the speech for Archias, there is some truth in the objection — though it is but fair to remind the reader that the Roman orator begins by advertising his audience that he intends to deviate for once from the beaten forensic track. did Lord Brougham never hear Sheridan speak? and would he have us believe that he was not listened to with pleasure by the House? or that he was a man to sacrifice style, and point, and imagery, to dry reasoning and solid information? We have it on excellent authority, for Lord Brougham at least, on his present utilitarian tack, that Sheridan's famous speech on the impeachment of Hastings was excessively rhetorical and declamatory, as might be expected from the character of his mind, and that he showed more wisdom in suppressing than in making it. Yet it had its merits, no doubt, for the occasion, for it succeeded better, perhaps, than the best harangue of Mr. Fox, who himself, though a debater and nothing but a debater, was so little intent on informing his audience that he professed not to be able to comprehend the problems of political economy! As to Lord Brougham's description of the sort of speech necessary to please a modern assembly, (by which he must be always understood to mean the House of Commons, for it is evident that very different things have had influence with other assemblies, as for instance the French Convention,) it is not an adequate, to be sure, but it is, as far as it goes, a very accurate description of a Greek business speech, as we shall see. And if Demosthenes is the Prince of orators, as he unquestionably is, it is because coming up to that description in everything required by the most severe taste, he adds to it everything necessary to raise the language of truth and reason into that of eloquence and inspiration. Lord Brougham's so-called modern eloquence is no eloquence at all, but only sensible speaking: Demosthenes' speaking was not a jot less sensible than that of Sir Robert Peel or Lord Lyndhurst, but at the same time infinitely more powerful, persuasive, and sublime. But this Lord Brougham denies.

His second objectionable proposition is, that it is all a mistake to speak of the great orator as a reasoner, for that although he did something marvellously like it, and seemed bent on doing nothing else, yet that in fact, when passed through his lordship's crucible, it is found to be just no reasoning at all.

"It is a common thing with those who, because Cicero is more ornate, suffers the artifice of his composition to appear more plainly, and indulges more in amplification, imagine that he is less argumentative than the Greek orators, to represent the latter, and especially Demosthenes, as distinguished by great closeness of reasoning. If by this is only meant that he never wanders from the subject, that each remark tells upon the matter in hand, that all his illustrations are brought to bear upon the point, and that he is never found making any step in any direction which does not advance his main object, and lead towards the conclusion to which he is striving to bring his hearers—the observation is perfectly just; for this is a distinguishing feature in the character of his eloquence. It is not, indeed, his grand excellence, because everything depends upon the manner in which he pursues this course, the course itself being one quite as open to the humblest mediocrity as to the highest genrus. But if it is meant to be said, that those Attic orators, and especially their great chief, made speeches in which long chains of elaborate reasoning are to be found - nothing can be less like the truth. A variety 1841.]

of topics are handled in succession, all calculated to strike the audience.

"Passions, which predominated in their minds, are appealed to -feelings, easily excited among them, are aroused by skilful allusions - glaring inconsistencies are shown in the advice given to others - sometimes by exhibiting the repugnance of those counsels among themselves, sometimes by contrasting them with other counsels proceeding from the same quarters. The pernicious tendency of certain measures is displayed by referring, sometimes to the general principles of human action, and the course which human affairs usually take; more frequently, by a reference to the history of past, and generally of very recent events. Much invective is mixed with these topics, and both the enemy without, and the evil counsellor within the walls, are very unsparingly dealt with. The orator was addressing hearers who were, for the most part, as intimately acquainted as himself with all the facts of the case, and these lay within a sufficiently narrow compass, being the actual state of public affairs, and the victories or the defeats which had, within the memory of all, attended their arms, or the transactions which had taken place among them in very recent times. No detailed statements were, therefore, wanted for their information. He was really speaking to them respecting their own affairs, or rather, respecting what they had just been doing or witnessing themselves. Hence, a very short allusion alone was generally required to raise the idea which he desired to present before the audience. Sometimes a word was enough for his purpose; the naming of a man or a town; the calling to their recollection what had been done by the one, or had happened to the other. The effect produced by such a rapid interchange of ideas and impressions, must have struck every one who has been present at public meetings. He will have remarked, that some such apt allusion has a power — produces an electrical effect—not to be reached by any chain of reasoning, however close; and that even the most highly-wrought passages, and the most exquisite composition, fall far short of it in rousing or controlling the minds of a large assembly. Chains of reasoning, examples of fine argumentation, are calculated to produce their effect upon a far nicer, a more confined, and a more select audience. But such apposite allusions—such appropriate topics—such happy hits, (to use a homely, but expressive phrase,) have a sure, an irresistible, a magical effect upon a popular assembly. In these the Greek oratory abounds, and above all, its greatest master abounds in them more than all the lesser rhetoricians. They would have been highly successful without the charms of composition, but he also clothes them in the most choice language, arranges them in the most perfect order, and captivates the ear with a music which is fitted at his will to provoke or to soothe, but ever to charm the sense, even were it possible for it to be addressed apart, without the mind, too, being moved.

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"Let any one examine the kind of topics upon which those orators dwell, and he will be convinced that close reasoning was not their object — that they were adapting their discourse to the nature of their audience - and that, indeed, not a few of their topics were such as they would hardly have thought of using, had they been arguing the matter stringently with an antagonist, 'hand to hand, and foot to foot;' or, which is the same thing, preparing a demonstration to meet the eye of an unexcited reader. It is certain that some of Demosthenes' chief topics are exactly those which he would use to convince the calm reason of the most undisturbed listener or reader - such as the dangers of inaction - the formidable, because able and venturous, enemy they had to contend with — the certainty of the peril which is met by procrastination becoming greater after the unprofitable delay. These, however, are the most obvious considerations, and on these he dwells the less, because of their being so obvious. But the more striking allusions and illustrations by which he enforces them, are not always such as would bear close examination, if considered as arguments, although they are always such as must, in the popular assembly to which he addressed them, have wrought a wondrous effect." — pp. 431-433.

Now, as to a speech being good in form or execution, which is good for nothing in substance, we profess ourselves unable to comprehend such a thing. It smells of the rhetorician's art which is mere pedantry, and never did and never will contribute in the slightest degree to make any man really eloquent. We do not think this language of his lordship a jot less absurd, though somewhat less ludicrous, than an idea quoted, we think, by Blair, from the Père-Rapin, that Cicero must needs be a better speaker than Demosthenes, because he had seen and studied Aristotle's Rhetoric, whereas the Greek orator had actually delivered and published his master-pieces before that work saw the light! We are firm believers in matter, or, which is the same thing Our experience — and it has been, we sushere, in mind. pect, on this point, very much more extensive and diversified than Lord Brougham's - is conclusive that in any assembly met to discuss and do business, the speaker who really knows more about the matter in hand than anybody else, and is at all in earnest about it, will be sure to lead, in spite of every disadvantage in style and delivery. We know it is so in the House of Representatives at Washington, for example - a body, of which, for many reasons, it is so difficult to command the attention, that we have heard intelligent foreigners inquire whether it ever listened at all. Yes, it

does listen; and it listens to any one who has information to communicate on a subject interesting to it, and will do so with anything approaching to brevity. It listens always to gentlemen who have established a reputation for speaking only to inform others, and to illustrate the question before the House. And so it is, we repeat, and so it has been, and so it ever will be with every assembly, rude or cultivated; in every country, barbarous or civilized, convened for such purposes as war and peace, legislation and judicature. It is only under very peculiar circumstances, in moments, for example, of intense revolutionary excitement, when all argument is out of the question, that a mere declaimer can aspire to any decided influence. Here, as in the sister art,

"Sapere est et principium et fons,"

"get wisdom - get understanding" -

"Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur;"

or, as Milton quaintly but forcibly expresses it: "Whose mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire to know good things, and with the dearest charity to infuse the know-ledge of them into others; when such a man would speak, his words, (by what I can express,) like so many nimble and airy servitors trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their places." And not only does he command language, but he infallibly commands attention.

The idea that all this, though perfectly true in modern times, is inapplicable to antiquity, is preposterous. If Lord Brougham really thinks so, he is the first person of any note we have ever heard of, who would profit by that learned dissertation mentioned in Gil Blas, to prove that at Athens, little boys cried when they were flogged by their schoolmasters, just as they do at Oviedo or Salamanca. Let any one read the life of Demosthenes, and consider under what circumstances, and in the face of what an opposition it was that he maintained for a generation together, such a decided ascendant in that fierce democracy, and he will see at once the absurdity of ascribing his wonderful success to the art

An Apology for Smectymnus.

of tickling the ears or the fancy of his hearers in set speeches—or to any other means than those which, in all ages and in all countries, have moved and controlled the minds and the hearts of men—strength of understanding, strength of will, sagacity in council, decision in conduct, zeal in the pursuit of his objects, and passionate eloquence to recommend them.

But not only is all that we have said, as applicable to the public assemblies of Athens, (other things being equal, that is to say,) as to those of any modern nation; it was, if possible, more so. What does the epithet "Attic" mean? Lord Brougham has read Cicero's rhetorical works; at least, he quotes them profusely upon occasion. He knows, of course, that some of his most distinguished contemporaries objected to the Roman oraror that he was not Attic, and that his constant effort, in many elaborate essays, is to show, that however austere the taste of the Athenians might be, it did sometimes admit of a copious and ornate style. The idea, then, was not that substance was to be a mere secondary thing, but that it should be everything, and for that purpose should be presented in a diction as pure and simple as light itself. Lysias was the model they most affected. The epithets by which Cicero characterizes this style, are all expressive of the severest taste and reason.* Compare with this account of it, what Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a devoted admirer of Lysias, says of the prominent beauties of his eloquence. What are they? Purity of diction, simple, popular, idiomatic language, with a studious avoidance of everything tropical, poetical or hyperbolical; great clearness, both in words and matter; the art, in which no one but Demosthenes ever surpassed him, of condensing what he had to say, and rolling it up and compressing it as it were into solid masses, to carry every thought with the utmost force to the minds of his hearers! — that he was unrivalled in narrative

^{*} He calls the Attics of this stamp "dry and sound," as a gournet would speak of fine old wines—saniet sicci. De Opt. gen. Orat. 3. Sincerum judicium Allicorum, that incorruptible judgment that would bear nothing in the least extravagant, affected or forced—nullum verbum insolens, nullum odioms. In another place it is the "salubrity and as it were healthiness of Attic diction," illam salubritatem Altica dictionis et quasi sanitatem, which he contrasts with the gross and fat diction of the Asiatics, (adipata.)
† Judic. de Lysia Orat.

^{*} The phrase is worth citing in the original: 4 συςρέφουσε τὰ νούμετα και ςρογγέλως ἐκφέρουσε λεξις—needed in judicial speeches and every true ἀγῶν, c. 6. Cicero, speaking of the harmonious periods of Demosthenes, says, cujus non tam vibrarent fulmina nisi numeris contorta ferrentur, Orat. c. 70.

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and exposition, placing every topic just where it ought to be, and not only distinct but vivid and graphic in description, painting all objects to the very life, bringing them, as it were, in reality before the hearer; observing in all things fitness, decorum and character; aiming in all things at truth and nature, and recommending every part of the argument to the favor of his audience, by a certain native grace and sweetness diffused over the whole. Surely, if speeches thus severely chastened, thus rigidly stripped of everything savoring of theatrical pretension or foreign ornament, were successful, (as they are admitted to have been,) with the Attic tribunals, it could only be by dint of thought and sentiment. The merit of such a style, as that of every pure and transparent medium, consists in bringing out the objects themselves in their proper colors, shapes and dimensions. perfection of form, then, of which Lord Brougham speaks, was to be without any apparent form — their art studiously concealed itself — their only affectation was that most delicate of all impostures, the affectation of simplicity. And this is so true, that we venture to say, it is the experience of every scholar without exception who has studied the Attic orators, that he was at first excessively struck with a certain (we wish to say statuesque) nakedness of style. Lysias especially, like La Fontaine in French, is never appreciated by any one who has not made himself very familiar with the Greek idioms; and the unceremonious, business-like way in which Demosthenes opens and treats the subjects of his Philippics and other deliberative speeches, attracts the attention of a reader fresh from Cicero, a great deal more than his sublimity and force and passionate earnestness.

Lord Brougham evidently supposes, and this notion is at the bottom of all his errors upon the subject, that every Greek oration was a mere theatrical exhibition. Indeed he says so in so many words. There is barely truth enough in this supposition to 'give color for the lay gents,' as special pleaders express it; but the conclusions which he draws from it, are altogether extravagant, and entirely at variance with facts familiar to scholars. It is, indeed, undeniable, that throngs of curious spectators flocked from all parts of Greece to listen to some debate of great expectation,* just as people of leisure now repair to Washington for a similar purpose;

* Æsch. c. Timarch. § 25.

and it is quite natural that this circumstance, by imparting more solemnity and splendor to the occasion, should induce the orator to make what he had to say as perfect as possible in its kind. But how it should affect the character of his speech in any other way, how it should induce him to sacrifice its real excellences, and turn it into mere declamation, we own, we do not exactly perceive. It is also true that a high degree of precision and correctness in diction, a harmony of cadence, a fullness and finish in periods, not difficult to attain in a language of such infinite compass and euphony as the Greek, were required to please ears susceptible to the most refined delicacies of accent and quantity. Yet a wise man — Phocion, for instance — would command their attention without any one of these graces (except perhaps the first) to recommend his oratory. It must be admitted, too, that Attic taste, so severe, so exquisite, in every department of art, might not be as indulgent as that of an English or American audience, to a slovenly, or feeble, or inappropriate style of speaking — that the most gifted orators, Pericles, for example, and Demosthenes, were unwilling to encounter the Demus without full preparation, though Demades and others did so continually — and that the master-pieces produced by the efforts made to come up to the demands of such a public, were in fact the perfection, the ideal, of the noblest of all arts. Then it must, also, be taken into the account, that many of these speeches were delivered in vast assemblages, where it was extremely difficult, as everything proves, to command attention, and where a little more emphasis and effort in delivery and in style might not be altogether unnecessary, and not in a St. Stephen's chapel, too small to accommodate even a British House of Commons, and reducing the contests of orators to mere piquant conversation at close quarters, over a table. For that the shape, size, and character of the Hall—if it deserves the name—has had something, and even a good deal to do with fixing the style of English parliamentary debating, we have, after some attendance there, no doubt whatever; and we venture to predict, that if they turn the House of Commons, as they now think of doing, into a National Assembly, sitting in a Beau Locale, they will presently become less colloquial — "more Irish and less nice."t But after making every possible allowance for the

* Plut. in. Demosth.

[†] This idea of the effect of the place, etc., on the style of oratory, is broached

effect of a real difference in some external circumstances, we insist upon it that the Greeks drew the line between the panegyrical oration and the business speech — between Gorgias and Isocrates on the one hand, and Lysias and Demosthenes on the other, as rigidly, and more rigidly, than any other people, modern or ancient. It would be mere waste of time and space to load our pages with the evidence of a pro-

position so incontestable.*

It would indeed be the most surprising of all things, that they who carried art to such perfection in all things, that every piece of marble that has been so much as touched by a Greek chisel becomes a precious stone, and their very geometry is a model of elegance, (without ceasing to be geometry on that account, as Lord Brougham well knows,) should not have perfected that art, of all others the most indispensable in every democracy, and in which theirs, in fact, lived, and moved, and had its being. That true eloquence should not flourish in a close oligarchy, or even such a mitigated one as governed England from the Revolution to the Reform Bill, (we say nothing of the bar,) is not at all to be wondered at.t But among the Athenians! The most litigious and disputatious of all men — continually judging and arguing causes, as exercising jurisdiction over half Greece — with a popular assembly, uniting in its own hands supreme executive and judicial, with legislative functions, and for ever in session, they lived in the agora and the ecclesia. Power, wealth, distinction, everything that can excite the ambition and cupidity of mankind, and of the most ambitious, rapacious, and unprincipled of mankind, especially, was commanded in the days of Demosthenes by eloquence alone. Without office, place, or dignity, of any kind, without an election, or a commission from any constituency, mere volunteers on the Bema, to which the crier summoned indiscriminately all who might choose to say what they thought of public affairs, the orators ruled the state, were practically its ministry, had the functionaries of the commonwealth, its generals, its treasurers, at their mercy. They themselves, held responsible for their

ning to end.

† Magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiæ, comes seditionum, etc. See the Dialogue just quoted, De Caus. Corr. Eloquent.

by Lucian, de Domo, § 14, 15, 16, and by the author of the dialogue De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae, c. 39.

• Cic. Orat. 12, sq.
Dionys. Halicarn. Περί Ισοκρατους, passim, especially § 12 (exactly in point.)

Id. Περί της λεκτικης Δημοσθενους δεινοτητος, from begin-

measures to any one that chose to impeach them, lived in perpetual war with one another, denouncing, prosecuting, defying each other face to face before the people, struggling desperately, per fas et nefas, not merely for victory and preeminence, but for life and for death. And yet, amidst such fierce and unsparing conflicts, with everything in the shape of public and private interest to excite their zeal to the highest pitch, and to stimulate them to the intensest exertions, Lord Brougham would have us believe that these combats à outrance, (if there ever were such,) were mere Eglinton tournaments, where mimic knights tilted upon a field strown with saw-dust, and lances not made to kill were shivered for the amusement of fine ladies! That nothing can be farther from the truth, any one that opens the Philippics of Demosthenes will be convinced before he has read a page. will find the orator everywhere engaged in mortal combat - literally breathing threatenings and slaughter.

As to the assertion that the Greek orators took less pains to inform their audiences than modern speakers, it is quite as gross a fallacy as the one we have been discussing, and springs, undoubtedly, from the same source. We refer to what we have already said in regard to the orations against Leptines, Aristocrates, etc. Not only are they as full of information as any speech in the four volumes before us and Lord Brougham, we suspect, will hardly deny that they are pretty fair specimens of the best English speaking — but to say nothing of vices of style of all sorts that abound in these volumes, we should be glad to have a single oration in this whole collection pointed out, that, if England were no more than a tale of the past, would attract, by its contents alone, as much attention as either of the above mentioned productions of Demosthenes. Which of them will better deserve to be edited by some future Wolf, with learned prolegomena, upon the fiscal system of Great Britain, or to be made a subject for the commentaries of the Petits and Heralduses yet unborn? The fact is the very reverse of what the learned Lord alleges it to be. The orators of Athens filled the places not only of the Parliament and the Ministers, as we have just seen, but of the modern Press, the "Fourth Estate," as well. They were all in all for the people. They were expected to be thoroughly versed in public affairs — in the constitution and the laws, the history, the policy, foreign and domestic, of the State. This was

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the province, the profession, the authority, the very existence of a public man. If he did not possess this information, who should? What was he doing on the Bema? What pretension had he to lead the Demus? We do not now refer to the puerile notion which Cicero ascribes to Crassus, in his dialogue De Oratore, that the orator should be a living encyclopedia of science — Æschines and Demades, the latter especially, who made it a boast that he knew no school but the popular assembly, are enough—if any example were needed—to explode that. But, for politics and law, and especially everything fitted to illustrate the subjects embraced within either, his whole strength lay in his knowledge of such things, and his skill in turning it to account. Rhetoric and Statesmanship, indeed, were considered as synonymous terms.*

Lord Brougham could not possibly have fallen into so gross an error, had he not confined his views entirely to the Philippics, and the two great orations against Æschines; though even with regard to these, his remarks are quite groundless. He seems not to have considered what was the peculiar character and objects of these famous harangues. The Philippics are not "chains of reasoning," to establish principles of science; they are rapid developments of practical truths, with a view to immediate action — they are vehement exhortations to the performance of duty, pressing every topic that can make it be felt as sacred and impera-They fall within the class of deliberative eloquence, as it was understood by the Greeks, who regarded it, as we have seen, as more simple and direct than the judicial. It belonged, in the ancient democracies especially, rather to the category of action, than to that of science and speculation. It was, so to speak, a branch of the Executive Power. It aimed at influencing the conduct of men; it aimed at stirring them up to mighty exertions and high undertakings by whatever motives are best fitted to inspire masses with the enthusiasm called for by such efforts. The genius which distinguished the orator on such occasions, was that of the statesman and the captain. What he needed was a rapid sagacity, a sure coup d'ail to seize every occasion and turn it to the best account, a clear perception of the relation be-

^{*} See Wachsmuth, Greek Antiq. v. 2. p. 196, (transl.) Pollux, 4. 16, for the βητοροι πολιτευομενοι, Hermann Manual.

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tween the means and the ends proposed, and the talent of inspiring others with his own confidence in the results. His eloquence is concerned with the future, rather than the past; it deals in prophecy and conjecture; it encounters danger with courage; it is sanguine of success in spite of difficulties. But mere conviction will not do; he must persuade, for his policy needs the sanction of others, and the success of an enterprise depends upon the spirit in which it is undertaken: possunt quia posse videntur. He must make his followers, if possible, as fanatical as the armies of conquerors — the Hannibals and the Bonapartes. He must make his people act like one man, and that man a hero — he must oppose a factitious Philip to the real Philip. But this is not to be done by long trains or chains of reasoning; how absurd and pedantic would such things be, were they even possible, under the circumstances in question! He must address himself to the motives of human conduct. He must show that his measures are practicable, are politic, are fit, are morally necessary. To this end sentiment is one of his surest resources—the sense of honor, the sense of duty, the example of an illustrious ancestry, the pride of long established superiority, the sacred obligations of transmitting to our children the heritage of liberty and glory handed down to us from our fathers. He resorts continually to topics like these, not because he has no better ones, but because in fact no others can possibly supply their place. In such cases, the end of all reasoning is to show that what we do, or will that others shall do, is reasonable, and this he does by showing that, being what they are, it is proper, it is becoming, it is right, it is indispensable that his hearers should pursue the course pointed out. He deals, therefore, not in syllogism and dissertation, but in maxims, in statements, in example and enthymeme.* He lifts them up to the height of his argument, by working in them a moral regeneration. How else can he persuade them? How is he to prove to cowards that they ought to rush into the midst of dangers—to the slothful, that they should be incessantly vigilant and active — to the luxurious and corrupt, that they should prefer "hard liberty before the easy yoke of servile pomp?" He not only presses with the greatest force all the topics called for by the subject and the occasion, but what is a far more difficult

* Arist. Rhet. II. 20.

task, he breathes into his audience a soul to appreciate them. Is he not a reasoner on that account? And if that is not reasoning, which urges with the greatest force the best reasons that can be imagined to produce conviction under the given circumstances, what is? And is it not, at all events, absurd, to speak de haut en bas, as Lord Brougham does, of such a prodigious triumph of mind, warmed and elevated by the most heroical spirit, as if it were a mere theatrical pomp of words? To put an analogous case; suppose Lord Chatham, during his immortal quinquennium, instead of displaying his genius in action, by a prompt, peremptory and absolute exercise of a gigantic executive power, wielded by his will and turned in the twinkling of an eye, wherever he saw a vulnerable spot in the body of the enemy's empire, had been compelled, as Demosthenes was, to go into a popular assembly and obtain its previous consent; does anybody suppose that the occasional inspirations of that great and ruling practical mind would have been uttered in long "chains of reasoning," in the House of Commons, or in pregnant harangues after the fashion of Demosthenes?

If we are right in this view of the subject, the Philippics of Demosthenes are precisely what we should à priori expect them to be under the circumstances. They are still more - they are, like everything else he has left, perfect in their kind—the ideal of deliberative eloquence in a simple democracy, attacked, threatened, beset on all sides by a new and formidable foe. We shall presently, when we come to speak of Demosthenes as a statesman, have occasion to remark more particularly on that prophetic sagacity which enabled him to discern in Philip - long before others saw any serious danger on that side - the future destroyer of Greece. But it was difficult for some time to convince the people of Athens that a "man of Macedon" could possibly entertain so audacious a project, or, if he did, that without a navy, and without the cooperation of some of the leading Greek states, he had the least chance of accomplishing it. The orator had, therefore, a double task to perform. He had to show that Philip really was formidable, but that if met at once with powerful and systematic resistance, his ascendency in the north, founded as it was on fraud, injustice and violence, would be effectually overthrown. This task he performs as no other man who ever addressed a popular assembly could aspire to perform it. His portraiture of

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Philip shows how clearly he had conceived his character and designs, and how worthy he was to be the selected champion of Greece against that great man. He saw all the bearings of his policy—he felt the impression of his strong will and his ambitious, persevering, and indomitable spirit — he exposes the arts of corruption by which he makes himself a party in every state, and undermines cities otherwise unconquerable — he paints him in his campaigns exposed to hardship, to danger, arrested by no obstacle, discouraged by no difficulty, patiently waiting where he could not speedily execute, persevering always to the end; though a voluptuary, a free liver, a boon companion, loving to pass his evenings over the bottle with actors and gleewomen, yet sacrificing every comfort without hesitation, when he had an object to carry, exposing his life as if he had nothing to live for, giving up to fortune any part of his body she asked for, now an eye, then some other member, asking no compensation of her but success, and obtaining that always and everywhere, until a few more steps in his progress would bring his batteringrams up to the very gates of Athens. Let any man versed in the history of those times read over these orations of Demosthenes, and he will acknowledge that every view that could be presented by a statesman, that every topic which a man thinking and feeling on the subject of Athenian rights and power as the orator thought and felt, could imagine, for the purpose of awaking a degenerate people to a sense of their dangers and a determination to resist them, is pressed with the most evident reason, as with unrivalled power. would Lord Brougham have had him do more? What would he — master of all modern science — have done in his place? He has given us specimens of his skill at translations, which are truly Demosthenes done into Brougham. Suppose he furnish us with a substitute better than the original, and show us what "chains of reasoning" would have kept out the conqueror so long? Voltaire scoffs at somebody for attempting to demonstrate the existence of a God by "X plus Y equal to Z." Would Lord Brougham defend a city in the same way? or instead of Demosthenes, play Duns?

The strictures of the learned lord on the speech for the Crown strike us as not less erroneous than what he says of the Philippics. We concede that such a harangue would have been out of place as an argument in the Exchequer Chamber: and had the debate been confined to the issue in

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law, Æschines would certainly have carried his point. We have great doubt, however, nay, we more than doubt, whether he would have been successful, under similar circumstances, before an English jury, though controlled and directed by an English judge. But Demosthenes was not addressing a tribunal accustomed to confine the evidence and the argument to a single issue, joined upon record. This strict and salutary rule of English pleading, so essential to the proper operation of the system of trial by jury, was unknown to Greek judicature. There was, to be sure, a law forbidding the orators to wander from the matter in hand, (ἔξω του πραγματος λέγειν,)* but it was no more enforced in practice than that other law which required in all debates in the ecclesia, the subject to be first spoken to by men over fifty years of age. The popular tribunals (for so they all were) of Athens, looked upon themselves as a mere commission of the general assembly, and as exercising in that capacity an arbitrary sovereign power. Law, as a science, had never attained to any great perfection at Athens, and if it had, in a democracy so licentious, so immoral, so agitated, the sublime function of judicature would, under any circumstances, probably have been perverted and abused. We have already observed that the arbitrary conduct of the courts is quite consistent with the array of statutes intended to prevent it, which we see in many of the orations of Demosthenes. This, however, we must say for him, that his pleadings, both in private and in public causes, are as much superior to those of Lysias in tone and topics, as they are in force, point, condensation, and eloquence. This is one of the merits of that extraordinary man, in most things far above the age in which he lived. Accordingly his judicial speeches are generally exceptions to the practice, universal with others, of urging all the topics, however remote from the point at issue, best calculated to inflame and prejudice the minds of the court against an adversary, and make him too odious to hope for justice.

If his speech on the Crown constitutes, as it does, an exception to his usual practice, it is because the occasion itself was altogether peculiar. The technical issue was entirely lost sight of in the real one. This often happens even in modern assemblies. One of the most celebrated debates, perhaps the most celebrated, in our recent history, is that on

[•] Lys. c. Simon. \$45.

Foote's resolution in 1830. Where was that resolution so much as touched upon? Mr. Webster, in his very happy opening of that speech which alone would carry his name down to posterity, alludes to it once only, to justify himself for dismissing it altogether from his thoughts. Demosthenes does not "assume," as Lord Brougham affirms, "that his whole public life is put in issue:" it notoriously was so. was pleading for a crown, meant to be conferred on him as the reward of all his labors as a statesman, a citizen, and a devoted patriot. That, and that alone, gave the least inter-That, and that alone, provoked the est to the discussion. hostility of Æschines, and overcame his habitual unwillingness to speak, and especially to address an audience which he could not but know was strongly prejudiced against him, and almost entirely devoted to his mighty rival. His only chance of success, to be sure, was in his unanswerable argument on the point of law, and under cover of that he could wreak "the hoarded vengeance" of years upon his detested adversary, with some hope, at least, of an apparent triumph - for a real one was evidently out of the question before an Athenian jury at that time. He, accordingly, insists that they shall keep Demosthenes to the legal issue, while he expatiates at large into the history, public and private, of his His demand was a mere rhetorical artifice; he knew it would be refused. The cause of Demosthenes was their own; the history of his administration, however disastrous, they thought the glory of the state, and they sympathized with him too deeply in every syllable he uttered to think of abridging his account of it in the least. What, indeed, did it signify to men who had survived Cheronea, and seen Thebes effaced from the earth, and the liberties of Greece trodden under foot by Macedonian satraps, whether one of those crowns, of which they were then habitually so lavish, could be voted to a public officer before he had settled his accounts, or should be proclaimed in one assembly rather than another?

Lord Brougham, proceeding with his critical examination of this speech, comes at length to "the most celebrated passage of the whole," and admitting — we will not say how consistently — that "this truly magnificent passage cannot

No better evidence is wanting of this than the appeal of Demosthenes to the
judges whether they did not know Æschines to be a corrupt tool of Philip — answered by them in the affirmative. This was in an early part, too, of his speech.

be too often referred to, or its merits too highly extolled," endeavors, nevertheless, to show that it is "not a piece of close and sustained argumentation." We can only afford the space necessary to animadvert upon what he says of "the famous oath." It is as follows:—

"Now, every way splendid and prodigious as this famous burst of eloquence is, in point of argument and if viewed as a piece of reasoning, it is positively nothing. For it would then stand thus, and this would be the argument:—'My counsels led to your defeat at Cheronea; but because you won four or five great victories by following other counsels, or, which is the same thing, these counsels in other circumstances, therefore I was justified in the disastrous advice I gave you.' Or thus: 'You gained great victories at Marathon, Salamis, Platæa, and Artemisium; therefore you were justified in fighting at Cheronea, where you were defeated.' Then as to the funeral honors, the argument would stand thus: 'The victorious soldiers who were slain in the successful battles of former times, were buried with public honors; therefore the state rewards those who fall in defeat; and consequently the counsels are not to be blamed which are bold, although they lead to disaster.'"

We have never met with a perversion more pitiable than this, and we have no scruple in saying that a mind capable of it is incapable of appreciating Demosthenes. For in the first place, with regard to "the funeral honors," the orator does not confine his allegation to those who fell at Marathon, etc., but extends it expressly to "many others," buried at public expense, all alike honored, not the victorious and the successful only; "and rightly," he adds—"For the duty of good men and true had been equally performed by all, their success was various according to the fortune allotted to each by the providence of God." These are the words of Demosthenes, and our readers will at once perceive that whatever is illogical in Lord Brougham's proposition belongs to himself.

The other part of the famous passage speaks for itself, but to do it full justice it must be taken in connection with the whole context of the argument.

The peace party argued after the fashion of Lord Brougham. It was all very well, said they, to prate about Marathon and Salamis, provided you were pretty sure of success. But why lead us into an unavailing and disastrous struggle?

^{*} Και πολλους έτερους.

^{† &#}x27;Апантаς биосыз оода того каторвывантая оббатода кративантая ибного.

Why not submit quietly at first, instead of waiting until defeat left you no alternative? Your Quixotic resistance has only made matters much worse. You left a thousand of your fellow citizens dead upon the field, and two thousand prisoners in the hands of the foe, to whose moderation alone we owe the salvation of the city itself. Such are the fruits of your insane counsels and your predestinated ill-luck, and yet you live, and not only live, but come here into the midst of those on whom you have brought so many calamities, and have the effrontery to ask, not for pardon or oblivion, but for thanks and a crown! Certainly his position was a very trying one, and nothing can give us a higher conception of his influence as a man, a politician and an orator, than the fact that with Lord Brougham's unanswerable argument against him, he succeeded, in the midst of those very disasters, in convincing the people that they had done only what they were bound to do, then and at all times. He told them that the issue of all human counsels was in the hands of God; that he had not had the command of the army, and so was not strictly responsible for its defeat; but even were he fairly called to account for it, he should think himself acquitted by showing that everything had been done that depended on his foresight, diligence and courage; they had discharged their duty as Athenians, and left the consequences to Heaven. It was a cheap wisdom which had nothing to say beforehand, but would denounce after the event, measures of which it might and (if they were really so bad) ought to have prevented the adoption — like a physician at a funeral, mentioning for the first time the prescriptions that would have saved the patient. "If this man had done so or so, he had not died." εμδροντητε, ειτα νυν λεγεις. This is the topic which, as was remarked by some of the old critics, he was always insisting on. † Do not judge by the general result; examine each measure upon its own merits, in reference to the circumstances under which it was adopted. But that answer, however satisfactory to his hearers, does not satisfy him — he is not content to place his, or rather their case, upon such low though safe ground. Any other orator, Æschines or Lord Brougham, for instance, would have stopped there, and thought the argument exhausted. Not so, the heroical imitator of the glorious past.

* II. 5chares, \$ 71. Sec 66.

† Theo. Sophist, Progym, c. 11.

He ventures to go much farther; he disdains to skulk behind the uncertainty of events, and to ask indulgence and pardon for human weakness. He wants no forgiveness; he needs none; he throws away the advantage of his obvious and unanswerable defence. He challenges his adversary forth upon the ground on which he means to plant his own fame for ever. He concedes that the contest, instead of being a doubtful one — so doubtful, that Philip himself, when it was over, looked back to it with a feeling of awe—had been altogether desperate; and he maintains that the example of their ancestors, who had resolutely rejected all offers of peace and protection from the Mede, if they would only consent to his conquering the rest of Greece, and had chosen rather to abandon their hearths and altars, and to give up their fair city with its most holy temples to be sacked and devastated by a barbarous foe, with no hope or resource but in "the courage never to submit or yield," and their gallant ships to fight it out unto the last—that their position at the head of the civilized world, and the duties it imposed upon themleft them no alternative but to resist—to resist with arms in their hands — to resist at all hazards, to the uttermost extremity, and be the consequences what they might. Even Lord Brougham himself, with a temperament most un-Demosthenian, and treating this whole matter as honest Jack Falstaff discusses honor, admits this splendid and prodigious passage to be successful - in spite of its being just no argument at all!—and we venture to say, that no man capable of interpreting Greek prose ever reads this chapter with its equally admirable context, without experiencing some, at least, of the tumultuous enthusiasm which Dionysius of Halicarnassus* declares is awakened in him by the eloquence of by far the mightiest orator that ever swayed the souls of Nobody has the least doubt that the paradox, so bold for a degenerate people, that Demosthenes begs they will not reject it till they hear him out with it, nobody has a shadow of doubt but that it is fully established long before he has done with it. There is not a man of us all but is ready to swear with him that it was all perfectly right, and would have been so, though Athens had been blotted out for ever from the face of the earth, and nothing left of her but the glory of such

* II. T. A. A. Scivothtos.

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a defeat. But then, it seems, though the topic is so satisfactory, and so irresistibly put, it is no argument, and why? Because the great men whose example is cited and whose merit Demosthenes alleges to have consisted in their courage, undismayed, even in what seemed a desperate case, having, in fact, succeeded after all, (though that, according to the hypothesis, is a perfectly immaterial circumstance,) it was not "a case that ran on all fours," with the one before the court. What is to be done with such Nisi-Prius cavilling?

εμβροντήτε τι λέγεις.

This part of the argument of Demosthenes rests upon an illustrious precedent, or rather a series of illustrious precedents, the history of Athens in the day of her glory and power. He aims to show that in this second attempt of a barbarian (as he pronounces Philip) to conquer Greece, her position had been precisely what it was at the time of the first, and that his policy, as her adviser, had been in all respects, except what he labors throughout his whole speech to prove was wholly immaterial — success in the issue—identical with that of Miltiades and Themistocles. What he regards as the great feature in the conduct of that heroic age, was the sublime spirit of self-sacrifice in the people of Athens. Spurning at all terms, however tempting to baser natures, from the enemy, they had chosen, rather than see the liberty and civilization of Greece overthrown without an effort to save it, to abandon their country, for many reasons peculiarly sacred in their eye, and had determined, should events be, as seemed probable, unfavorable, to emigrate for ever to some distant clime.

It was not because Themistocles had conquered at Salamis that his name was immortal—that only proved his skill and address as a captain—but what made him a hero and gives to the whole story of the war the air of mythology or epic poetry, was that he had fought there under such desperate circumstances—hazarding the very existence of the state upon a single cast of the die. It was the pirit, the generous devotedness, the nice sense of what was due to the superiority of Greek nature, and the unshaken determination to live Greeks or live no more. It was the choice of Achilles:

Κήρα δ'εγώ τότε δεξομαι, όππότε πεν δη Ζεύς ἐθέλη τελέσαι, ηδ' άθάνατοι Θεοι άλλοι· Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη 'Ηραπλῆος φύγα Κῆρα, π. τ. λ. ΙΙ. 18. 115.

Certainly the whole reasoning of Demosthenes proceeds upon the assumption that all this is right. If you deny his principle, there is an end of the whole argument, for one of the first rules of logic is, that there is no disputing with him that questions principles.* How should you prove to a Quaker, that any war was just, or necessary, or glorious? How could Sir John's argument on the point of honor be refuted to the satisfaction of a jury of Falstaffs? If Lord Brougham does not feel and acknowledge the force of the precedent, as he seems not to do, then he is no fit judge of Demosthenes or his reasoning — the whole matter is to him coram non judice. But if he admits the premises of the orator, his conclusion is irresistible; and the verdict of the only tribunal competent to do it full justice — the people of Athens — has settled the question for ever. Nor, indeed, do we envy him that reads this wonderful oration — wonderful in every thing that can enter into the composition of a perfect speech, but most of all in the heroical elevation of sentiment — without feeling it to be true that the motives, the conduct, the spirit oft he contest, were those of Salamis and Artemisium — that this spirit had moved the mighty orator from the beginning, as it did to the end of his great and tragical career - had made him throw himself into the breach on the memorable occasion, painted in all its terrors (in this very speech), of the sudden capture of Elateia by Philip, when no other public man durst utter an opinion or propose a measure — had dictated his immortal manifesto, as full of statesmanlike wisdom and high patriotism, as of matchless eloquencet - had gone with him on his embassy to Thebes, and there armed him with invincible might, and insured him a complete triumph over every difficulty of sloth, and fear, and rooted prejudice, and over the most formidable opposition from the partisans of Philip—and was now, in this last solemn account of his stewardship, by the lofty tones in which the examples of the past were invoked to justify his measures, attesting in the most unequivocal manner their moral identity. As to his failure in the great result, we shall say more of that hereafter, but the orator has not left us to conjecture the disadvantages under which he labored in his contest with Philip. In a passage of this very speech, they are most clearly and forcibly summed up.‡

* Contra negantem principia non est disputandum.
† De Corona, § 55. ‡ Ibid. § 65.

But we have already, perhaps, dwelt too long upon this

part of the subject, and we must hasten to another.

The second volume at the head of this article, is one of many contributions to the literature of Demosthenes which Professor Westermann has made within a few years past. This little volume contains his remarks upon the causes which the orator argued himself, in contradistinction to those wherein he furnished arguments to others. These were the Lis Tutoria, or his action of account against his guardians the Lis Midiana, or his action against Midias for a ruffianly assault upon him, of which we have already spoken — the two contests with Æschines on the Embassy and the Crown the Lis Aristogeitonia, two declamatory pieces, certainly not genuine — and the Lis Harpalica, involving the famous charge of corruption against him, for extending his protection to the fugitive treasurer of Alexander, and sharing in the fruits of his famous embezzlement. The book closes with an epimetrum, in which the author treats of the repetitions that occur in the orations of Demosthenes, and animadverts upon certain critical remarks of Lord Brougham in regard to them. We shall take notice of these, if our space admit of it, by and by.

1. The two speeches against Aphobus were delivered when Demosthenes was only eighteen or twenty years of age; the third is condemned as spurious. Crassus, in the Dialogue de Oratore,* mentions his appearing before the public, on an important occasion, at almost as early an age. the case of Demosthenes, the wonder is greatly increased by the extreme maturity of thought and style that distinguishes This was, indeed, so remarkable, that his these speeches. master Isæus was charged with having helped him in the composition of them. The only difficulty in the way of that supposition is, that they happen to be better than any thing the said master has done for himself. The peroration of the first is extremely pathetic, and there is one point in it (§ 13) that is particularly well reasoned. The speech is in other respects a dry matter of account, which he states, item by item, with the precision of a master in chancery. He appears, however, to make out his case very clearly, and the judgment of the court shows that his evidence was as strong as his statement was plain. It seems that he was left at his

father's death a boy of seven years old, with a sister two years younger, and a fortune, the bulk of which had been bequeathed to him, of fourteen talents, which properly managed would have increased, by the time he was of age, to thirty (about £7,250). Instead of this opulent estate, (for so it was then,) he received from his guardians only a house, fourteen slaves, and thirty minæ (£120) in money. the beginning of his misfortunes, and, according to some of his biographers, of his greatness. Facit indignatio versus. To be revenged on these wicked men, they suppose him to have devoted himself to the study of eloquence—as if the orator, par excellence, of all time, was a creature of accident or art, or as if any body can be eloquent, after the manner of Demosthenes, without a physical organization of a most peculiar kind. But it deserves to be mentioned, that if Demosthenes afterwards wrote, as we have seen he did, many speeches for money, this humiliating necessity was imposed upon one born for better things, by the profligate mismanagement of others. The profession of a feed advocate, or logograph, at Athens, was regarded with extreme disfavor. mosthenes himself informs us, it was generally admitted that the worst class in the community were those who wrote and spoke for money.* There is a terrible picture, though in very exaggerated colors, in the oration against Aristogeiton, of the vast influences, as well as of the detestable practices, of the orators in general, but especially the venal sycophants - brokers in iniquity, as they are called, who traffic in their influence with the people, and live on the terrors of the rich.t

The speeches against Aphobus, we may add here, stand at the head of those composed for private causes. These are a curious variety of the Demosthenic style, and strikingly illustrate its wonderful versatility, so much extolled by Cicero and Dionysius. It is equally perfect, that is, fit and appropriate, on all subjects, from the highest to the lowest. There was no imaginable sort of speaking in which he did not excel—observing every where the cardinal rule of Roscius, which that great actor declared it was so difficult to practise—Caput est artis decere. One of the false ideas which writers

^{*} Cont. Aristocrat. \$ 36. Cf. Midiana, \$ 52. "He will call me orator, to make me odious." Timocrat. \$ 17. "Have no pity for him, he writes for pay."

† Aristogeit. \$\$ 9-11. "The dogs of Demus." Passages, these, certainly not of Demosthenes.

like Blair, and even Lord Brougham, instil into the minds of youth, is that this wonderful artist is a sort of tragedy-hero always in buskins and "sceptred pall"—the τριταγωνιστης of oratory, as he calls Æschines — or worse yet, as if he were always, as Bottom says, "playing Ercles — or a part to tear a cat in - to make all split." Nothing can be farther from the true conception of a style of which the peculiar characteristic is decorum, as nothing, indeed, could be more insane than such uniform, unremitting vehemence. There is one class of these private causes which are reduced to some single point or exception beside the merits, and take the tone of an argument in our courts on a demurrer or a special plea. Think of Demosthenes the special pleader! But though in general they are distinguished by any thing rather than the ranting vein ascribed to their author, his great power occasionally displays itself in no equivocal manner. Thus the first speech against Stephanus for perjury is admirable throughout, and contains some tremendous peals of denunciation. So the speech against Olympiodorus for damages (6la676) is exceedingly fine. That against Polycles is full of instructive matter about the trierarchy, sailors' wages, the corn trade, etc. In short, these arguments embrace a great variety of questions in Attic law, and are well worthy the attention of all who are curious about comparative jurisprudence. One other remark, altogether characteristic of Demosthenes, we will make in reference to these speeches, and that is, that like his arguments in matters of public law, they are, with but a single exception, every one of them for the plaintiff, or prosecutor. These causes were all restrained within certain limits as to time, varying, apparently, according to circumstances, and measured by a proportional allowance of water in the clepsydra. It is no uncommon thing for the orator to say, "I have a good deal more to add, but I see the water running short," or to find him crying out, when he called for the reading of a law or document by the clerk, (as was the usage,) "stop the water." The first maxim of Attic taste in all things is, ne quid nimis, (ovder ayar) - when shall we learn, in this most long-winded of all countries, to imitate at least the Atticism of brevity?

The second of the causes in which Demosthenes appears in proper person, according to Professor Westermann's ar-

* \$ 23, cf. \$ 10.

rangement, is the Lis Midiana. This case, of which we have already said something, is very illustrative, both of the state of manners at Athens, and of the character of Demosthenes himself. It grew out of the cause against his guardians, in which Midias interfered to protect the latter, by procuring the orator to be charged with an oppressive liturgy — and when he declined it, offering him, according to the Athenian law, an exchange of fortunes, by means of which Aphobus would have been at once discharged from all farther liability. It seems that in offering this antidosis, (such was the technical term,) the conduct of Midias was excessively brutal.* From this source flowed a most malignant and mischievous personal grudge on the part of the unprovoked offender, against the youth he had wronged; and many years after, when Demosthenes, as Choregus of his tribe, was making preparations for an exhibition of his chorus at one of the great public festivals, this ruffian (one of the principal people of Athens,) committed a series of outrages, ending with a box on the ear, inflicted upon the young orator in public. The people, indignant at such brutality, insisted that the offender should be brought to condign punishment, and accordingly measures were taken to effect that object. Among other things Demosthenes composed, but it is said did not deliver, his celebrated speech — having compromised his suit with his formidable adversary for thirty minæ (£120). Why did he receive this hush-money? Plutarch regards it as a proof, that although he was at that time thirty-two years of age, and had delivered one at least of his harangues in the assembly of the people, not to mention the four admirable speeches in state trials already adverted to, he had as yet too little political influence to venture upon so unequal a contest. He is led to ascribe the compromise to some such motive, from the irascible and vindictive (?) character of Demosthenes. Be that as it may, the compounding of this prosecution, together with a similar occurrence between him and one of his relatives, was matter of much pungent waggery. Æschines' sarcastic remark, that his head was a treasure to him, t shows at least the on-dits of the day. His determination to drop the prosecution was no doubt prompted, in some degree, by an indictment for desertion,

[†] More literally, a "capital"—not πεφαλη, but πεφαλαιον, is a conjectural reading approved by Bekker.

and another for murder, which Midias immediately got up against him, and of which we hear no more afterwards, not even from his worst enemies.

We are not to judge of such an outrage, nor of the conduct of Demosthenes under it, by our modern standard. Corneille's Cid would not have been appreciated at Athens. They had no idea of the point of honor, in the chivalrous sense of the word. The individuality of the person, the haughtiness of the modern moi, were merged in implicit obedience to the law, and in the paramount duty of the citizen as member of a community. The honor of the Greek was a fanatical patriotism—he was at all times, and at any sacrifice of his own interests or feelings, to obey the command, to promote the welfare of the state. The pride of the citizen was the humility of the man. It was this ruling passion which Demosthenes, as we have seen, knew so well how to move, and which he did awaken to transports long unfelt, by his Philippics and his Speech on the Crown. But independently of this high and ruling idea of Greek life, the Athenians were a people steeped in profligacy to the very lips, and wholly without shame or sensibility on subjects of This shocking contrast between the exquisite in art, the polite in diction, the sublime in thought, and occasionally the great and heroical in sentiment, and a tone of manners and topics of discourse often the most low, vicious, brutal and cynical, is one of the most striking peculiarities of the ancient Greek world.

This speech against Midias is thus doubly curious, as exhibiting Demosthenes to us in a situation calculated severely to try his character, and as throwing light upon Athenian opinion on a matter of so much importance as the protection of the person. It appears, from a law cited by the orators, that every sort of violence or contumely (week) was rigidly punished, so that an assault and battery was a high crime: even slaves were protected, by a popular action, against outrages of the kind. On this, as on other occasions, the court is addressed as if the degree and even the nature of the punishment were entirely at its discretion. The orator seems to think that death itself would not be too much—but at all events, he demands that the defendant shall be rendered harmless by the forfeiture of the whole estate which at once inspired his insolence and secured its impunity. Not to extend these remarks unnecessarily, we will only add, that

there are passages of great beauty and power in this speech; as for example, the noted one as to the circumstances that aggravate the character of an assault, (§ 21,) and the necessity of protecting, in his person, the security of all. (§ 59.) His argument, on the application of precedents cited by the adversary, or by himself, is extremely discriminating and powerful, sufficiently so, we should think, to come up fully even to Lord Brougham's ideas of "close and sustained argumentation." (§§ 11. 17. 19. 48.)

To do Demosthenes complete justice in this distressing affair, it ought to be mentioned, that it was not an action for damages, but a public prosecution, that he had instituted—so that his object was simply to punish the offender, and not

to profit by the offence.

But by far the most important of the controversies in which he appeared himself were the memorable ones with Æschines, after Eubulus and Philocrates, and with Phocion, the leader of the Macedonian or Peace party, his mortal enemy, and the first orator of Greece, with the single exception of the great victor himself.

It is a remark applicable in general to the German writers of the present day, and particularly so to M. Westermann, that they treat Æschines just as Demosthenes did; that is, they receive implicitly all the charges made against him by the latter. This is like judging Hannibal by the Roman accounts of him.

We confess, for our part, that we are disposed, in this contest, to lean a good deal towards Æschines, just as in Homer we involuntarily take sides with Hector against Achilles. He has, for a Greek, a remarkably well-bred and gentlemanlike tone, a calm self-possession, a quiet dignity, a nice sense of moral propriety, and bating some rather rhetorical passages, his speaking is perfectly Attic. His oration against Timarchus is a beautiful and most effective speech. Unfortunately it turns principally on so revolting a subject, and reveals, in the existing state of morals at Athens, such mutterable abominations, that it would sully the pages of a modern journal to do more than allude to its contents. Otherwise, we have never read a speech in a foreign language which we should feel more tempted to translate. It is particularly remarkable for a sound moral tone, and for a certain delicacy in the manner of dealing with such horrors. The oration in his own defence, when charged by Demos-NO. XVII.-VOL. IX.

thenes with malversation in an embassy to Philip, is also an admirable masterpiece; and his third and most celebrated, though unfortunate, effort against Ctesiphon, would probably have been reckoned the perfection of the art, had not Demosthenes totally eclipsed him in his immortal reply. These three speeches are all the remains of Æschines; for although, or rather, perhaps, because a great extemporaneous speaker, he published little. They constitute what is called, in the language of the Greek drama, a Trilogy, — the beginning, the middle, and the end of his mortal combat with his more popular rival. Antiquity expressed its judgment upon them by designating them as the Three Graces. The origin of the feud was the first embassy to Philip to treat of peace. Up to that time Æschines seems to have distinguished himself as much by his opposition to the king, as Demosthenes. After his return, however, from that mission, he changed his course, and in a second embassy sent to conclude a definitive treaty with Macedon, he is charged with having, together with some colleagues equally disaffected or corrupt, purposely delayed the ratification until Philip had accomplished his projects in Phocis and Thrace - projects which the king had very much at heart, since these were the two most vulnerable points of Athens. Æschines seems to have contracted for Demosthenes a strong personal aversion during the first mission, and nothing can be more graphic and humorous than his account of the behavior of his rival in their journeys as well as at Court. On their return from the last, Demosthenes and Timarchus, in concert, were preparing to impeach him for malversation in office, when Æschines turned upon one of his adversaries, and striking him down, seems for the time to have silenced, or at least foiled the other. He accused Timarchus of infamous conduct, which. according to Attic law, deprived him of the right of speaking in public. He was convicted, and, it is said, committed suicide in despair. Demosthenes wrote, as did Æschines, a long and labored speech, to be spoken in the impeachment of his rival. Whether they were delivered or not, is still matter of dispute. Some report that Æschines was, in fact, tried, and escaped but by thirty voices—others, that owing to the confusion of the times, the case was indefinitely postponed. Westermann suggests rather plausibly, that the prosecution was never even instituted. The argument which he considers as conclusive upon the subject, is one that weighed

very much with Plutarch, namely, that no allusion whatever is made to it by either of the orators in their speeches on the Crown. But this fact may be otherwise explained; and Jerome Wolf well remarks that by the same argument it might be proved that the oration against Timarchus had never been delivered. We think it not improbable, however, that the success of Æschines in the prosecution against this man, and the odium which his notorious and revolting infamy threw upon the whole cause, shook the nerve of Demosthenes, and made him abandon his purpose. If this was so, it is a remarkable instance of the pains which the ancient orators bestowed upon the composition of their harangues on great occasions — unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the suppressed speeches were circulated as political pamphlets. That of Æschines is the more finished production of the two — his rival's is considered as a mere cartoon — but it is a cartoon of Demosthenes.

With regard to the merits of the controversy, the impossibility of arriving at the truth must be apparent to any one who examines the state of the evidence. Contemporary history is perished with Theopompus; and what we find in later writers, such as Plutarch, is manifestly copied, or at any rate more or less deeply colored, from the mutual recriminations of the orators. It follows that we are, after all, referred to the speeches for the solution of the difficulties raised by the speeches. And what do we find in these? Palpable, irreconcilable contradictions, on subjects many of which must have been at that time matter of public notoriety. In the midst of a small society, in reference to events that had but just happened, we see them appealing, with equal confidence, to the testimony of the first men in the state, nay, to public records, affirming and denying, with the most solemn imprecations, things which, one should suppose, the whole assembly must have known as well as any witness. Every allegation necessary either to the attack or the defence is clearly stated, and apparently made out by the most irrefragable proofs; you see them, with all the gravity in the world, bid the clerk read the document, the record, the testimony needed. Poor Wolf (Jerome) is so much annoyed and scandalized by this conflict of asseverations, that he inveighs continually in his annotations against the perfidious art of the orators. In one of them he quotes Lactantius to the same purpose, and heartily joins in the repentance expressed by the Christian Cicero, for having done any thing to promote this science of falsehood and imposture • — to say nothing of that anthology of vituperation, as it has been well expressed, which might be easily culled from these speeches -especially those of Demosthenes - bidding defiance to Billingsgate at its worst. M. Westermann assumes that this orator is more to be relied on than his adversary, and this he assumes because he assumes, again, that he was the better man, as he undoubtedly displayed more statesmanship, as well as patriotic devotedness, in his opposition to Philip. But this argument is by no means conclusive. It proves too much. It applies as strongly to Phocion, who voted with Æschines throughout, and who is universally admitted to have been the most upright man of the time, and worthy to be associated with Aristeides. There is one consideration of very great weight in favor of Æschines. The war party was at that time decidedly the strongest at Athens; why did not the impeachment succeed?

As to what M. Westermann (pp. 48-50) considers as a confession of the defendant himself, it is absurd to separate, as he attempts to do, the fact from the intention. Æschines admits that on his return he made some such representations as had been imputed to him; but he resists the inference attempted to be drawn from them that he had betrayed his country. Far from denying, he boldly avows and most eloquently defends his policy in promoting the peace. draws a frightful picture of the calamitous consequences of the war, the waste of treasure and the dilapidation of the finances, the loss of no less than seventy-five towns, restored to the confederacy by Conon, and of a hundred and fifty ships of war, the resources of the state lavished only on the refuse of all Greece, the corrupt brawlers in the public assemblies, and their worthless dependants, until the city was reduced to the condition of a mere den of pirates, while her mercenary generals, instead of arresting the progress of Philip, becoming daily more formidable, were not even to be found on the theatre of the war, but prosecuted elsewhere, without authority, enterprises of their own against the allies of the republic. In answer to the appeals to the conduct of their ancestors, in the Persian war, he reminds them of the effects of the invasion of Sicily, and of the terrible fruits of

* Ad Æsch. de fals. Legat. 5 3. † De fals. Legat. 5 24.

their obstinacy in persisting in the struggle with Sparta, when they might have put an end to it on moderate terms — the destruction of their walls, the overthrow of the democracy, the despotism of the thirty tyrants, and the execution of fifteen hundred citizens without a trial. It seems to us very conceivable, considering the situation of Greece at that time, (of which we shall presently say more,) that Æschines might have been governed by such views, and honestly advised peace, and all the measures which subsequently led to the ruin of his country. That he had been captivated by the plausible professions and amiable manners of Philip, during his first embassy, is very evident; why should he not have been his dupe? M. Westermann seems to think he had deliberately conspired with that prince to overthrow the liberty of Greece. Does he suppose so crafty a politician as Philip let an Athenian, an orator, a babbler by profession, into the secrets of his ambition? The only argument of any force against this view of the matter, is that pressed by Demosthenes in his speech on the Embassy. "Had he not sold himself, I should expect to hear him say something to this effect: 'Men of Athens, do with me as you please; I believed, I was imposed upon, I have erred, I confess. But be on your guard, Athenians, against that man; he is faithless, perfidious, wicked—do ye not see how he has used me, how grossly he has deceived me? But I hear nothing of the kind from him, nor you neither. Why? Because he spoke under no error, or delusion, but for the wages of his treachery, acting the part of a good and faithful mercenary, but of a traitor ambassador and citizen, and deserving to die for it, not once, but three times over." * This is specious, yet a political party has seldom been known to change its ground on a discovery of its error, and still more rarely to confess its shame when it has been disgracefully duped. The Whigs under the lead of Mr. Fox in 1793 and in 1803, were in precisely the same predicament in regard to the French Revolution, as that in which Æschines stood in relation to Philip — and they were as far as he from making any confession or retraction.

After the failure of this attempt upon the head of the peace party, we hear no more of conflicts between the great rivals until the last and decisive one. So far Æschines had been

De fals. Legat. \$ 109.

completely triumphant in defending himself. He had destroyed Timarchus, and driven back his great colleague himself, foiled and discomfited. But he had not supplanted this latter in the affections of the people. Very far from it. Events had occurred since that contest which had given to Demosthenes all the credit of sagacity and patriotism. Philip, taking advantage of a second Holy War, set on foot by Æschines, though it is very possible he might have been actuated by motives which, at any former period, would undoubtedly have led the Amphictyons to adopt the same measures, pounced suddenly upon Elatea, and revealed, even to the blindest, his ulterior projects against Greece. Demosthenes, as we have seen, nothing daunted by this sudden and imminent peril, roused up Thebes to an alliance with Athens against him, and the fatal battle of Cheronea fulfilled the worst forebodings of the patriot orator. His country was fallen for ever from her political pre-eminence, but Philip was excessively ambitious of her praises. "Grecian, too, with all his vices." He wanted her for his theatre, and her wits and artists for his spectators, in the great part which he fully intended to perform, of Conqueror of Persia. He left her nominally an independent democracy. She still retained her darling παφέησια. The orators might still speak — of the past—and the last appearance of Demosthenes was on the occasion on which we have already dwelt, of Ctesiphon's motion to reward him with a crown. He comes forward now no longer as a counsellor, but as a historian, to justify his whole political course. It is the grandest piece of egotism on record — Milton's, perhaps, excepted. Yet is the subject so dexterously, or rather, we should say, so simply, so sincerely, so sublimely managed, that you forget the orator in the statesman, the statesman in the patriot, the patriot in his country, which seems to have engrossed, penetrated, transformed and elevated his whole being.

Surely it is not to be wondered at that this defence was triumphant. It was impossible it should fail were the laws ever so express against the honor proposed — were the calamities brought upon Greece by resistance to the conqueror worse even than they were represented to be by the adversaries of the orator. The democracy, except the name, was gone, but it had died on the bed of glory. The achievements which Herodotus records in a simple tale of wonder were not more worthy to be had in honor among men, were in no-

thing but in good fortune and in military skill superior to the last struggle to emulate them. But it was all over with popular government - Alexander had trodden out the first sparks of insurrection in Greece—he had effaced the antique and myth-honored Thebes from the map—he had demanded of the Athenians that their orators, and especially their great orator, should be delivered up to him to be put to death. He was pacified by Demades and did not press this demand. But the proscription of a patriot is his apotheosis in the eyes of those for whom he suffers, and whatever influence may be ascribed to his matchless genius and eloquence matchless then and for ever-it is certain that through all his subsequent life — even when, under duress, they voted his banishment, nay, when they afterwards voted his death he was without a rival in the affections of the people of It was impossible, therefore, that Æschines should have triumphed, had he even made, as he did, on the subject of the embassy, a better speech than his rival, instead of being, as he was, hopelessly eclipsed. The Macedonian influence on which he is supposed, and with good reason, to have counted, was not strong enough at the moment to have any effect on the issue of such a discussion. It served, on the contrary, to render him more odious - he was identified. like the Bourbons, with the conquest of his country and hatred for the foreigner. The relative positions of the orators with regard to the audience reversed their nominal parts. The prosecutor is plainly on the defensive throughout—the accused attacks with ferocity. The cause had been pending, according to the common account, eight years. M. Westermann thinks he has proved the delay was only half that time. The difference is unimportant for any practical purpose. This solemn note of preparation, the reputation of the speakers, their inveterate hostility personal and political, the memory of their former contests and of the tragical end of Timarchus, the fact that one of the champions was backed by the Macedonian interest, while the other was cheered by the sympathy of a people as true to him in defeat and disaster as they had been in the day of triumph, the renowned democracy of two hundred years lifting up, for the last time, its spirit-stirring voice in the midst of a world doomed to hear it no more; the past, the present, the dark and hopeless future — every thing conspired to give to this immortal contest

a character and an interest altogether unique in the history of the human mind.

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The eloquence of Æschines is of a brilliant and showy character, running occasionally, as we have said, though very rarely, into a Ciceronian declamation. In general, however, his taste is unexceptionable—clear in statement, close and cogent in argument, lucid in arrangement, remarkably graphic and animated in style, and full of spirit and pleasantry, without the least appearance of emphasis or effort. He is particularly successful in description and the portraiture of character. We have spoken of the ridiculous light in which he places the behavior of Demosthenes on the first embassy, and the miserable failure of the great orator in his attempt to address Philip. His delivery seems to have been fine, though, perhaps, somewhat theatrical. Demosthenes alludes repeatedly to his musical and powerful voice, in comparison with his own rather feeble one,* as he contrasts his boldness and composure in speaking, with his own nervousness and timidity.† His well known ridicule of some of the strong phrases in which the passion of Demosthenes sometimes (we must suppose extemporaneously) vented itself,‡ shows him to have been a very Athenian for fastidiousness of taste. reply of the great orator to this criticism is characteristic both of the man and the speaker — who are, indeed, inseparable - that to be sure, it signified a great deal to the welfare of the Greeks whether he used one phrase rather than another, or stretched out his arm thus or thus. His high opinion of his rival, however, is sufficiently betrayed by his frequent admonitions to the assembly to remember that their debates are no theatrical exhibitions of voice and oratory, but deliberations involving the safety of their country. His bitterest scoffs, too, against Æschines, have reference to his former profession of an actor, in which he generally had the "tyrant's part." (τριταγωνιζης.) He tells them it is very strange that the same audience that had hissed and almost stoned him, when he attempted to play Thyestes, so that he abandoned the stage in despair, should listen to him with so much complaisance when he took it upon him to counsel them about the

De fals. Legat. § 61. φθεγγεσθαι μεγιτος.
 † Ibid. I who am before great multitudes as you say δειλος, as I say ευλαβης.
 cf. Ib. § 64.

Dionys. Halicarn. π. τ. λ. Δ. δεινοτήτος says it is a false charge.
 De fals. Legat. 69. 71. Creon Æschines, etc.

the gravest matters. If you were choosing a crier, it would be of some importance to know what sort of a voice he had, but what does it signify in a statesman, and what eloquence or ability can recommend so bad a man? In his speech on the Crown his invective is nothing less than giguntic—he throws whole heaps of ribaldry and vituperation upon his adversary with "jaculation dire"—and if Æschines occasionally, though certainly not to the same extent, uses the same weapon, he may plead a provocation sufficient to excuse, or even to justify any retaliation. His piquant and graceful

satire, however, is too light for such warfare.

What did the eloquence of Æschines want to make it perfect? That which distinguishes the eloquence of Demosthenes, above all other, ancient or modern,—earnestness, conviction, the power to persuade that belongs to a strong and deep persuasion felt by the speaker. The old question so much discussed among the rhetoricians, whether a great orator (we do not say speaker, merely) must be a good man, must undoubtedly be answered sub modo in the affirmative. He must be honest, at least quoad hoc. He must believe in the cause he pleads. Milton, in a passage a part of which has been cited above, says, "true eloquence I find to be none but the serious and hearty love of truth" - or more properly, what the speaker believes to be the truth. This sentence ought to be engraved on the mind of every young aspirant. It is the great cardinal principle of all sound rhetoric, and is worth more than all Quintilian's twelve books put together. Faith, hope, love — the three Christian graces — are indispensable to excellence in any art — but of all arts, in oratory most. It is given to no man, be his genius or accomplishments what they may, to sway, with a real empire, great masses, with any other voice than that of faith, animated by hope, but, above all, inflamed with zeal in his cause, and with "dearest charity," to impress his convictions on others. Do you expect to be eloquent? Say nothing you do not believe -the voice never lies - the slightest tone of nature will pierce and penetrate ten thousand bosoms as if with an electrical spark, but the least falseness or coldness, and still worse, affectation, there, is fatal. It is for this reason that the weak things of this world so often confound the wise, in this kind. It is a maxim in the Church, that no heresiarch

• lb. \$\$ 95. 96.

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has ever done much unless his temper was vehement. naticism is always more or less eloquent, hypocrisy never truly eloquent, we mean, not disertus, for, we repeat, eloquence is quite a different thing from good, and even from the best speaking. Many men have worked miracles by eloquence, who could scarcely have been, in any proper sense of the words, tolerable speakers, Peter the Hermit for instance. But they had that, without which the most exquisite use of language is without soul, without power. Was Mirabeau in earnest in his purposes? Of destruction down to a certain point, most certainly — not beyond that, and there he would have perished, like so many other half-way men. He had sworn hostility to existing institutions in Bastiles and dungeons — he had given pledges to revolution by a life stained by every turpitude that could blot out the escutcheon of a gentleman born. The outcast Riquetti could not but be sincere in making war upon Montmorenci and Châ-He felt, it is true, (as who of them all did not in his own case?) the fancied superiority of his birth, and thought himself, as in fact he then was, all the better tribune for being descended, like Clodius and the Gracchi, from an ancient and illustrious line. But what did that descent signify to him, as long as he was debarred the privileges it ought to have conferred? The day was coming - was come - when he would have stopped short in his revolutionary career, and tried, for his wages, to stop others — but there he would have failed, and another Mirabeau — fruit of the arrière saison of full-blown mobocracy — the terrible Danton, would have had his head in the executioner's basket, (if indeed it had escaped the butcher's knife of the Septembriseur,) long before the end of '93.

There is another man of that day, famous to all time, to whose ability in this respect justice has not been done. Robespierre is said to have attracted Mirabeau's attention in the Constituent Assembly, although then only one of the "thirty voices" whom he treated, as events proved, with an ignorant disdain. That man, however, he saw and said would go far — because he had a conviction. He was right, as we know by the fact — he was sagacious in the ground of his conjecture. Robespierre was in earnest. He believed. Rousseau had in him as fanatical a follower as the Old Man of the Mountain ever sent forth to do a deed of blood. That, like Cromwell and other celebrated knaves, he turned im-

postor at last, is quite likely—it is the natural course of things. But he achieved his horrible greatness by faith. Beaux esprits and people of wit and leisure about town, at first, voted him a bore — a pedantic and tiresome rhetorician - but there was an audience out of doors who listened to every syllable he uttered, and "understood a fury in the words, if not the words." Both he and Danton were, in the proper sense of the word, far more eloquent than the hypocritical declaimers of the Gironde, who, beginning with a vast majority both in the Convention and in the Departments, were overthrown in a few months, and perished like felons upon the scaffold. The earnestness, the zeal, the decided and fanatical nationality of the Jacobin leaders, stirred up the people like the Marseillaise. Never was there such an example of the utter inefficiency of a mere talent for speaking, without any fixed, resolute, practical purpose, as is to be found in the famous struggle in question, between the Titans of democracy, "earth-born that warred on Jove," and their nondescript adversaries.

The same advantage Demosthenes had over Æschines. He had faith in his country, faith in her people, (if they could be roused up,) faith in her institutions.* He thought and spoke of Philip for a long time as Nelson spoke of Bonaparte and a French invasion. Had he been as good a soldier as Phocion, he had acted out successfully what he felt. He is mad at the bare thought that a man of Macedon, a barbarian, should be beating Athenians in the field, and giving laws to To Lacedæmon, to Thebes under her Epaminondas, he might have consented to yield the supremacy; but that a king of a house whom they had but lately treated as their protégés and dependants, of a country whence, as he expresses it, they could not even get a slave good enough for their service, should aspire to be their master! Philip's astonishing successes had proved him to be a formidable enemy; but the orations of Demosthenes breathe all the confidence he felt that there was no real danger but in the supineness of the people, the distraction of their counsels, the licentious conduct of their mercenary troops, and the bad faith or incapacity of their generals. Æschines, on the contrary, was become sceptical and irresolute. He saw less clearly, it is probable,

[•] There is a remarkable passage in one of his speeches, in which he says that democracy is not a good thing in theory, but it had always worked well in practice, at Athens. Cont. Leptin. § 23.

the designs of Philip, and more clearly the inadequacy of the means of resistance. He is charged by Demosthenes with giving himself airs, and treating with contempt the low people. He saw how little chance democracy had of continuing, in any vigorous, constitutional form, an existence threatened by so many enemies, from without and from within. We have seen that the greatest man (in action) of that day, Phocion, thought with him. Many German writers consider the conduct of the latter as a perplexing moral pro-But surely the scenes revealed in their own historical sketches, sufficiently establish the truth that the cause of republican government in Greece was completely desperate, and that she was only waiting for a master to pick up the crown that lay ready for him on the ground. The great curse of misrule in the popular form had produced its usual effect of destroying, except in a few heroical or fanatical minds, as the case might be, all faith in it, and driving them to seek quiet and security under a king. That this was in fact the state of opinion on that subject, we have the most conclusive evidence to show. Not to mention the writings of the philosophers, on which we had occasion to dwell more at large in a recent number of this journal, what more striking example could be produced than that of Isocrates — who would not consent to survive the disaster at Cheronea, and whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus pronounces the best teacher of political wisdom and virtue?†

Not very long before the great catastrophe, the veteran rhetorician addressed a discourse to Philip which is a most precious monument of those times. Disgusted at the scenes of violence, anarchy, and blood, in the midst of which, almost without any intermission, his long life of a century had been passed, he recommends, as the only remedy for the evil, that Greece shall be united by a common war, and should direct against the foreigner, the cupidity, rapacity, and profligate contempt of law and authority, that were now tearing her own bowels. Philip was, in his opinion, the man to do this, and the conquest of Persia, the means. This discourse, among other things, shows very clearly, that the policy of Demosthenes, who was designated in a manner not to be mistaken, was reprobated not only by Phocion and Æschines, and their political party, but by men who stood aloof

[.] New York Review, No. xiii.

[†] Judic, de Isocrat. § 4.

from all politics and all party. We can imagine, however, no greater compliment to his sagacity than this censure, founded, as it is, on the presumed friendly and pacific purposes of Philip. Though, to do full justice to that extraordinary man, we must confess, his whole ambition appears to us to have been to make himself another Agamemnon, conquering at the head of united Greece—just as his government in Macedon seems to have been a monarchy after the old patriarchal and Homeric fashion. Isocrates tells him* he perceives that he (the king) is traduced by certain envious people, accustomed to fish in troubled waters, and to look upon the common peace of Greece as a great personal calamity for them; who, neglecting every thing else, can speak of nothing but his power, as if it was grown to its present height, not for the benefit, but for the ruin of Greece, and as if the king had been for some time past plotting against them, and only professed to mean, when he should settle matters at Phocis, to assist the Messenians, while he, in fact, meditated the conquest of the Peloponnesus. — They alleged, it seems, that already the Thessalians and Thebans, and all the Amphictyonic states, were ready to follow him; the Argives, the Messenians, the Megalopolitans, and many others, were prepared to make war upon and to overthrow the Lacedæmonians—that should he effect this he would easily subdue the rest of the Greeks - that they who held this idle language, had succeeded by their sophistry in persuading many, and especially all such as desired the same social disorders as the authors of the reports referred to, as well as those who looked but little into public affairs and were thankful to any who pretended to feel so much concern and apprehension for them, and especially those who do not dislike the idea of his plotting against the Greeks, but look upon such designs on his part as rather a desirable thing. But these people, he continues, do not know, that by an indiscriminate use of the very same language, they injure some persons and honor others. Were any one to say, for instance, that the King of Persia was plotting against the Greeks and preparing for a hostile expedition, they would say nothing to his disadvantage, but rather make him out to be more valiant and more worthy than he is. But if the same imputation were made against one descended of Hercules, who had been the benefactor of

• Ad Philip. \$ 31.

all Greece, it would be fixing a very serious reproach upon him. For who would not be justly indignant at his appearing to plot against those, in defence of whom his ancestor voluntarily encountered so many dangers, and, instead of endeavoring to keep up the good name and hereditary popularity of his house, should, on the contrary, meditate the most reprehensible and unwarrantable things. With such impressions, says he to Philip, you must not despise the calumnies with which your personal enemies are seeking to charge you, and which all your friends feel bound to repel, etc.

A short time after Isocrates published this guileless expression of confidence, or this lesson in disguise to Philip, the victory at Cheronea showed him how little he knew his man, and fully vindicated Demosthenes from the charge of calumniating that innocent prince. This was the peculiar boast of the great statesman and orator. From the moment Philip, by his projects upon so important a city as Olynthus, revealed a systematic and far-reaching ambition, Demosthenes saw at once that a new power had arisen, that a new Hegemony would be aimed at, that another Leuctra would have to be fought with a nation not hitherto counted for any thing in the politics of Greece. While others were still thinking of their old enemy, the great king, by whose aid Conon, her second Themistocles, had restored to Athens her walls, her fleets, and her maritime ascendant; and by whose aid again, Sparta had undone the work of Conon and sacrificed the interests, the independence, and the glory of Greece, by the disgraceful peace of Antalcidas, Demosthenes saw that Persia was among the things that had been, and that the real enemy was one much nearer home and never heard of before. He accordingly, as Isocrates says, spoke of nothing but Philip. It became a sort of monomania with him; but when, after the lapse of many years, his predictions had been fulfilled, all who mourned over the fate of republican Greece — bright and beautiful as, with all her faults, she had been in their eyes—did him, as we have said, a homage which nothing could ever diminish. He was accused of having behaved in a cowardly manner at Cheronea, and in a city full of sycophants (in the Greek sense) and personal enemies of his, sarcasms, accusations, and prosecutions of all sorts rained down upon him. In vain. The very men whom he was accused of deserting in battle, chose him, while their wounds were

yet bleeding, in preference to so many other orators, to deliver the funeral oration over the brave that had fallen in that battle. This is a most remarkable fact; Æschines speaks of it in words of stinging severity; yet it was in obedience to the commands of the people; a jury of the vicinage, who must have witnessed the dastardly conduct imputed to him, as they had suffered from his ill-fated counsels, that he performed this equally distinguished and delicate duty. There is, perhaps, no parallel to this, every thing considered, in the history of any other great man. He was baffled, disappointed, fallen, ridiculous in the eyes of the opposition, odious as the cause, however innocent, of such terrible calamities; without a party, for it was defeated, without a country, for it was conquered, and yet, instead of being disgraced, he was more honored and popular than before. His eloquence, his zeal, his devoted and even fanatical patriotism, had raised the people up to the height of his own heroical spirit. speech of Lycurgus against Leocrates, who fled in terror to Rhodes after the disaster of Cheronea, shows how lofty and determined a spirit of resistance had taken possession of men's minds. When we consider the depth of corruption and profligacy in which Athens was sunk, we are filled with wonder at this conclusive evidence of the influence of De-He had "breathed a soul under the ribs of mosthenes. death"—he found the commonwealth, as Demades expressed it, the mere carcass of what it had been; he touched it with the fire of his genius, and it lived, and moved, and acted again, for a brief moment, as with its pristine vitality and vigor.

And let it be remembered that these effects were produced by speeches in none of which (as we have already had occasion to observe with regard to his private judicial arguments) does he condescend to any topics but the most elevated and ennobling. His rivals made a jest of his dwelling always on the glory of the past—on Marathon and Salamis, the Parthenon and the Propylæa. A modern writer * even censures his excessive freedom in chiding, nay, scolding the people. Seeking no personal ends, despising, from his haughty and morose temper, all favor, or protection, intractable, self-willed, looking upon his wonderful gifts themselves but as instruments to effect the objects of a life devoted to maintain-

* Wachsmuth, v. ii.

ing the ascendant of Athens in the Greek world, he spoke with the courage which disinterestedness always inspires. What had he to dread? Why should he dissemble fearful truths because they might be offensive to his audience? Was he to flinch from uttering counsels on which the salvation of the state depended, because they might bring odium upon himself-he, for whose proud self-esteem, nursed in studious solitude, popularity could never have had any very strong attractions? As to his successes as an orator, he was unwilling to speak except when the occasion demanded it, and then, Plutarch assures us, would sometimes refuse to do so without time for meditation, even though called for by the people; for his standard was the Ideal, and he knew what was due to a great subject and a refined audience. never could have entered into the heads of that audience, certainly it never occurs to his readers, that he would have received a compliment to his oratory, merely as such, in any

light but as an insult to his understanding.

But his sagacity in detecting the designs of Philip, his masterly policy in counteracting them, and the unrivalled grandeur and power of his eloquence, were all unavailing. The most superficial glance at the external history of that period, will convince any one that the struggle to save the democracy, however noble and heroic, was in vain. The bare outline of events, presented even by such a writer as Diodorus Siculus, is enough to establish that. His sixteenth book is a necessary corollary from the fifteenth. From the seizing by the Spartans of the citadel of Thebes in Olymp. 99. 3., until the battle of Cheronea, in Olymp. 110. 3., every part of Greece was a prey to perpetual war, revolution, and brigand-The life of Demosthenes, who, according to the prevailing opinion, was born in Olymp. 98. 4., covers this whole period. At the beginning of it we see Sparta at the very height of her despotic Hegemony in Greece. An insurrection, however, set on foot by a few Theban exiles, led by two of the greatest men, one of them, perhaps, the very greatest man of Greek history, subverts that domination so completely, that in a few years her most ancient dependencies are wrested from her, and her soil, for so many centuries undefiled by the foot of a foe, is overrun, and the Eurotas, according to the image of Demades, is startled, for the first time, by the trumpet of invasion. But the glory of Thebes descended with Epaminondas to the tomb, and the first holy war—

which, begun and carried on in sacrilege and plunder, raged for ten years together — completely reduced that city to extremities, and placed her, with all Greece, exhausted and spiritless, at the mercy of Philip, now admitted into the Amphictyonic council, and invested, as a member of that body, with authority to meddle with the politics of the confederacy. Meanwhile, the Social War breaks down the power of Athens and cuts off all her resources, and with them the means of providing for her worthless population, hitherto fed by what may be called her colonial and federal dependencies, and of paying the mercenary troops, into whose hands the fate of nations had now passed. These selfish adventurers, whose country was their camp, and whose only fidelity was to the best paymaster, swarmed over the whole face of Greece. Citizen-soldiers—a truth Demosthenes did not see were no longer fit for serving in war, become an art under the new tactics of Iphicrates and Agesilaus. That Philip, with his treasury filled by the gold mines of Thrace, with an army experienced and devoted to him, with lieutenants like Parmenio and Antipater to execute his plans, and himself, like Napoleon and Frederick II., that most formidable of all adversaries, a sovereign generalissimo, should overthrow the democracy of Athens, even had her badly appointed troops been led by Chabrias and Timotheus, is surely any thing but astonishing.* But what sort of chance could she have, whatever might be the courage and the enthusiasm of her people, with her armies under the lead of such a creature as Chares? Nothing shows more clearly how ripe the times were for another, and a *final* revolution, than the fact recorded by Diodorus, that Jason of Pheræ, meditated, even in his day, when Chabrias, and Iphicrates, and Timotheus, were in the height of their successes, the conquest of Greece, and counted on effecting his object by means of mercenary forces, whom he justly preferred to the militia of his country for the purposes of offensive war.

If the impression made upon us by the external history of Greece at this period is so unfavorable, a view of its internal condition would fully confirm it. But our space does not permit us to do justice to such a topic, and we have already, in the course of our observations, been compelled to say much of the deplorable corruption of the times.† The ora-

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<sup>See what Demosthenes says, De Coronâ, \$ 65.
See generally Isocrates de Pace, especially \$ 27, sq.
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tions of Demosthenes and Æschines alone furnish abundant proof of it — especially that of the latter against Timarchus. The familiarity with which the orators charged each other, and the highest personages in society and the state, with the most flagitious crimes - with bribery, perjury, murder, and things not to be mentioned to Christian ears—is not more shocking than the cynical levity with which many of them confess and make a joke of their own dishonor. But the people of Athens had lost their personal identity, so to express it; they were no longer the Autochthones, so proud of their illustrious origin, of former times. As degenerate in race as in manners, they were steeped in the vices of ambitious poverty. The only way to fortune was politics or war - only two forms of piracy - and they served as mercenaries in both. The robbing of temples was a characteristic of the times, and led - especially that of the temple of Delphi—to important consequences. They ceased to be safe depositories of treasure, and bankers were ever after resorted to for that purpose, while the gold and silver formerly hoarded in them was suddenly thrown into circulation as money, and served to stimulate the cupidity and maintain the disorders of a piratical generation. But more than all that, the great basis of all social order, religious faith or fear, was subverted by the profanation of its holiest objects. One additional circumstance is too important to be overlooked. It is said that Alexander restored to their respective cities not less than thirty thousand exiles, who lived, like the fuorusciti of the Italian republics, an army of outlaws, ever ready for any mischief. In short, civil society was in a state of dissolution; this war of all against all, can endure no where a moment longer than it is absolutely unavoidable; and who can wonder, as Schlosser remarks,† that even such a man as Phocion preferred Philip, an educated Greek, a Heracleid, and a constitutional monarch, to some bandit, and, perhaps, barbarous chief — the Sforza of his time — who would probably have succeeded, had he failed in his prospects of conquest?

The private character of Demosthenes appears in his speeches. It so happens, as we have seen, that of some of the most remarkable of these, his own conduct, feelings, and

† Geschichte der Alten Welt. 1 Th: ii. and iii Abth.

[•] The elder Dionysius, the tyrant, was famous for his sacrilegious depredations.

interests, were the principal subject. His contests with his guardians, with Midias, with Æschines, exhibit him to us as in a dramatic autobiography. But independently of this immediate relation between the author and his works, his eloquence, distinguished as it is by every excellence, is for nothing more remarkable, than for its spirit - its living spirit* - it is full of soul, to use a familiar but expressive phrase. From its sublime character, therefore, we may be sure, that whatever may have been his practice and conduct, his natural impulses were all as high as his sensibility was deep and exquisite. He teaches us how to appreciate him fairly, when he demands of Æschines that he should judge him, "not by comparison with the men of other times, but with those of his own day." Plutarch, referring to this standard, gives the palm to Phocion alone of all his contemporaries, to whom we ought to add Lycurgus the orator, a man who seems to have lived and died without reproach, although he had been for twelve years entrusted with the management of the public treasury at Athens, and been made the depositary of immense sums on private account, and who, it deserves to be added, throughout the whole course of his life, adhered steadfastly to the party of Demosthenes. This last has found strenuous champions in the great German critics of the pre-They will admit nothing against him except some sent day. natural frailties of a venial character. The two capital vices with which antiquity charged him, and which, even Plutarch, with some hesitation, seems to concede, were cupidity and cowardice. It is now considered as settled, that the crime of having been bribed by Harpalus, has, notwithstanding the judgment of the Areopagus, under Macedonian influence, been completely disproved; but Westermann admits that he received considerable largesses from the Great King. denies, however, roundly, that this is any proof of corruption; they were, according to him, mere subsidies, intended to be used against the common enemy. His defence of Demosthenes reminds us of that set up by M. Thiers for Mirabeau, when that needy patriot made terms with the court, and determined on arresting (if possible) the farther progress of the revolution. Bribery, says the casuistical historian, is the wages of treason and prostitution, not the recompense of

^{*} Dionys. Halic. π. τ. λ. Δημοσθ. δεινοτητ. and compare what the philosopher Panætius apud Plutarch Demosth. says of his orations, extolling every where the τδ καλον for its own sake,

services prompted by previous inclinations and independent Demosthenes has a still higher example to excuse his conduct in this particular. It is the better opinion, according to Hallam, that most of the leaders of the exclusionists in 1678 — Algernon Sidney among them — who figure in Barillon's accounts with his court for secret service money, did, in fact, receive from Louis XIV. rewards for their efforts against a popish succession.† Nothing, however, could be more venial in the eyes of every good Athenian, than to reduce, by any means, the exchequer of his Persian ma-Iphicrates, when accused of having taken a douceur of the kind, openly confessed it, and said, amidst shouts of approving laughter from the mean and profligate Demus, that the best way to make war on the barbarians was to send, not armies to invade their territory, but ambassadors to pocket their money.

The charge of effeminacy and want of courage in battle seems to be considered as better founded. Plutarch admits it fully. His foppery is matter of ridicule to Æschines, who, at the same time, in rather a remarkable passage in his speech on the Crown, gives us some clue to the popular report as to his deficiency in the military virtues of antiquity. Who, says he, will be there to sympathize with him? Not they who have been trained with him in the same gymnasium? No, by Olympian Jove! for in his youth, instead of hunting the wild boar and addicting himself to exercises which give strength and activity to the body, he was studying the arts that were one day to make him the scourge of the rich.! Those exercises were, in the system of the Greeks, for reasons which we had occasion to develop in a number of this Review already referred to, considered as absolutely indispensable to a liberal education. \ That of Demosthenes was certainly neglected by his guardians, and the probability is, that the effeminacy with which he was reproached meant nothing more than that he had not frequented in youth

6 Teren. Eunuch. II. 3. 23.

^{*} Hist. de la Révolut. Française. This is the maxim of the civilians. Turpiter facit quòd sit meretrix, non turpiter accipit cum sit meretrix. Another point of resemblance is, that Mirabeau refused many challenges without losing caste with his party.

[†] Constitut. Hist. of England, v. ii. p. 547, 8. He excepts Russell and Hollis: the latter declined, the former was not insulted with an offer.

[†] Cont. Ctesiph. § 94. As to his soft garments, Æsch. cont. Timarch. § 26. cf. The pseudo-Plut. X. orat. in Demosth.

the palestra and the gymnasium, and that his bodily training had been sacrificed to his intellectual. That he possessed moral courage of the most sublime order is past all question; but his nerves were weak. If the tradition that is come down to us in regard to his natural defects as an orator is not a gross exaggeration, he had enough to occupy him for years in the correction of them. But what an idea does it suggest to us of the mighty will, the indomitable spirit, the decided and unchangeable vocation, that, in spite of so many impediments, his genius fulfilled its destiny, and attained at last to the supremacy at which it aimed from the first. His was that deep love of ideal beauty, that passionate pursuit of excellence in the abstract, that insatiable thirst after perfection in art for its own sake, without which no man ever produced a master-piece of genius.* Plutarch, in his usual graphic style, places him before us as if he were an acquaintance aloof from the world; immersed in the study of his high calling, with his brow never unbent from care and thought; severely abstemious in the midst of dissoluteness and debauchery; a water drinker among Greeks; like that other Agonistes, elected and ordained to struggle, to suffer, and to perish for a people unworthy of him:

> "His mighty champion, strong above compare, Whose drink was only from the liquid brook."

Let any one who has considered the state of manners at Athens just at the moment of his appearance upon the stage of public life, imagine what an impression such a phenomenon must have made upon a people so lost in profligacy and sensuality of all sorts. What wonder that the unprincipled though gifted Demades, the very personification of the witty and reckless libertinism of the age, should deride and scoff at this strange man, living as nobody else lived, thinking as nobody else thought; a prophet, crying from his solitude of great troubles at hand; the apostle of the past; the preacher of an impossible restoration; the witness to his contemporaries that their degeneracy was incorrigible and their doom hopeless, and that another seal in the book was broken, and a new era of calamity and downfall opened in the history of nations.

• The words of Cic. de Orat. l. I. c. 30. What besides natural gifts shall be needed? Quid censes, inquit Colta, nisi studium et ardorem quendam amoris; sine que, etc. And see the same thing said of Demosth. Lucian, Encom.

We have said that the character of Demosthenes might be divined from his eloquence; and so the character of his eloquence was a mere emanation of his own. It was the life and soul of the man, the patriot, the statesman. highest attribute of all," says Dionysius, "is the spirit of life -το πνευμα - that pervades it." His very language dictates to a reader how it is to be uttered, and I should think it impossible (it is the same critic who speaks) that one with the sense of a brute, nay, of a stock or a stone, could pronounce his text without distinguishing the various meaning, and kindling with the changing passions of the master. first and great characteristic of Demosthenes, the orator. You see absolutely nothing of the artist: nay, you forget the speaker altogether: it is the statesman, or the man only, that is before you. To him, eloquence, wonderful as his was considered as mere rhetoric, is but an instrument, not, as in Cicero, a thing to boast of and display. This feature of his character has been well seized and portrayed by the author of a declamatory encomium on Demosthenes, ascribed to Lucian and printed among his works. Gesner and Becker after him will not consent to give it up; all we can say is, that if it is the work of the Voltaire of antiquity, Lucian was not Lucian when he wrote it. But, though too high-flown and exaggerated for its supposed author, it is a striking instance of the admiration in which the great orator was held by the Greeks in all ages. It is from him we borrow the phrase "the Homer of Prose," which describes so well the admitted perfections of Demosthenes as a writer. But it is not his style only that is extolled there. He admires his life, his administration, his truly touching and sublime death. He puts into the mouth of Antipater a supposed conversation in reference to this last event, in which he does justice to his great adversary in a magnanimous spirit, and regrets that he chose rather to die free and by his own hand, than survive a courtier for the favor, or a dependent upon the mercy of the conqueror. It consecrates for ever that tragical scene at Calauria, and leaves the image of the mighty orator upon the mind with the greatest pictures of fiction or history — with Œdipus at Colonus, or Marius sitting upon the ruins of Carthage. We cannot join with the author in his blasphemy against heaven for the trials to which the greatest men have almost always been subjected, and none more than Demosthenes. We know that sorrow is knowledge; that if in much wisdom there is much grief, the reverse is also true; and that adversity is the only school in which genius and virtue are permitted to take their highest degrees.

The second remarkable feature of the eloquence of Demosthenes is a consequence of the first: its amazing flexibility and variety. As he thinks only of the subject, so he always speaks like his subject. We have endeavored to illustrate this through the whole course of this paper. wanted to eradicate the false and pernicious idea that Demosthenian is synonymous with ranting. At times, no doubt, on extraordinary and exciting occasions, he forgot himself in a transport of passion, and raged on the Bema, as Plutarch has it, like a Bacchante. But we will venture to affirm, that when he did so, his audience was as little conscious of it as himself, partaking fully with him in the phrenzy of the mo-In general, he aims at nothing but the true and the natural. Hence, every thing is perfectly appropriate and fitting, and, in the almost infinite range of his speaking, from a special plea in bar or in abatement, (παραγραφη,) to the sublime and ravishing enthusiasm of the immortal defence of the Crown, every thing is every where just what it ought to be — "proper words in proper places." It is he that exemplifies Cicero's definition - Is enim est eloquens, qui et humilia subtiliter, et magna graviter, et mediocria temperate potest dicere.* And accordingly, he remarks farther, that he is fully equal to Lysias, to Hyperides, and to Æschines, in their respective excellences, while he adds to them, whenever occasion calls for them, his own unapproachable sublimity and power. Dionysius of Halicarnassus goes still farther. In a work written expressly to unfold the perfections of the diction of Demosthenes, (for he promised another and separate one upon his other excellences,) he shows, by a critical comparison of passages from the works of the orator with the most celebrated productions of other pens, that he was the greatest master of every style. He prefers him, for instance, to Plato, even in that kind of writing, in which the philosopher is considered as a model.

The third distinguishing peculiarity of Demosthenes as an orator is, that his greatest beauties consist not in words or tropes and figures of rhetoric, similes, metaphors, etc., which he seldom condescends to use, but in thought, and sentiment, and passion. The forms he delights in most are all adapted

+ Orat. c. 29, cf. 31.

to express these — to show the orator to be truly in earnest, and to enforce his opinions as matters of deep conviction with himself, and deserving to be so with his hearers. His grandest amplifications are only vehement reasonings. Hence, too, his occasional abruptness, and suddenness of transition and startling appeal, interrogatory and apostrophe—all the perfection of art because the dictate of nature, which Blair most absurdly censures as defects, as if the master of all style fell into such things because he could not help it. Cicero develops this topic at some length, and with his usual power of language, in one of his rhetorical works.* He represents his perfect orator, who is only an imaginary Demosthenes, as presenting the same topic often in various lights, and dwelling upon it more or less according to circumstances—as extenuating some things and turning others into ridicule — as occasionally deviating from his subject and propounding what he shall presently have to say, and when he has fully discussed any matter, reducing it into the shape of a rule or definition—as correcting himself, or repeating what he had said - as pressing by interrogation and answering his own questions—as wishing to be taken in a sense the opposite of what he seems to say—as doubting what or how he should speak -as dividing into parts, omitting and neglecting some points and fortifying others in advance—as casting the blame upon his adversary of the very things for which he is himself censured—as often deliberating with those who hear him, sometimes even with his adversary—as describing the manners and language of men — as making mute things speak [that is rare in Demosthenes]—as drawing off the minds of the audience from the true question before them—as anticipating objections which he foresees will be made—as comparing analogous cases—as citing examples—as putting down interruptions — as pretending to suppress or reserve something, or to say less than he knows—as warning those he addresses to be on their guard — as venturing at times on some bold proposition — as being angry, and even so far as to chide and rail - as deprecating, supplicating, conciliating - as uttering wishes or execrations, and using sometimes a certain familiarity with his hearers. He will, he continues, aim, at other times, at other virtues of style - as brevity, if the occasion call for it. He will bring the object often before their very



^{*} Orator, cc. 39, 40. Every reader of Demosthenes is familiar with such sentences as ονδε γρύ—πολλου γε και δίε, etc., thrown so naturally in the midst of the most splendid passages.

eyes, etc. etc. It is, indeed, in such ornaments of speech as these that the grand excellence of Demosthenes consists—it is by these that it becomes a thing of life, and power, and persuasion—a means of business—a motive of action—but there is never the least prettiness or rhetoric—nothing fine, or showy, or theatrical—nothing, in short, that can be spared, nothing that can be lopped off without mutilating

and weakening the body as well as deforming it.

And this leads us to consider a fourth characteristic of his eloquence — its condensation and perfect logical unity. It is not easy, perhaps, without extending these remarks farther than would be proper here, to make ourselves quite intelligible upon this subject to the general reader. But every one that has studied Greek literature and art will at once perceive that we refer to that unity of design, that closeness of texture and mutual dependence of the parts — that harmony of composition and exact fitness and proportion—in short, that αναγκη λογογραφικη, as Plato expresses it, which makes of every production of genius, a sort of organized body, with nothing superfluous, nothing defective in it, but every thing necessary to constitute a complete whole, answering perfectly the ends of its being, whatever those may be. What Cicero says of the Stoical philosophy† may be applied to the orations of Demosthenes. What is there in the works of nature where such a perfect arrangement and symmetry prevails, or in those of man, so well put together, so compact, so intimately united? What consequent does not agree with its antecedent? What follows that does not answer to that which goes before? What is there that is not so knit together with the rest, that if a single letter be removed the whole structure would totter? But, in truth, nothing can be removed, etc. We differ, therefore, entirely, with Lord Brougham, when, in one of the passages cited above, he speaks of this marvellous unity and condensation as a thing as much within the reach of mediocrity as of genius. It is, on the contrary, the perfection of Greek art, and the orations of Demosthenes are in this, as in every other respect, the most exquisite model of it.

Another excellence, that has been mentioned repeatedly in the course of the preceding remarks, remains to be particularly noticed. Not only do the orations of Demosthenes re-

* Plato Phædr. p. 264. c.

t De Finib. iii. 22.

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semble the great works of nature in this, that their beauty and sublimity are inseparable from utility, or more properly speaking, that utility is the cardinal principle of all their beauties, but there is still another analogy between them. is, that the grandeur of the whole result is not more remarkable than the elaborate and exquisite finish of the most minute details. Dionysius, in the essay so often referred to, aims to show that the orator was by far the greatest master of composition the world had ever seen. This critic may be relied on for such a purpose. His fault is, that he exacts in all things rather a pedantic precision and accuracy. short, he is hypercritical, and is too little disposed to make allowance for small blemishes, even when they are redeemed by high virtues, or to approve and relish the non ingrata negligentia — the careless graces of genius. But, in Demosthenes, whose eloquence makes him perfectly ecstatical in its praise, he searches in vain for a spot, however minute. He takes his examples at random, and finds every thing perfect every where. Certainly, in the critical comparisons which he institutes between him and Plato and Isocrates, it is impossible not to admit the soundness of his judgments. This prodigious perfection of style he affirms to have been a creation of the orator's. He had studied, he thinks, all the masters who had gone before him, and selecting from each what he excelled in, made up a composition far superior to any of its ingredients. Thucydides gave him his force and pregnancy, Lysias, his clearness, ease, and nature, Isocrates, his occasional splendor and brilliancy, and Plato, his majesty, elevation, and abundance. That Demosthenes studied, and studied profoundly, all these models, we have no doubt. Of Thucydides, especially, the tradition represents him to have been a devoted admirer. But eclecticism, imitation, was out of the question with him. Undoubtedly he was indebted to them for having done so much to perfect the instrument he was to use — the Greek language; and their beauties and defects were hints to him in the training of his own mighty and original genius. But that is all: had they never written, his works would not, probably, have been so unblemished in the execution, but they would infallibly have formed an era in literature, and displayed very much the same excellences that now distinguish them.

The instrument, of which we have just spoken, must not be lost sight of in appreciating the Greek masters, and espe1841.]

cially Demosthenes. When one reads the rhetorical works of Cicero and Dionysius, one cannot but perceive that the ancient languages, from their complicated and highly artificial structure, admitted of certain graces that cannot be aimed at, to any thing like the same degree, by any modern composition. One of these is harmony and rhythm. The effect which a polished and musical period (in the right place) had on the ears of an Attic, and even of a Roman assembly, is scarcely intelligible any where but in southern Europe. But there was immense difficulty in avoiding a vicious extreme in the use of this art. If it were not directed by the most exquisite taste and judgment, it became very offensive, and gave to a business speech the air of a mere panegyrical or scholastic declamation. Not only so, but nothing was harder to avoid than the uttering of a complete verse, and nothing was reckoned more vicious. In this, as in every other respect, Demosthenes is pronounced by Dionysius a perfect model of judgment and excellence. With a compass, a fulness, a pomp and magnificence of periods that distance the efforts of Isocrates in the same style, he displays such an inexhaustible variety of cadence, his tone is so continually changing with the topic, there is every where such an appearance of ease and simplicity, that while the ear is always charmed, the taste is never once offended. He takes care always of the great capital object of eloquence—the being, and seeming to be in earnest. For this reason it is, that he throws in occasionally those abrupt and startling sentences, so ignorantly censured by Blair. He thus avoids that concinnity which is too apparent and somewhat offensive in Cicero, who continually forgets his own maxim on this subject—that in all things sameness is the mother of satiety.*

That so great a master of the human heart as Demosthenes, that a statesman occupied with the gravest public affairs, that a political leader, excited even to fanaticism by the conflict of parties and the war of the popular assembly, should have time or even inclination to give a thought to such minutia of style, may seem, at first, strange. But it is not so. In the first place, this perfection was become nature with him by the time he made his first appearance on the Bema. That lamp had not been burning in vain, in deep solitude,

^{*} On this whole subject see Dionys. Hal. π. τ, λ, Δημοσθεν. δεινοτητ. § 33, et sqq. and Cic. orat. cc. 44-70.

from his early youth upwards. But, independently of that, it is a mistake to suppose that they whose writings and speeches have had the greatest sway over the minds of men, have been ever careless about the form and finish of their works. The very reverse is the fact. Franklin, Paine, Cobbett, Paul Louis Courier, Beranger, Swift - were all not only good, but exquisite, writers; minutely versed in all the secrets of the art of composition. And there is yet another instance, still more remarkable, as presenting more than one coincidence with Demosthenes. We mean J. J. Rousseau the master, the Socrates of the French Convention, whose frantic declamations were mere paraphrases or perversions of his political speculations. Never, perhaps, has a writer exercised a more terrible influence; yet look at his matchless style, and see what he says, in his Confessions, of his extreme slowness and labor in composition. Those pages which seem to have been filled up as with a flood of spontaneous, irrepressible passion, in "those burning ecstasies" of his, were the tardy product of years of deep and mature meditation; those musical periods, that natural, various, and abundant language of sensibility excited even to madness; they were not dropped there in a fit of Sibylline rage and inspiration, but weighed, and trimmed, and recast, and polished over with a most mechanical precision and pains-taking, hundreds of times, before they were sent forth to wring and agitate the hearts of men. Shall we wonder at the elaborateness of Demosthenes, in the midst of by far the most cultivated people (we mean, of course, in reference to art) the world has ever seen? No better proof is needed of their taste, than the pains he took to satisfy it; his master-pieces were such because they required them to be so; and, both by his efforts to please them and his success in doing so by works matchless in every perfection, he is the pride and glory, as he was the idol, of the democracy of Athens.

One thing more, and we have done. These speeches, however elaborately composed, were still speeches. Every thing is done to give them an air of business, and the appearance of being the spontaneous effusions of the moment. No extemporaneous harangues were ever more free and natural.* They were made to be delivered—some of them before tribunals composed of many hundred judges, others before the

^{*} See cont. Timocrat. \$31. Cont. Mid. \$22, and F. A. Wolfe, ad Leptin. \$18.

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ecclesia itself, all of them in vast assemblages of people. Under such circumstances, in animated conflicts with able and eloquent adversaries, a graceful, impressive manner, a clear, audible, passionate voice, and all the other attractions of delivery, were highly necessary. His own repeated failures, on account of some defect from personal disadvantages in this way, led him to utter the sentence so often repeated since, that to an orator the one thing needful is good "acting." This comprehends the management of voice, air, countenance, gesture, movements upon the Bema, and the attainment of the perfect self-possession, sure tact and nice sense of propriety necessary to it. The art of delivery was rendered peculiarly important at Athens, by the extreme impatience and intractableness of the audiences. We see evidence of this in all the remains of the orators. Whole pages of the very prepossessing opening of Æschines, on the Embassy, are deprecatory of prejudice and unwillingness to hear argument. Many other examples might easily be cited. In this, as in every other excellence of his art, Demosthenes was without a rival; and his perfection here, too, must be described by the same epithets — he was natural and in earnest. His most formidable rival acknowledged this by describing him, as he does, as a magician or juggler in oratory, and as one whose passions are so much under his control that, when occasion demands it, he can cry more easily than others laugh. On this subject, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the essay already cited, after describing the effects of these orations upon him, adds, "If we, at such a vast distance of time, and no longer feeling any personal interest in the subjects, are so agitated, and controlled, and carrried about in every direction by his eloquence, how must the Athenians and other Greeks have been led by the man then - when they were in the midst of the real struggle so vitally touching themselves, and he was delivering his own language with the dignity that belonged to him, and the courage of an elevated spirit, adorning and enforcing every thing with a suitable delivery, (of which, as all confess, and as is indeed evident from the very tone of his speeches,‡) he was the greatest master.

‡ π. τ. λ. Δημοσθεν. δεινοτητ. \$ 22.

^{*} Yworpisis — not "action," as it has been improperly translated. The best essay, beyond comparison, we have ever met with, upon delivery, is in the author ad Herenn. 1. iii. cc. 11. 15; the great object of all is to seem in earnest—ut res ex animo agi videatur.
† Æsch. de Fals. Legat. § 20 and 27, calls him yons, cont. Ctesiph. § 71.

Such was Demosthenes, the Man, the Statesman, and the Orator. If what we have written from impressions made upon us by a long and rather intimate conversation with the great original, should be found, as we flatter ourselves it will, to place some things in his history and character in a new or more striking light, to the general reader, we shall be most amply rewarded for the pains we have been put to in writing this article. In conclusion, we give it in as our experience, that the trouble (certainly not inconsiderable) of acquiring a competent knowledge of Greek for that purpose, is far more than compensated by the single privilege of reading Demosthenes.

The remarks we proposed making on the Epimetrum of M. Westermann, and Lord Brougham's admiration for the spurious speeches, are, for want of space, necessarily omitted here.

ART. II.—Report of George Plitt, Special Agent of the Post-Office Department, February 3, 1841. Ordered to be printed by the Senate of the United States, Twenty-sixth Congress, Second Session.

THE post, in common with other great agents of civilization, has attracted much attention within the last half century. The main object of this vast institution — peculiar to our own race—if we consider it in its great perfection, as now seen among several modern nations, is the transmission of letters or facilitating the communication between persons who are distant from one another. This communication is the more perfect, the more rapid, safe, cheap, and general it is made. Despatch, safety, cheapness, and the most general possible ramifications of the post establishment, have, therefore, received the greatest attention. Some nations are far more favorably situated, to attain a high degree of perfection with regard to all these points, than others. Great Britain, for instance, with a comparatively small, yet thickly-settled territory, in which the number of letters to be transmitted is very great in proportion to the extent of mail route to be travelled over, can effect cheapness, safety, and an extensive ramification, far more easily than Russia or the United States,

with their vast and thinly-peopled territories. The peculiar form of government, with its various powers and police regulations, and a variety of other circumstances, may, likewise, greatly aid or impede a rapid development of this important institution. Nations less favorably situated in regard to these peculiar points, or which, upon the whole, attain advantages far greater, by the absence of one or the other agent, which, nevertheless, may have been of essential service in carrying the post establishment to a high degree of perfection with other nations, do well, therefore, to follow in this, as in all other cases, the wise maxim, "Try all things, and hold fast to that which is good," so as to reap the fruits which civilization may have borne in other regions, without necessarily incurring the same risks or sacrifices. Civilization is a great and common cause, which requires to be ever watchful, never disdainful - to observe and learn with zeal and attention. and to adapt and modify with caution and wisdom. Kendall, therefore, acted wisely when post-master general, in sending Mr. Plitt to Europe, as we learn from the report whose title we have placed at the head of this article, "for the purpose of collecting and reporting useful information in relation to the mail arrangements, which long experience, as well as modern improvements, have introduced into the post-office establishments of the principal nations on that continent." Mr. Plitt, who had practically prepared himself for this mission by a service of seven years in our post department, left New York in the month of June, 1839, and returned in August, 1840, after having "visited the postoffice departments of England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Saxony, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, and the free Hanseatic cities of Frankfort, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck."

Mr. Plitt, as was to be expected, was every where liberally and kindly furnished with all possible information, and enabled to make, in the month of November, 1840, his valuable report, containing the chief regulations and organization of the most important post establishments, with many interesting statistics relating to the communication by letters of civilized man. It concludes with some remarks of Mr. Plitt's referring to the abolition of certain abuses, and with some propositions of improvements in our post establishment, which, brief, as they are, [they occupy but five pages,] seem to us fully to deserve the attention of our legislators.

We refer to them with the greatest satisfaction, as, in regard to most of them, we had come to the same conclusion before we had the judicious report before us. To others we could not but readily assent at once; from a few we feel bound

partly to dissent.

It was natural that Mr. Plitt should treat of the mail arrangements alone; in other words, that the mechanical transportation of letters and papers should form the only subject of his report. Such were his instructions, and, had he done otherwise, he would have exposed himself to censure for improperly travelling beyond the limits which his instructions, as well as his position, distinctly prescribed to him. It behooves us, however, as citizens deeply interested in the welfare of this great country, to consider the post establishment, also, in a different aspect.

In whatever light we may view this institution, it presents itself as a subject of the highest interest. Whether we consider it in a historical point of view, from the exclusive royal messengers in Persia, mentioned by Herodotus, to the grant of the post establishment, as an imperial fief, made by Charles V. to the princely family of Thurn and Taxis, and from that period down to the passing of the British penny-postage act; or, as the most striking example of the immense effects produced by the division and union of labor; or, whether we view it as but a division and chapter in the great history of the communion of men, and in connection with the history of roads and navigation, of writing and printing; or, as a striking evidence of growing mutual good-will among nations, and as one of the many blessings of their peaceful intercourse, and of international law; or, in its cheapness and regularity, as a peculiar index of modern popular politics; whether we contemplate the incalculable assistance it renders to commerce, the multiplied power and utility it gives to capital, the rapid exchange and consequent increase of knowledge, the immense effect, for weal or wo, which it lends to the press, and the fact, that by the assistance of a general postsystem alone, free governments, over large countries, can be made durable; or, on the other hand, the difficulties which arise for the cause of freedom from the vast additions of dependent functionaries, which an extensive post establishment makes indispensable, and the ready conveyance it offers to the party in power for the dissemination of its own party statements—a means of which the opposition is deprived;

or, whether we weigh it as one of the most efficient powers which promote emigration—the modern and peaceful substitution for the ancient and violent migration of nations;* or, lastly, whether we look at the freedom which it affords to the tenderest affections of friends separated by mountains and oceans—in short, whether we consider the post establishment in point of history, political economy, politics, ethics, or as the truest handmaid of writing and printing, it will always offer itself as one of the most deeply-interesting subjects to our reflection. A simple letter taken out of the postoffice of some obscure place in Iowa, say by an emigrant, and which had been dropped into the letter box, perhaps at a little town in Wirtemberg, does it not, as the emigrant holds it in his hands, with its many post-marks in different languages, and the numbers written upon it, indicating the different nations and governments standing in account with one another, actually form a symbol of modern civilization? A letter—an object so small that not unfrequently it is mislaid in our common household affairs, is dropped into a letterbox, unprotected by the two directly interested persons, and carried thousands of miles, by one nation after another, until, at last, it reaches an humble individual, known but to a few neighbors around him. What order, what a chain of trust and confidence in one another, what degree of international good-will, how vast and systematic an arrangement - indeed, how gigantic must not an institution be to bring about such an effect, and which, extending over whole families of nations, is nevertheless able to carry its blessings into the meanest cottage!

Agreeable as the task might be to treat of it in every variety of aspect, we are necessarily obliged to confine ourselves to a few remarks. We dismiss all considerations except

^{*} It is not the information given by newspapers only which induces people to emigrate. Indeed, we doubt whether the newspapers contribute much towards it. It is private correspondence, sent by the emigrant to his former home, and there read by hundreds, that chiefly induces people to follow those that have preceded them. We happen to know numerous instances, and remember, at this moment, the effect which a letter from Indiana produced upon a large number of hearers in a Swiss tavern, where we had sought shelter, on one of our pedestrian journeys many years ago. The eagerness with which all listened, the desire of nearly all to be allowed to carry home the letter, the universal stir in the village, showed us at once, in a striking manner, that here we beheld one of the elements of history in active operation. We know but very few emigrant families who, in the course of a few years, have not drawn more or less near relations or other friends after them.

those which refer to the political bearing of the institution, indispensably acquired by the great number of functionaries and other employed persons, without whom it cannot obtain

the object for which alone it is established.

The two most energetic mechanical agents in the advancement of civilization are, the art of printing and the institution of the post, because they are the most active and efficient aids of communication between the absent and between the many. Both are, in their essential character, purely social, and not political. The art of printing is intensely active, without any particular protection or assistance on the part of government. The post establishment forms, indeed, in all civilized countries, a branch of government; but this is not owing to its inherent character. We might easily imagine it to be carried on by a private association, without its changing in any degree its essential character. This is actually the case in England, France, and, on a less extensive scale, with ourselves, in regard to the regular transmission of parcels, which, in many other countries, belongs exclusively to the post-office department. The post establishment, then, although carried on by government, differs from the purely political agents: for instance, the administration of justice, which ceases to be such the moment that it is no longer executed in the name of the state. Although there should be annually but a very few cases to be tried in a nation of several millions of individuals, still it would be indispensable to maintain the judicial branch of government; because trials by any other persons than public judges, established by the law of the land and acting in the name of the state, would be nothing more than private redress, revenge, violence, and oppression, and essentially not justice. The same is the case with respect to the collection of taxes or the whole legislative branch. Although there were but a single law to be passed during a session of the legislature, yet it would be necessary to convoke it, and to incur all the attending expenses, because an ordinance, pretending to be a law, but not made by the State through its public authorities, is not law.

No necessity, however, would exist of maintaining a post establishment, if there were but very few letters to be carried. If a post establishment did not support itself, and the people were not convinced of its importance, it would be right to abolish it altogether; yet that state would have lost none of its essential attributes as a state. There are indeed

many states, as we all know, which have no post establishment, but which, nevertheless, are to all intents and purposes sovereign states.

The post is, nevertheless, almost universally treated as a branch of government, by civilized nations, because it is believed that so extensive and ramified a system, the whole value of which consists in its safety, speed and cheapness, cannot be carried out with the necessary despatch and avoidance of clashing interests, except by the general government of the land. This seems to be universally acknowledged; yet it ought to be remembered that all these requisites are not originally of a political character. They are no more so than the reasons for which a government may consider it advisable to manufacture some article, for instance, gunpowder or salt. Once more, then, the post is essentially a social and not originally a political agent. It is no attribute of the state,* such as the power of making war and peace.

The action of all agents essential to the progress of civilization, necessarily becomes more intense with every progressive step of civilization; and if we consider the post with reference to free nations, two subjects of great magnitude offer themselves at once to our consideration.

First, the further society advances, the more important becomes the post establishment, because the want of communication increases. This has a twofold effect. While the necessity of safe, rapid, and unimpeded communication increases, the establishment itself, viewed as a separate institution, gains in extent, organization, and power. The number of functionaries must needs increase, as likewise the extent of territory over which this organized and dependent host of affiliated officers, in constant direct communion with their central officer, steadily spreads further and further.

Secondly, it is a necessary consequence of civil liberty, that administrations—that is, the body of men who are charged with the chief execution of all the laws which have no specific reference to the Mine and Thine, or to crime—must more frequently change than in enlightened absolute monarchies. Indeed it is not assuming too much, if we say that civil liberty, practically speaking, partly consists in this

^{*} One post establishment may exist for many independent states. In Germany, the family of Thurn and Taxis, as we have mentioned, held formerly the post-office as a fief, given them by the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, and they continued to hold it long after the different German states had become independent.

more frequent change; for opposition is an essential and vital element of civil liberty, and opposition without these possible changes would have little or no meaning. changes, however, imply also changes of officers extending farther than the mere change of the heads of departments. They are either necessary, or naturally to be expected from the weakness or passion of man. We have, on another occasion, so fully expressed our ideas of the demoralizing effects of indiscriminate removals from office merely for political opinions, and of the disastrous consequences of party aristocracies, haughtier, more arrogant and uncompromising than any other, that we have no fear of being misunderstood when we say that there cannot be the same certainty of remaining in office among free nations as in states in which the people have no political opinion. There can be no parties in these countries, because no opinion upon which parties divide can be distinctly expressed, or assume a substantial character. Hence few removals, for decided difference of political opinion, from places which require political confidence or an agreement of political views and principles, can take place. We see, however, in these states, likewise, that if any opinion happens broadly and distinctly to divide the people, be that on political, religious, or whatever other grounds, consequent discharges and new appointments do take place. Liberty, then, necessarily implies a greater power to remove functionaries than absence of liberty. Yet this power of removing produces unavoidably many evil consequences. It is apt to enslave the officers; to saddle upon the people an insolent oligarchy of placemen, bound to their administration by the strong ties and potent interests of pecuniary dependence and party spirit, acting in concert, because they form an organized corps—an oligarchy which may turn the very means which it receives from the people, their money, into a means against the people's interest, and even against the free expression of their opinion upon the existing administration; they may, to be brief, materially and scandalously interfere with the elections, and yet, to use the words of Chatham, "a pure election is one of the two great abutments of the arch of liberty." This consideration becomes the more serious when we remember that, in politics as in war, a small but well organized body may successfully cope with large but undisciplined masses. It has been found necessary, therefore, to place some whole classes of public agents beyond the power

of changing politics; as, for instance, judges, because the objects for which they are appointed are unconnected with

the changeable measures of politics.

If we consider the two points just exhibited, we shall find, that, on the one hand, the advance of social civilization augments the number of post officers, while, on the other hand, advancing political civilization demands as much freedom from the party action of officers as possible. Again, the more society advances, the more deeply it is interested in the utmost despatch and safety of the transmission of letters and papers, which consists both in their being really transmitted, and, if transmitted, in their not being read by any one except the person to whom they are addressed; while, on the other hand, the safety is in the same degree endangered, in which the hierarchy of officers becomes a united band of salaried dependents, with an overruling party interest.

It is of great importance, therefore, for every free nation, that all agents who are not essentially political officers, be removed as far as practicable from the direct action of party politics, and that every where and by every one the great difference between a purely executive officer and all other agents which may happen to be in the pay of government, be strictly kept in view. In regard to none, however, have these remarks so much force, as with reference to the post officers; because they are, correctly speaking, no political agents, and yet form a more systematic and extensive corps than the officers of any other branch of the civil service; the post establishment has no claim whatever to any political influence, and yet, owing to its organization, it may acquire a most fearful one. Society wants and wills a post establishment, and gives it to government for the sole and only purpose of having letters and papers safely, quickly, and cheaply transmitted; and for no other earthly purpose whatever.

In addition, it may be remarked, that the value of the whole post establishment must always depend, in a very great degree indeed, upon confidence, upon honor. It would seem impossible to contrive any system by which the absolute safety of so small an object as a letter, wholly unprotected for a long time by the two personally interested individuals, the writer and the receiver, can be effectually secured. The strictest honor and conscientiousness of all the post officers must always form an indispensable ingredient of the

whole establishment. That moment, however, when the post officers come to be appointed on account of any indirect, yet very powerful considerations, and not solely for the conscientious and honorable transmission of what they receive, that confidence must be greatly impaired. We do not theorize. We speak of facts. What a keen police has effected at times in Europe, regardless party spirit has occasionally effected with us.

It appears, from all these considerations, that the Post, although it ought to continue under the public superintendence, ought, nevertheless, to be treated as a strictly social agent, as far as this is possible in concert with the other demand of its being carried on by government. In order to attain these opposite demands, the following suggestions may, possibly, be of some service. They are given as mere suggestions, and with great deference, not without appreciating the difficulties which may be in the way of putting

them into practice.

The post-master general ought, perhaps, no longer to be a member of the cabinet. He has nothing to do with politics, as little as a chief justice of the Union; and however important a political officer he may be in an absolute government, in order to control or inquire into the communication which is going on between the subjects, the citizens of a free nation want him in no other capacity than that of the chief conductor of the simple business of transmitting their correspondence. He might be appointed by the President, for a fixed time, say eight years, removable in the mean time only either by regular impeachment, as at present, if he be guilty of gross malversation, or by a vote of two thirds of the senate, if his removal become desirable, without any gross dereliction of duty being chargeable to him. He certainly ought to be independent, it would seem, in a degree, upon the executive, yet the character of his office does not require so decided an independence as that of the ministers of the law.

If, in addition, all the other post-masters, to be appointed as heretofore, shall be likewise removable as heretofore, with this addition, however, that the post-master general should be obliged to communicate to the senate his distinct reasons for the removal of any person in his department receiving a salary above a fixed sum, something, perhaps, might be gained toward diminishing the party abuses to which otherwise a corps of thousands of salaried men, removable at the

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which may or may not evict—laws, which in a degree prevent the existence of the power to influence, we can never hope for an effectual and lasting check against this threatening danger—a danger, so much the greater, as one bold abuse renders a subsequent deviation from what ought to be

the true principles of political action, almost indispensable. It has been proposed that no placeman, who is appointed with the consent of the Senate, should be removable without it. This does not seem by any means desirable. The public service requires very frequently the removal of functionaries, although it would not be possible to substantiate a charge against them, such as might be sustained before a deliberative body, whose cautious action is purposely intended to be the result of various and opposing views. If a measure of this sort were adopted, functionaries would feel so secure in their berths, that new and equally serious evils would soon spring up. There are not a few citizens who know how they were treated by post-masters, because the latter felt sure that complaints coming from men belonging to the then opposition would not be easily listened to.

We have thought, therefore, that a law, obliging the post-

^{*} Lord Chatham was requested by Sir William Proctor to lend him "his assistance at the next Middlesex election," August 6, 1768. Chatham "begged to acquaint Sir William, that he had constantly declined meddling in elections." The underlining is Chatham's.—Chatham's Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 332.

master general to state to the Senate his reasons for the removal of the more important officers in his department, might obviate both evils. It would leave him sufficient latitude for removals of unfit persons, and yet would check merely arbitrary ones; except, indeed, in cases of extreme party violence, when a post-master general might, perhaps, boldly state what he knew to be unfounded. But there are extreme cases in every sphere of human action, against which nothing can protect, except public opinion, which must be the last resort in all public actions. No law alone can provide against all possibilities. Our remarks regarding the removal of functionaries have reference, of course, to those officers only whose essential efficiency does not consist in the counsel they are expected to give to their superior, in the confidence, therefore, which the latter may have in their judgment, such, for instance, as the cabinet ministers. They, as a matter of course, must be freely removable by their superior, lest the whole efficiency of the government machine would be destroyed.

We now return to Mr. Plitt's report. The suggestions which that gentleman makes, relate to an entire abolition of the franking privilege; to a postage to be regulated entirely by weight; to a reduced postage, of which there should be but two rates; to a pre-payment of all letters as well as of newspapers and all printed matter; and, finally, to the ap-

pointment of special agents and mail guards.

Our readers are well acquainted with the fact that a uniform penny-postage has been introduced into Great Britain. Correspondence in that country has, in consequence, greatly and steadily increased, so much so that many persons actually believe "that in another year the British post-office revenue will be nearly or quite as much as it was under its former organization;" of which opinion is Mr. Plitt, whose words we have quoted. We do not believe that this will be the case so soon, if ever; nor have we ever seen any strong argument in favor of so extravagantly low a rate of postage, unless it be this: that those who recommended it actually expected that the mail establishment could fully support itself by so low a rate, which, indeed, is the only standard by which the postage ought to be regulated — the cheaper it is the better. Not a few believe, as we see from the British papers, that it will be necessary to raise again the postage; say to three pence. However this may be, it is certain

that our great distances and thin population, which makes proportionately far more officers and post routes necessary than a dense population, does not allow of so great a reduction. Our idea had been, that there ought to be two rates, according to distance, at twelve and a half cents and at six and a quarter cents. Mr. Plitt proposes five cents for a single letter, or weighing not more than half an ounce, for any distance under five hundred miles, and ten cents for any distance above five hundred miles. We willingly agree with this proposition, except that we would say, five cents for single letters under two hundred miles, instead of five hundred In principle, this is as just as the original proposition, which establishes but two rates, one for all distances under, and one for all above five hundred miles, thus making the postage for short distances proportionably the dearest. vantage gained would be this: that the correspondence between many of our largest cities would bring ten cents instead of five, a consideration, we believe, of much importance in a country like ours, in which the population is not only thin, but very unequally distributed, and where, consequently, the populous parts must needs pay, in a great measure, for the establishment in the less populous parts. The advantage, nevertheless, is so great that no injustice is done to the populous parts. The post establishment knits the nation together, propels and invigorates trade and industry, and makes wealth flow to large cities in a variety of ways. The post is so general and necessary an agent of civilization, that every one is deeply interested in its greatest diffusion and cheapness. The well-known principle that cheapness increases consumption, and, ultimately, therefore, the revenue, applies, likewise, and in a very eminent degree, to the charges for carrying letters and parcels.* Still, it is a fact, that there is a line beyond which it is impossible to go with impunity. line can be ascertained by experience only, but ought to be ascertained, because we do not desire any revenue from the post, over and above the expenses of the establishment, which amounts always to a tax on industry, knowledge, or affection — the three subjects with reference to which the great bulk of all letters are written. All that our country desires of the post, is, that it carry as many letters as cheaply as

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Very interesting statements, respecting an increased revenue by decreased charges for carrying parcels by rail-roads, were lately made before a committee of parliament.

possible, and that it support itself. The vast increase of our population, and of its trade and consequent need of means of communication, since the present scale of postage was enacted, is another guarantee that a great reduction may be safely undertaken. We believe, however, that there would be not only no risk, but, on the contrary, a great increase of revenue,

which might be used for further extension.

The principle of making the postage of single or double letters depend upon weight, and not upon the number of sheets, seems, without contradiction, to be the only correct and fair one, especially in a country like ours, where, as was observed before, the object is not to obtain, by the mail establishment, a surplus revenue, to be applied to other purposes, but simply to carry letters and papers as cheaply and to as many different places as possible. It is for weight, we believe, not for volume, that the mail contracts are made; nor does the increase of weight, with reference to paper, allow of any very disproportionate increase of volume.* Still, we think Mr. Plitt is right, in proposing to adopt at once the rule that every thing sent by mail must be "of convenient size," great inconvenience having arisen in Great Britain from a want of this regulation, since the introduction of the penny-postage; but we cannot agree with the author of the report, that no package above a pound in weight should be mailed. It is, at times, of the most urgent importance to send heavy law papers by mail. We remember a case when a log-book was sent by mail to Washington, where it was requisite in a heavy insurance case, and for which the enormous postage was willingly paid by the interested party. On the other hand, we are acquainted with several cases, when gentlemen, being members of some committee of state legislatures on highly important subjects, wrote to distant friends for certain standard books, willing to incur the heavy postage rather than lose the advice or authority which they thought they would derive from such books, in which the case under their consideration had been thoroughly and dispassionately treated. If, with a postage such as has been proposed, there should still remain any danger that the mail might be overburdened, at times, with too bulky packages,



^{*} Freight is necessarily charged, all over the world, according to weight or bulk; because very small articles may weigh very heavy, and bulky goods may be very light. But this does not apply to paper, the almost exclusive substance sent by mail.

which we hardly think, the inconvenience might possibly be obviated by laying an additional postage on parcels weighing more than a pound, or being of a larger size than a certain standard volume.

The compound principle which we adopt at present, of charging light letters according to the number of sheets, but the heavier ones according to weight, seems to be awkward and inconsistent. An individual, in one of our largest commercial cities, has for years made a regular and lucrative business by establishing a sub post-office, as it were, at which he receives letters, charging for them by weight, and then making up a single large parcel of the whole of them. He pays his postage according to the established scale, founded upon weight for heavier letters, while the letter-writer gains, because the self-established sub post-master charges for a very light letter considerably less than the single postage fixed by law, yet a trifle more than the mere proportion of the postage established by weight would amount to. The sum of these differences makes up his profit.

Mr. Plitt proposes pre-payment for all letters, without exception, but this plan must of course be confined chiefly to those not sent beyond the limits of our own country, for it would be found very difficult by our post establishment to place itself in account with many foreign governments, owing to our great distance from them. Besides, what should be done with the many letters written from places where there is no post-office that can have an account with ours? What should our merchants in Canton, Muscat, California, and the Sandwich Islands do? or how can our post-office regulate its annual account with Porto-Rico, Buenos Ayres, Manilla, or Smyrna?

Great convenience, in many respects, would result from a universal pre-payment of domestic letters. If we adopt the judicious plan of adhesive stamps, now followed in England, and if they were sold at Washington by the thousand, at a certain liberal discount, very little money need be remitted by the post-masters to Washington, in order to settle their accounts. Many merchants and other persons would avail themselves of this advantage for their personal use. Stationers would buy sheets of adhesive stamps, or stamped covers, and carry them, in the course of trade, all over the land, as they do now letter paper. We should then have the simplest possible business of selling the stamps for ready money at Washington, instead of the complex business of remitting

money from many thousand places in the Union, and settling all these many accounts and counter-accounts, and at the same time greatly diminish the chances of defalcation. Post-masters, should they find it convenient, would likewise buy the stamps by the thousand, and make their lawful profit on the discount. Still, it seems to us that it ought to be left at the option of the correspondents whether they will pre-pay letters or not. order, however, to offer all possible inducement to pre-pay letters, the postage might be raised on unpaid letters, as is done in England. The postage for an unpaid letter might be raised to one and a half, or double the postage paid for a pre-There would be no injustice in this arrangement, since the post establishment would actually gain much by the ready money paid beforehand at Washington for the stamps bought by the thousand. It seems to us, at least, that fairness would require that such option should be left. There are many letters of inquiry written to persons who have no interest in either the question or the answer, further than that of serving a fellow citizen. Should, however, this consideration be deemed, upon the whole, as insufficient, we own that the plan of a universal and unconditional pre-pavment for domestic letters would offer many very great advantages. Whether we adopt the latter or a conditional pre-payment, the inconvenience arising out of the dead letters would be greatly diminished. The proportion of dead letters is probably far greater in the United States than in any other They have, for the last few years, annually country. amounted to about a million, when the number of all letters averaged between twenty and twenty-five millions. are several causes of this apparently surprising fact. population is more movable than that of any other country; we have an enormous influx of emigrants, who, for a time after their arrival, are unsettled, and whose friends abroad or here are frequently not correctly informed of their abode; our distances are greater, and the precise names of the residences of people not known at a great distance; and, lastly, new places and settlements spring up with great rapidity, while people take very little care to give new and peculiar names to the new places, nay, very frequently abolish old and good ones, and substitute others in imitation of existing We need only look at our gazetteers to see how many counties and towns of the same name there are in the Union. We find whole lists of Washington counties, and places called

Washington, or Jefferson, Columbus, Columbia, and others. This calling places by names no longer distinguishing has become a real evil, and although it is at times difficult to invent names - we find in the ancient Greek colonies a similar repetition of geographical names, though not, indeed, to the same extent — still some judicious rules might be adopted, which would make it easier to compound several distinguishing and even euphonious names—such rules as were proposed some years ago in an American work.* Legislatures of new territories ought to pay attention to this subject. It is not a mere matter of taste, wanting in taste as such names of places as Cato, Ulysses, Lysander, Memphis, or Rome, may be; it has become a matter of serious interest. A place nowa-days is as little distinguished from others by being named Washington, as a person is by the name of John Smith.

We knew, from the best source from which this information could proceed, that in the year 1837 there were about a million of dead letters. Mr. Plitt states nearly the same amount for the last year. Considering the increasing influx of emigrants, and rapid extent of population in the west, the number of dead letters will, we should think, much increase for a long time to come. The loss sustained by government

on these is very great. Mr. Plitt says:

"By the pre-payment of all letters, the number of dead letters would be greatly diminished, and thus the department would save a vast amount, in weight of unnecessary mail-transportation. At present, the average number of dead letters returned to the department quarterly amounts to about 275,000, which, at an average postage of fifteen cents for each letter, exhibits a loss to the department, quarterly, of \$41,250. These letters are collected from every section of the Union, and all of them carried twice in the mails, without the department being in the slightest degree benefited by their transmission."

We are aware that pre-payment would not wholly remove this evil, for there must be many foreign letters among the dead ones; but, allowing a large proportion for them, the evil would at any rate be removed in a very great measure.

The adoption of adhesive stamps would afford another great convenience. Our members of Congress have the franking privilege, which, as every one knows, has been carried to a great abuse. Mr. Plitt says on this subject:

[•] In "The Stranger in America." Philadelphia: 1834. Page 243, et seq.

"There is no desire to charge any particular class of individuals with an abuse of this privilege under the existing law; yet it is well known by every one having connexion with the department, that abuses do exist, and are of daily occurrence. It is a fact, within my own knowledge, that gentlemen high in office, not being able to frank as often as they desired, for want of time or some other cause, have actually procured substitutes to write their names; and yet these gentlemen did not suppose they were violating any law upon the subject. This I know to have been the case in a particular instance.

The actual number of franked packages sent from the post-office of Washington city during the week ending on the 7th of July last, was 201,534; and the whole number sent during the last session of Congress, amounted to the enormous quantity of 4,314,948! All these packages are not only carried by the department into every section of the country free of charge, but it is actually obliged to pay to every post-master, whose commissions do not amount to \$2,000 per annum, two cents for the delivery of each one! Supposing all the above to have been delivered, the department would lose from its revenue, for this one item, upwards of \$80,000, besides paying for the mail transportation. In addition to this, suppose many of these free packages are not called for, but remain in the offices until they are advertised, (for which two cents is paid on each.) then, if afterwards taken out, the delivery of such package actually costs the department four cents! Each one of the 13,500 post-masters in the Union, has the franking privilege to an unlimited extent as regards numbers, being only confined in weight. Suppose the average number to be one letter a day for each post-master which is sent free in the mail, the amount in one year would be nearly five millions; so that, taking this data to be correct, the department annually pays for the delivery of matter which it carries gratis about **\$**150,000!

"Besides this, many of these packages, even when taken out, are rarely read; for the reason, that the newspapers containing the same document or speech have anticipated their arrival. For instance: it is well known to every member of Congress, and to every one connected with a post-office, that, long after the President's message has been published in every newspaper throughout the whole country, and when there is reason to suppose there is scarcely a man in the Union who reads at all that has not seen it, thousands upon thousands are still sent daily under frank from Washington. It is thus, also, with the annual reports of the respective heads of departments, and with numerous reports and speeches made in both Houses of Congress. Were the franking privilege abolished, the postage upon letters would be greatly reduced, without any diminution of the revenue of the department. I am much mistaken in the patriotism of the gentlemen composing the present Congress, if they would not readily sacrifice a small personal privilege to effect a great public good."

The French deputies and peers have no franking privilege; in England it has been abolished for members of parliament since the establishment of the penny postage. Yet even with these instances, and the demonstration of the great abuse before us, we are not prepared to agree with Mr. Plitt in regard to a total abolition of the franking privilege. Our members of Congress stand politically, and, when at Washington, locally, in a different position from the representatives of other nations. But the abuse, it seems, might be wholly put a stop to, if a fixed number of stamps, making a liberal allowance for each day's correspondence, so long as the ses-

sion lasts, were delivered to every member.

Our author desires the postage of newspapers to be charged by weight, which we think highly proper, indeed, the merest justice would demand it. He thinks that the privilege of editors to receive exchange papers free of all postage, ought to be abolished, in which we are inclined to agree with him. Although the papers are vehicles of knowledge - not all, indeed, of useful knowledge — this is no proof why they ought to be so much privileged a vehicle. There are many other channels of knowledge, and of very important knowledge too, which are not privileged. Newspapers are daily or weekly letters, written to a number of persons at once. They may be good or bad, sound or vicious, as any other letters; and the intensity of their action is increased by the multiplying process of printing. This action may be good or bad; if, therefore, the community is believed to stand in want of newspapers, as we certainly believe it does, in a very great variety of ways, it is already going very far to grant them the privilege of a greatly reduced rate of postage. It does not strike us that those who prepare them, and derive profit from them, ought to be privileged in addition, by receiving their material gratis. Commerce is indispensable to every civilized community, to civilization and peace; and pricecurrents are indispensable for the merchant; yet they enjoy no such privilege. Mr. Plitt finally demands that all postage upon papers and periodicals should be prepaid. We own that many advantages, and some important ones among them, for the owners of newspaper establishments, would result from the adoption of this regulation. But it could not be carried out without an unconditional demand, on the part of the editors, of pre-payment of the whole sum due for a paper. This undoubtedly would ultimately be of the great-

est service to the whole of the periodical press; but we could only arrive at this result through a total revolution of this branch; and whether the disadvantages connected with such a revolution would not be too great, we are not at present prepared to say. Here, however, we would again propose conditional pre-payment. Let newspapers be charged according to weight, and make the difference between pre-paid and after-paid postage for them so striking that it would become a strong inducement for subscribers to send their money for the paper and the postage in advance to the editors, and we believe the latter would very gladly accept of such a law. It ought not to be forgotten that it is "printed matter" which weighs down our mails, causes frequently their irregularity, and great loss to the department. This, therefore, is in duty bound to use all lawful means to abolish the evil. amount of newspapers and other periodical publications remaining unclaimed in the offices is startling. Mr. Plitt gives the following

"Statement of the average number of newspapers remaining weekly in the post-offices of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, viz:—

					No. of papers.
In New York,	-	•	-	-	750
In Philadelphia,	-	-	-	-	400
In Boston,	-	•	•	-	500
In Baltimore,	•	•	•	•	400

The number of periodicals and other publications remaining dead in these post-offices is in about the same proportion. If the postage upon these papers and pamphlets had been paid in advance, the probability is that they would have been called for; or, if not, the department would at least have received its legal equivalent for their transportation. Suppose that the 13,500 post offices in the Union have a proportionate quantity of dead printed matter, respectively, and that all this could and would be excluded from the mails if pre-payment were demanded, what an immense weight would at once be taken away!"

We can only express our entire agreement with Mr. Plitt's advice to establish special agents and mail-guards. They exist in all the most civilized European countries, yet none of them stand so much in want of these functionaries as ourselves, owing again to our extensive territory, and the great variety of means of conveyance in this country. The safety of the delivery is at present wholly unguarantied.

In conclusion we would suggest to the consideration of

Congress the following points:—

Printed sheets, not belonging to periodicals, pay at present a very high postage. It is only in the most urgent cases that books can be sent by mail; on the other hand the mail is the only conveyance by which many people can obtain books. Should not this postage, therefore, be reduced?

Should not the department become responsible for money mailed, according to a certificate of a post-master in presence of a witness? We think the post-office, not only undertaking the carriage of letters, but prohibiting private citizens from establishing similar chains of transmission, is bound to make good these losses. The sum to be transmitted in this manner might be limited; and a stamp on the letter might indicate to the delivering post-master that there is money in the letter, and that he must demand a receipt for the delivery.

Lastly, would it not be advisable to adopt in our country, in which it is far more difficult to make payments of very small sums at a great distance, than in many other countries, the regulation which prevails in England, Prussia, and several parts of Europe, that money-orders, for a small amount, upon any post-master, may be obtained from any post-master upon paying the amount? In England sums under £5 may be thus transmitted. The small receipts of some of our country offices might not allow of so general an arrangement; but the post-offices might be easily divided into two classes for this purpose. Even though the sum thus allowed to be drawn by one post-master upon the other, should not be higher than ten dollars, we feel assured that even this would be of great convenience for the community.

Cheapness is one of the great objects of the mail; and both cheapness and regularity are greatly promoted by simplicity; for which reason we have recommended so urgently the plan of an advantageous pre-payment, and a discount on the buying of adhesive stamps by the thousand. We are fully aware that the last recommended measure would in a slight degree increase the complexity of business, rather than promote the simplicity, but it seems to us that the advantage accruing to the community would overbalance the inconvenience.

Note.—We have said nothing on the subject of conveying letters by private persons, because it seems scarcely to admit of any No. XVII.—VOL. IX. 12

discussion in the United States. The post-office is established for the convenience of the people, and for no other purpose. It is established in order to make the transmission of letters cheap, safe, and quick; and private persons are prohibited by law from making up mail bags between places which are connected by United States mails, because the post establishment is expensive, and must, in many parts, cost far more than it can yield. The whole, therefore, must be made to work together, lest the United States should be unable to carry the mail through thinly inhabited regions, had they not the sole privilege of carrying the mail in the densely inhabited parts of our country. But, if a person can get his letters carried cheaper, quicker, or safer, by private opportunity than the mail can do it, it would be very hard indeed, to prohibit him from doing so, and to force him to pay, where he may obtain the same service gratis. Besides, how should the prohibition be carried out? Shall we have police officers looking into our trunks? In principle as well as in execution, the law would be wholly repugnant to our feelings. We are well aware that the number of letters carried by private opportunities between some places — for instance, between New York and Boston — is enormous. And what of it? Have we ever declared that the carrying of letters was a privilege, a right, a prerogative of government; or, have we said to government, we cannot singly carry our letters, therefore, be our carrier? that government can do in this case, is fairly to enter into competition, and induce the letter-writer by reduced postage together with the less degree of trouble and greater certainty of speedy delivery, rather to send letters by public mail than by private hand. We were not a little surprised when, during the late administration, a paper universally understood to be the official organ, spoke of this conveying of letters by private opportunity, as a post defraudment. It required all the insolence of placemen, believing themselves safe, to utter such inconsistency in the United States. In all countries on the European continent, the transmission of letters by private opportunity is prohibited by a heavy fine, because there the post establishment is made use of to obtain a revenue, and is declared a prerogative of the crown. Do those gentlemen wish to imitate these governments? They may go further still. If one has travelled in Prussia with post-horses, and wish to take private horses, he must pay first a considerable fine, or wait three days, and no coachman can carry him more than a few miles without paying a certain sum to the post-office. These arrangements may do very well there, but to any one who would be daring enough to propose their introduction here, we should only say, it will never do for us.

Before, however, a post establishment complains of the enormous number of letters carried by private opportunity, it ought to see whether it fulfils the objects for which alone it has been founded. Does it carry the letters rapidly? There were several routes on which letters might be sent quicker by private opportunity. Does it carry letters safely? We know two commercial houses that ran a daily private mail between the two cities in which they were established. The heads of these houses have repeatedly assured us, that the saving of postage was no object; and, in fact, frequently the transmission of the box, with but few letters, costs far more than the regular postage would amount to. Their only object was safety; because they have almost daily to transmit valuable papers, and they dare not entrust them to the mail. Their fear was produced by many sad occurrences, and they consider themselves justified in thus acting against the law, because, as they believe, the post does not secure safety. Whenever party violence becomes the standard of claim for office, respectability, honesty, and efficiency must, of course, be disregarded—an effect most disastrous to post establishments.

- ART. III.—1. A New and Copious Lexicon of the Latin Language; compiled chiefly from the Magnum Totius Latinitatis Lexicon of Facciolati and Forcellini, and the German works of Scheller and Lünemann. Edited by F. P. LEVERETT. Boston: J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. pp. 996.
- 2. An Abridgment of Leverett's Latin Lexicon; particularly adapted to the Classics usually studied preparatory to a Collegiate course. By Francis Gardner, A. M., Instructor in the Public Latin School in Boston. J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. 1840. pp. 419.
- 3. An English-Latin Lexicon, prepared to accompany Leverett's Latin-English Lexicon. J. H. Wilkins and R. B. Carter. pp. 318.

The very great labor involved in the preparation of any book which professes to compare two languages, the idioms of which are so essentially different as are the English and Latin, demands for it a favorable consideration. When, however, as in the volumes named above, an attempt is made to go into the minutest details of the idiom, etymology, prosody, and, to a certain degree, of the syntactical grammar of the languages; to investigate classical habits, manners and philosophy; to study the turn of thought and the peculiarities of the literature of classical antiquity; to examine the strik-

ing features of its history and mythology; to discover the means of reproducing the master-pieces of the Latin language in all ages; and to present to us, in an available form, the results of such an investigation, embracing the collected labors of the most accomplished scholars who have ever devoted their attention to such subjects, it certainly deserves the careful examination, and, if successful, the warm admiration, of all who may have occasion to avail themselves of it-

We have no desire or intention to overrate the difficulties of the task. But we believe that we shall meet with no contradiction, if we assert that hardly any two languages could be selected from those of the ancient or modern nations of Europe, differing more in the arrangement of their idioms, the construction of their sentences, and the nature of the signification of their words, than do the Latin and English. The very nature of our own language is enough to induce such a difference. Its singular union of Teutonic and Celtic roots and dialects with that which it has borrowed from the Latin, gives to its distinctive features an aspect entirely different from that of any language which claims a more simple origin. We know the great difficulty which every foreigner experiences in his endeavors to acquire it; how much greater, then, must be the difficulty of collating its words, phrases, and constructions with those of any dead language!

We must be careful, also, to remember that a knowledge of Latin, such as to enable one to cope successfully with the difficulties of which we speak, is not an every-day affair. is one thing to read a Latin classic easily, even critically, and quite another to understand the details of the language and the several relations which they bear to each other. The rarity of this accomplishment may be perceived in the difficulty, which approaches an impossibility, experienced by every modern author who attempts to write in one of the dead languages. We believe that we speak quite within bounds, when we say that no person who has written in Latin since it ceased to be a living language, has succeeded in so exactly imitating his classical prototypes, that the modern date of his production would not be detected by a skilful classical scho-Nor is he thus detected merely from the over-nicety or precision of his language, as those sometimes are who use a tongue which they have learned by rule merely; but because it is impossible for any author so constantly to retain in mind the precise peculiarities of the signification and history of every Latin word, as always to use each one precisely in its proper place, although he may be able to detect many errors similar to his own in the works of another. Sir James Mackintosh has a remark on this point, which will, in a manner, illustrate our meaning. In his diary he says:—

"'Through thick and thin,'—'By hook and crook,'—'With might and main,'—were, in the time of Spenser, phrases admissible in poetry; if any writer, when English becomes a dead language, should mix these phrases with the style of Gray, he would make a jumble, probably resembling

our best Latinity."

This is undoubtedly true; and the particular examples given will be enough to suggest to the reader's mind many others, which would go far to add to the incongruity of this jumbled English. It is evident, then, that the mere circumstance, that many men can readily read and write in both English and Latin, is far from proving that there is, by any means, a general knowledge of the niceties of the comparison of the idioms of the two languages. The first of these acquirements is comparatively superficial and easy of attainment; the other is one which is perhaps never acquired by a single individual, and its results can only be arranged in a form suitable for general reference by the united labor of many scholars.

In mentioning, as we do, niceties of meaning and of idiom, and details of style and construction, we do not wish to deal in unmeaning general terms. If this were the proper place, we could adduce examples without number, to illustrate the niceties and details to which we refer. Any one who has the slightest knowledge of any of the dead languages, will understand their nature. To say nothing of the differences of the origin of the English and Latin languages — we see at once that nations, whose habits of thought, whose manners, history, philosophy, and politics, are of a nature so entirely different from ours, as were those of the ancient republics, must have had many entirely different ideas; and, consequently, a vocabulary of a nature entirely different from ours. Nations whose languages are formed on national characteristics, climate, and associations, at entire variance with each other, must have very different idioms and constructions. The attempt to compare them is not unlike that of teaching a deaf and dumb person, unused to any communication but by general signs, the manner of reading a written language. He wants that which makes it

so easy to others—the perfect familiarity with spoken words. In comparing a dead with a living language, we want the perfect familiarity with the ideas conveyed, and with the ancient habits of thought and expression, which we can have in the study of any of the modern languages. In thus speaking of the study of Latin, we mean, of course, its accurate and precise study. It may be superficially acquired, and to much profit, also, with as little labor as most lan-

guages.

Comparatively little assistance for the faithful execution of this task, can, from the nature of the case, be derived from the older English philologists. The very existence of a dictionary, as we now understand the word, was impossible, till within the three last centuries, before which period, many of the other branches of criticism, of much less importance than this, had attained a vigorous growth. It was not, indeed, till late in the seventeenth century that our language was so far settled, that any studies founded on its existing state at any particular period, would be of much use to subsequent critics; and long after that time, the minds of the scholars who turned their attention to such branches as lexicography, were so completely imbued with the spirit and idiom of a dead language, that they were not able to treat of their own in its Their English is, after all, rather a Latin-English, than the language which was used by their countrymen. far, too, as mere definitions of words are concerned, no direct information, of course, could be derived from ancient The Roman grammarians treated, at great length, and in detail, of the construction of their language, and the powers of its several parts; modern grammarians, therefore, have had something ancient on which to build their labors; but, excepting this, the lexicographer has no direct aid, but is obliged to obtain his results by a constant, persevering application to the whole field of classical study.

The mere creation of a vocabulary, however, in which the definitions of the words in one language shall be explained by corresponding words in another, is, as we have implied, but the smallest part of his labors. Any treatise on synonyms, or any course of classical reading, will show how nice are the shades of meaning between different words; these shades it is his duty to point out with care, that the student may not be misled so as to misunderstand the real relation between different words in the same language. Again; he will find

many words which will have no correlative terms in English; these he must explain as he best can by circumlocution. He will find, also, that one party of philosophers use a certain set of words in one sense, while another party give them quite a different one; and the causes and results of this difference come into his field of inquiry. The words which he will have to explain will frequently be technical terms, and here, if he does his duty thoroughly, he will attempt to exhibit their origin and real signification. Locke, in speaking on a similar subject to that before us, alludes to this difficulty —of expressing in one language names of objects and terms in art unknown to the people who use another — and suggests that small pictures might be advantageously introduced into our lexicons to explain the meanings of words which have no correlative terms. If the lexicographer does not adopt this somewhat clumsy expedient, he will find himself obliged to make a free use of explanatory language whenever he comes to one of such terms.

An extract from Mr. Leverett's preface will still further explain this point:

"There seems to be no valid reason why a dictionary, certainly of an ancient language, may not, in some measure, assume the form of an encyclopedia, if fuller illustration of the meaning and use of words is thereby afforded; more especially, as such a work must needs fall into the hands of many who are scantily furnished with the means of information upon the auxiliary departments of history, antiquities, etc., not to say grammar. In such a case, the work is better overdone, than come tardy off. It is hoped, then, that the occasional detail, which has been indulged in, with respect to these accessory matters, so far from being viewed as superfluous, will prove some recommendation to the work. It will be perceived, for instance, that in such words as castra, circus, and the like, and especially in the names of public officers, (as consul, tribunus, etc.,) many things are introduced which, though strictly belonging to the province of antiquities, throw light upon the meaning of the words and their derivatives. It will also be observed, that in accordance with the same principle, much care has been bestowed upon proper names and their derivative adjectives and substantives. This, it is presumed, is none the less important for having been hitherto so much neglected. The vast and imposing mythology of the ancients was admirably adapted for the groundwork of their poetry; and the poets have, accordingly, built much upon it. It being thus, in a measure, the staple of their works, it is not surprising that passing allusions are made to their mythical gods and heroes with a

frequency which can never be approached in similar cases in any modern language; and that, from the names of these illustrious personages, they have formed various epithets—as the flexible nature of their languages, especially the Greek, enabled them to do which would be utterly unintelligible without some acquaintance with their fabulous traditions. The same remark applies with equal force to those ancient cities and hills, which had become consecrated by so many recollections, that their names were the property of the poet. No one would guess that Perimedeus meant magical, or that Titania astra meant the sun, or what equas Trojanus would denote, in its figurative sense, unless he had some knowledge of the derivation of these words. This holds good, also, of other similar derivative adjectives. When we find in Catullus Odissem te odio Vatiniano, this is a riddle to us, till we learn that Cicero, by his raillery and sarcasm, made his enemy, Vatinius, the object of such hatred, that odium Vatinianum became a byword. Examples of this kind might be multiplied almost without number."

The reader will at once perceive over how wide a field such a plan of operations as that thus laid down will take the lexicographer. The technicalities of every art must fall under his eye, the original meaning of every colloquial phrase, the derivation of every cant term in the language he is illustrating, must be investigated in the performance of his duties. More than this, however, he must understand enough of the different classical writers and their objects, to know exactly in what lights they themselves viewed the matters of which they wrote. He must not mistake the aim and style of one writer, by judging it according to the rules he has laid down for another.

Recently, the means have been afforded for a much more complete exposition of ancient geography than those which our predecessors had at command. Many of the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose erudition on other points cannot be doubted, fell into sad errors on this point. We cannot blame them for this, certainly, for they probably knew as much of ancient geography, as any intelligent man of their time did of modern. But the age of geography had not then begun. Indeed, many of our difficulties in explaining ancient geography, and many of the strange perversions of the ancient nomenclature, arise from the barbarism of the mariners and geographers of the middle ages. The Venetian mariners contorted the Greek name of the

strait Euripus into Negripo, and hence our name Negropont for the island of Euboea; they christened the island of Samothrace, St. Mandroche. A more natural blunder, the result of which is an odd one, was the calling Belopoulus, La belle poule. When such was the nomenclature of professed geographers, it is hardly wonderful if even such men as Erasmus and some of his contemporaries and successors, should be found sometimes, as they are, tripping in their

ideas of geography.

At present, the study of the modern languages of the classical regions, and still more the careful survey of their geography, is doing much to improve matters in these respects. When the older commentators told their readers what Pausanias or Strabo said of any river, town, or mountain, they do not seem to have thought it possible that there could be any later authorities, but took it for granted, that, having adduced these, they had settled all disputed questions at once. later times, since the attention of capable modern travellers has been turned to the subject, such superficial observation is entirely insufficient; and, at the same time, the labor of the critic is materially enhanced, notwithstanding his mass of There are, for instance, perhaps a dozen difnew material. ferent theories on the subject of the immediate situation of the city of Troy, and the geography of the plain of Ilium. The scholar who undertakes to ascertain the most probable of these, will subject himself to the labor of deep and careful investigation, much of which, as we have seen by Mr. Leverett's observations, comes into the province of the lexicogra-

The reader will see, from these remarks, how extensive the erudition and how persevering the labor necessary to any persons who attempt to make a complete Latin Lexicon. So far as regards the vocabulary, they can derive comparatively little assistance from previous English writers; they must have a complete knowledge of the language, manners, arts, and philosophy of the Romans, and they must be capable, at the same time, of laying such information before the world in a tangible form — not losing, like some critics we could name, half the advantage of their knowledge of the Latin

tongue, from their ignorance of their own.

Nor, is the execution of such a work, in such a complete manner, a matter of doubtful utility, or useful merely to a small class of learned men. Considering them merely as

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school-books, they are of the greatest value. We have heard it hinted, on respectable authority, that books prepared for school-books, do not require deep erudition, but that their principal merits are simplicity of arrangement and expres-Merits, these are, undoubtedly, and ought not to be neglected, but, at least in the preparation of classical books, constant precision, learning, and care, is no where more needed than in those which are to be put into the hands of Give a school-boy a book where he knows he can find what he needs, if he will search for it faithfully, and you give him a new motive for action. He feels an independence in his ability to accomplish his task without constantly calling for the aid or interference of another, he feels a pride that his mental faculties are strong enough to be exercised in the same way that men exercise theirs, that he is able to look to the reason of every thing, and understand every detail fully. If he be properly educated, these motives will have a strong influence upon him. No child, who has been properly trained, is not proud to find himself able to go alone, without constantly requiring the guidance of a superior. More than this; by putting into his hands such tools for labor, you take from him all excuse for not doing his work well. A boy soon learns how far a text-book may be relied upon for accuracy in its directions, and the moment any serious flaw is detected in it, that moment he feels himself privileged to neglect its instructions entirely. He will always have an excuse for rejecting them, substituting the supposed superior intelligence of his own imagination. School-books, then, must be thorough and strictly accurate; and the remark applies with peculiar force to such as those before us, which are intended for constant reference.

Nor is the value of such thoroughly executed works less to another great body of readers of the classical languages; those who read for their amusement or the direct acquisition of information. These have no time to go into philological or critical research as to the bearing and weight of the words they fall in with; they must have, in a condition fit for use, all such information provided for them, that they need have no labor imposed upon them, beyond that of understanding the immediate meaning of the author with whom they are engaged.

We have, however, perhaps, said too much on these points. The very great value of an accurate and thorough Latin Lexicon, might have been taken for granted, and the tremendous difficulty of making it presupposed. We should then have only to begin by saying, that Mr. Leverett's Lexicon will be found such; in its preparation every obstacle seems to have been surmounted, and every precaution used. For comprehensiveness of plan, for accuracy of detail, for general skill and philosophical arrangement of its contents, for the precision and correctness of its statements, for the care of its execution, and the beauty and exactness of its outward appearance, it is, so far as we know, without a rival. Whoever makes it his counsellor soon begins to rely upon it as an almost unerring authority. In a single volume, the student finds that for which he has been accustomed to seek in many different quarters; besides a vocabulary, he finds, in its careful notations of quantity, the advantages of a gradus; in its full quotations from authorities, he finds little need for the cumbrous volumes of a thesaurus; and its explanations of ancient geography and art, leave him little to look for in treatises of a more restricted character. We know that this is high praise; we have not uttered it, however, without well weighing our words, and without a full knowledge, derived from daily experience, of the book of which we write. We propose to proceed to show, by a slight examination of the manner in which the book was edited, the cause of the success of its execution, and, we believe, we may give the reader, at the same time, some idea of the immense labor requisite in such a composition. Of the very accurate and skilful abridgment of Leverett's work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, we shall have occasion to speak before we have done.

The increased attention paid to the practical, by modern men of science, has had its effect in critical as well as in other researches. The scholars of the middle ages were more apt to seek the best occasions for measuring their wits with their contemporaries, than for adding to the real stock of available knowledge. More recently, however, men have worked with a more utilitarian spirit, and with much greater real effect. More than this; the pride which once prevented an author from consulting a predecessor, or at best, made him look on his labors with a prejudiced eye, has long since subsided. Men are too well satisfied that it is impossible for one person to acquire perfect knowledge of any one subject by his unassisted exertions, to make any pretensions to such

acquisitions. So that where the monkish scholar of the middle ages, would, partly by choice and partly from necessity, produce, with immense labor, an imperfect, though an original work, more recent critics are enabled to avail themselves of the exertions of others with better grace, and greater ease. Mr. Leverett's Lexicon, as we learn from the title-page and preface, is "compiled chiefly from the Magnum Totius Latinitatis of Facciolati and Forcellini, and the German works of Scheller and Lünemann." A slight investigation of the history of those works and their claim to our attention, will

not be out of place here.

The Lexicon formerly in best repute in the Italian schools appears to have been that known as the Calepine Lexicon, which had undergone revisions from various hands, till, in the year 1715, the duty of preparing a new edition of it was undertaken by Facciolati, a professor in the University of Padua. On this labor he employed himself for four years, during which time he tells us, he became more and more satisfied that there were so many changes necessary in that work that nothing of value could be effected, excepting in the form of an entirely new book. In the year 1718, accordingly, he undertook his "Corpus Totius Latinitatis," at the suggestion, or with the permission, of the heads of the University, who directed him to select some of the students to assist him in the execution of it. Thus encouraged, he selected Ægidius Forcellini, who had previously assisted him, and who subsequently bore much of the labor of the undertaking. The account given by him of his performance of this duty is singular, and reflects much credit on him, and much authority to the book itself. For instance: "About the end of 1718," he says, "by the directions of Cardinal Cornelius, Bishop of Padua, and of Professor James Facciolati, I eagerly began this great undertaking, and occupied myself for three years and a half on the letter A." When such was the slowness of the progress of the work at its very beginning, the reader will hardly wonder that its completion did not take place till 1755, forty years after the first work was begun, during the whole of which time, with the exception of seven years, Forcellini was occupied upon it, almost always as his only employment. At the close of his preface he writes, "by God's permission, I have brought this book to an end, and now, if my life is granted to me, I shall re-read it, and then deliver it to another to copy." A postscript to this informs us that

he completed his second reading in about two years. The copying was finished in eight years more; he died before it was finished.

The Lexicon was in fact the labor of his life. stantly enjoyed the advice, and acted, probably, in great measure, under the directions, of Facciolati; but he appears to have devoted himself to it with untiring zeal and perseverance. It is a worthy monument to his labors. Its name expresses its nature, better than many such titles do. It is, emphatically, a systematic digest of the Latin language, a book in which the student who is searching for ancient authorities can hardly fail to find at hand such as he needs. quotations from the ancient authors are very numerous, and at the same time full; there is given in most instances the whole of a passage, any part of which is needed as an illus-We believe we speak within bounds when we say that it exhibits more labor and erudition than any other work written on the same subject, and with the same object, that has ever been published. It is enriched by the most copious references to the Latin authors, its decisions are carefully made, and its results skilfully obtained. It may be a fanciful theory, but we are inclined to believe that the circumstance of the birth-place of its authors was an assistance to them in their labors. Using a language which bears the strongest impress of the Latin, they must have found it more easy to acquaint themselves with ancient forms and idioms, than would critics whose vernacular was a more barbarous

Mr. Leverett has taken full advantage of the assiduous labor and natural capabilities of Forcellini and Facciolati for his purposes. Where he has used their observations, he has translated them from the Latin in which they originally stood, for only the definitions in the original work were in Italian. He has diminished the size of his book materially, by taking only those parts of quoted phrases and sentences which are immediately applicable to the word or subject under consideration; and in some instances he has omitted the quotations altogether, where there are enough left fully to illustrate the questions raised, and an additional number of instances adds merely to the length, but not to the value or importance of the article. So far, therefore, as he makes use of the Corpus Totius Latinitatis, and he uses it more in some parts of his book than others, he retains what is valu-

able with care, and presents it to the English scholar in a

form which he is most able to improve.

The reputation of the German scholars for patient and persevering labor, and for perfect precision, gives high authority to their productions, in a branch where these qualifications are so essential as in philological criticism or the study of classical antiquities. Scheller's work, which, as edited by Dr. Lünemann, was constantly used by Mr. Leverett, deserves no slight praise for the care displayed in its execution and its great completeness of detail. The work indeed fully bears out the reputation of German scholarship, and may be considered as embodying the results of all the later German criticism. Its plan is not so extended as that of Facciolati and Forcellini, it does not profess to be what their work is, a Corpus Totius Latinitatis, but a Latin Dictionary merely, and as such it is ably and very carefully executed.

Such were the principal of the materials on which Mr. Leverett began to work in the preparation of his Latin Lexicon. How skilfully and admirably he fulfilled the duty he had imposed upon himself we need not say to those who have had any occasion to make use of the result of his labors. From what we have already said, the reader will see that it was a duty necessarily involving tremendous toil; it was, however, conscientiously undertaken and completed, and the result is one for which every scholar must be thankful, and every American be proud. The student of Latin, of any degree of capacity or acquisition, will feel, in the use of this volume, that he has an authority which is neither defective nor Whenever he has occasion to turn to a word, he will find at a glance, the quantity of its syllables, its derivation, its primitive meaning, and the manner in which its other definitions are derived from this, and the different shades of its signification in various phrases. He will have placed before him, illustrations of the manner in which the ancient authors use it in every connection and for every signification. He will find the manner in which for different purposes it is united with other words. In instances where by any peculiarity of expression, or other singularity, any author uses it once or uniformly in a different manner from other authors, he will find the irregularity explained. As we have already suggested, he will find in it copious explanations of ancient habits, customs, geography, history, and biography, which will generally be quite sufficient for the illustration of the

author he is reading; obtaining in it such constantly useful resources, he will soon, unless he be one of those critical scholars whose duty requires them to reject every authority easily obtained, consider it as an oracle from whose decisions no appeal is necessary. We do not attempt to illustrate this general praise by special examples; every page of the book is an example, and no scholar can examine it without finding that it supplies a want which he has before felt in his studies. We make no attempt to compare it with other works of the same nature. So far as we know, there is no book having or professing to have the same object, that has the slightest claim to competition with it.

The text-book most generally in use in this country, and we believe, in England, is Ainsworth's Latin-English Dictionary. We have already said that Mr. Leverett could derive comparatively little assistance from his predecessors in the same duty which he had undertaken. We ought, perhaps, to attempt to discharge part of a debt of gratitude to Ainsworth, due from the scholars of the last century, in acknowledging his to be a work of great erudition, and the result of untiring labor. He was engaged upon it, as he tells us, twenty years. It is, perhaps, no bad example of the nature of the classical learning of his time, and of how much one man's erudition may be worth, when, in a great measure, unassisted. It was, however, defective, and very frequently incorrect. It is somewhat singular that it has retained its hold on general favor so long as it has, for, apparently, very little care has been bestowed upon it since the death of its author, and very few improvements made on it since that time. The various editions since published of it, have copied and added to the errors of those preceding, so that, as a general remark, that copy of it was most valuable which approached nearest to the few editions published in the life-time of its author. best known in this country in one of its abridged forms, in which the greater part of the original work is preserved, although many of the quotations and all the detail of references to the ancient authors are omitted. It is a somewhat singular evidence that the alterations made in it in the last hundred years are so small, that an inconsistency of Ainsworth in the manner of exhibiting the conjugations of the verbs, resulting, probably, from his changing his mind after he had fairly begun his work, has been preserved in all the editions till a very recent time.

The last one hundred years, however, have made a very great advance in classical criticism; so much so, that we believe very few instructors have been obliged to use Ainsworth's dictionary, without a regret that they could put nothing better into the hands of their pupils. While the dictionary alone has remained stationary, if, indeed, it has not retrograded, by the errors constantly creeping in, in the process of revision, classical knowledge and criticism have been rapidly advancing in the hands of learned and persevering men. The advanced student must have felt it still less suitable to his purposes; Ainsworth wrote, as he says, for boys, and his work was not even professedly a thorough The man who has acquired a knowledge of the language so far that he can read it for amusement or instruction, does not want a mere vocabulary, such as Ainsworth thought would do for the school-boy; he wants a book in which he can find an explanation of any idiom, however rare or singular its occurrence, of any construction, however unusual. Such a volume he has in the work of Mr. Leverett.

It will be readily perceived, however, and we have no wish to deny, that in such an encyclopedia of the Latin tongue there will be much of which the young student will never make use, and which, consequently, though it may never be prejudicial to him, will at least swell the size of the volume much beyond what is at all necessary for his wants. In order, therefore, to adapt Mr. Leverett's Lexicon more particularly for the use of school-boys, by reducing its size by the omission of those heads and articles which are entirely useless to them, an abridgment of it has been published, expressly adapted for their use. This abridgment, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, was executed by Mr. Francis Gardner, a gentleman who has for some years been engaged in classical pursuits, as a teacher in the Public Latin School in Boston, whose perfect accuracy and knowledge of the subject were a sufficient guarantee that his work would be skilfully and ably performed.

To the manner in which it is executed we wish to call the reader's attention. Of an Encyclopedia of the Latin language, it is desired to preserve those parts which are useful to a school-boy, and reject the rest. Those words which will recur in his earlier studies must be inserted, with such definitions as will be necessary there; those phrases which he will meet with must be retained, as well as all the expla-

nations of ancient science, art, customs, philosophy, history, and geography, which he will need. We once saw an abridgment of Ainsworth, prepared for boys by omitting all the phrases which illustrate the definitions, while all the definitions were retained, a system hardly more sensible than that which, for purposes of brevity, should publish only the first half of the volume. The only reasonable method of abridging is that which shall be made on such principles as we have described, and the reader will at once see what a careful discrimination, and thorough knowledge of books, it must require. To the other qualifications of a good lexicographer which we have mentioned, it adds as a requisite, full knowledge of the details of every book on which the school-boy will be exercised, that the dictionary may be prepared to meet all his wants. Such is the nature of the labor which was undertaken by Mr. Gardner, and by him very ably performed. The following extract from the preface to the abridgment will explain the precise details of the execution of it:-

"The objections to abridgments, as usually prepared, are so valid and well founded, that it has been thought best to execute the present work on a plan differing, in several respects, from any heretofore adopted. In pursuance of this, only the words occurring in those authors which are usually read previously to the college course, — namely, Virgil, Cicero's Select Orations, (including the Oration for Muræna,) Sallust, Gould's Ovid, Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War, Cornelius Nepos, and Phædrus, together with those which occur in the Key of Andrews's Latin Exercises, — have been admitted. These words, with their respective definitions, have, in most cases, been inserted entire; the abridgment consisting chiefly in erasing a part of the citations from the authors in which they are found. In all cases, however, a sufficient number of examples has been retained to illustrate the meaning and construction of the word."

Such is the general plan of the Abridgment; and if we have said so much of the difficulty in the way of the editor as to lead the reader to believe it impossible for him to have performed his task thoroughly, we would only ask him to examine, as we have done, the volume carefully, to test it by a short experience, and he will find it quite as well adapted for its purpose, as Mr. Leverett's has proved to be for its purposes. Thoroughly executed as it is, on a plan so manifestly correct, it could not well have been otherwise.

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The mere abridgment, however, is not the only way in which the work has been adapted for schools. Whole articles have been entirely re-written, the arrangement of definitions and phrases and their dependence on each other changed, that the scholar may more easily understand the full force of each; and if we have made ourselves understood in what we have said of the nature of a well executed schoolbook, these additions will be acknowledged to be such as will be real aids to the careful scholar. In the manner in which it was printed, Mr. Leverett's book did not expose at once to the eye the different classes of meanings so fully as it might have done, a difficulty which is quite obviated in this volume, where the arrangements of type and headings are such as to make the classification quite apparent even in the rapid glances of a hurried school-boy. This improvement, after very slight use, is so evident that we are surprised it has not been made before.

Nor are these the only alterations made for his benefit. As he is supposed to consult the dictionary with a view only to its use in a certain class of books, those which he uses in his course of education preparatory to college, it has been more particularly fitted for that class by the substitution, in many instances, for Latin quotations from authors with which he cannot be acquainted, those which he will meet in his earlier studies. Whoever remembers how rejoiced he was in his boyish studies to find a knotty phrase explained and illustrated in his dictionary, will not regret that the number of such

helps should be enlarged.

The abridgment is not, however, by any means so closely fitted to its more peculiar object as to exclude other matter of importance not strictly included in its original plan. There is no disposition shown in it to withhold information merely because it may not be wanted. We find many definitions which will not be used in the preparatory course, which are not, however, unimportant to the learner, as means of acquainting him with the origin of the various derivations of a word, — information, the clearness of which would be seriously impaired by the omission of any link in the chain of connected meanings; of reminding him occasionally of the wide field of classical research which will be open to him after he has passed the ordinary course of introduction; and more than all, perhaps, of assisting him in his exertions in Latin composition, a branch of education which cannot be

too much encouraged. As a method of impressing firmly principles of construction and details of idiom, it is without an equal in the process of education; and when we see the great effect it has in purifying and correcting the ideas of the young respecting the Latin language, we are little inclined to wonder that there have been theorists who wished to make it the only key for opening to them a knowledge of that lan-

guage.

We are glad, therefore, that in this volume every facility of the kind of which we have spoken is afforded to the young And in the same light do we view the constant care in both the volumes of which we write, to display the derivations of the words, and to give accurately the quantity of their syllables. The tracing of words to their roots, and the detection of their original and acquired meaning, is a branch of criticism of which the young are perfectly capable, and a proper attention to which will greatly facilitate and render much more agreeable their exertions in that which is the only irksome part of the task of learning a foreign language,—the acquiring its vocabulary. We have spoken above of the care Mr. Gardner has used in exposing the dependence and connection of different words; by calling the attention of the pupil to these heads, and to the proper formation of words from their roots, we shall always interest and improve him more in the performance of his task. Nor should this study of derivation be turned merely to such words as are of Latin origin. The connection between the Latin and Greek languages is so close that the scholar's attention should be carefully turned to it, and a pupil who is sufficiently advanced to know a little of Greek words and idioms, will always be interested in investigating this. volumes before us afford ample materials for such researches. We speak of this with more interest, because we fear it has not received in our academies and schools the attention which it ought.

For the same reason we are very glad that these two Lexicons, in giving, with almost undeviating accuracy, the quantity of the several syllables of the words, afford valuable material for the careful study of Latin prosody, that its principles may be acquired to a wider extent, than they are in the acquisition of the mere knowledge of the structure of a verse, that the scholar may be able to do something more than what he does in dividing a line with tolerable accuracy.

The skilful composing of Latin verse is a matter which has higher importance than as a pretty accomplishment, although it undoubtedly is a very worthy and scholarlike one, and we hope to see it one day introduced into our schools and colleges more generally than it is now. There was a certain difficulty in this when young poets had no better authority at hand in framing their verses than the Ainsworth's Dictionaries of which we have spoken, of many of which it might be boldly said, that the marks of quantity, in all doubtful cases, deserved not the slightest respect, being quite as often wrong as right. The great accuracy with which these volumes are printed, places their notes of quantity above suspicion, and their copious extracts from the poets add to their value in this respect.

That part of these volumes which is intended to assist the scholar in changing English into Latin is by Mr. H. W. Torrey, of Boston. After what we have said of the great care and labor necessary for the proper performance of the duty imposed in the Latin-English part, we need add little of that in this branch of lexicography. In the words of Mr. Torrey,—

"It is always much easier to render foreign into native words, than native into foreign. In the one case, each word, which is given as the signification of another, serves for a sign, which admits of a wide application; in the other, a word only points to a single step. In the one, the unknown is expressed in terms of the known; in the other, the familiar is exhibited in the form of the unfamiliar. Besides this difficulty, common to all languages, there are peculiar obstacles to overcome in conveying a modern language into an ancient. A living tongue is always pliant. It readily adopts and assimilates new expressions for new ideas, by giving a new tinge to words already in use, by naturalizing foreign terms, or by a direct creation. In this way it passes down from age to age without growing old. A dead language, on the contrary, being no longer kept supple by daily use, is rigid and unyielding. Additions, instead of growing into its body, must often bear the appearance of appendages merely, and thus proclaim their own strangeness. Yet, such additions must be made, or expression will be hampered by clumsy circumlocutions, and unwieldy descriptions take the place of significant names."

A work so prepared as to meet these difficulties and present to the classical scholar a manual for his use in translating English into Latin, was much needed. The old English lexicographers seem to have considered it quite as important as the other branch of their duties. But, from the nature of the case, the changes in the English language affected this much more than it did the other part of the Lexicon. Whatever might be the purity of its English, a Latin-English lexicon will always be complete, if complete when published; because its articles relate to a dead language, which admits of no change from generation to generation; while, on the other hand, new idioms and phrases have constantly been introducing themselves into our language, which require admission into the English-Latin part of the lexicon.

The plan which Mr. Torrey proposed to himself, and the manner in which he executed it, will be best explained by the

following extract from his preface:

"Notwithstanding these hinderances, it was hoped that something might be put together, which, though it could not but be imperfect, should at least be methodical and clear. As the same idea is often expressed by the use of different parts of speech in different connections, it seemed conducive to clearness, especially in so succinct a work, to bring derived words under their primitives, distinguished, however, by a smaller type. This has been, in some cases, extended to words not strictly derived, but only cognate; the objection to such a course is, that oftentimes so great a dislocation of alphabetical order is produced, as to render it difficult to find a This difficulty has been obviated, either by adhering in such cases to that order, or by giving the word under its primitive, and referring thither from its alphabetical place. The liberty has also been taken of omitting many words which seemed to be of slight Some pages, thus arranged, were shown to Mr. Leverett, and met with his approval.

"But it was soon found impossible, from the slowness with which the work advanced, even to carry out this plan, and it was accordingly broken off at the word Commence. No course then remained but to take some manual already in use, and improve it, as far as was possible, in a limited time. Ainsworth's dictionary most readily presented itself, and the rest of this book, (being about five sixths of the whole,) is made up mainly of that. The work of Ainsworth has many faults, so many, indeed, that to correct them entirely would be as laborious as to make a new book. Among other things, it is so confusedly thrown together, that even what is there is not easily found. To this point attention has been chiefly directed. The whole has been wrought into a more orderly arrangement, which presents each part of speech by itself, and accords with what had already been furnished."—"Various other alterations, as many as time would allow, have been introduced throughout. Articles

have been entirely, or almost entirely, written anew, and much that was incorrect or redundant has been stricken out. It is hoped that, in this form, the work may be found to have gained in usefulness."

We cannot but regret that the circumstances he has mentioned prevented Mr. Torrey from carrying out his original design. A new English-Latin lexicon would have been a very valuable addition to our treasures in classical philological science. The Lexicon he has presented us, however, is so great an improvement on what we have had before, that we feel that we have no right to complain. With what he says in his preface—of the want of arrangement in Ainsworth's Latin dictionary — every scholar who ever used that We can freely say, we never consult book will fully agree. any article in that work, which evinces any labor, without wondering what could have been the leading idea in the author's mind as to the arrangement of his facts. They are huddled together in actual chaos. All this obscurity Mr. Torrey has made it his duty to enlighten. The several articles, as he has arranged them, are such that one may have some hope of ascertaining what they do and what they do not contain.

He has been quite too modest in his statements of his improvements. He has evidently exerted himself to exchange the pedantic, middle-aged, corrupted Latin, for which Ainsworth shows a remarkable predilection, for more elegant and more classical language; he has condensed many of the fearful circumlocutions which used to alarm the inquirer for a forgotten word; he has omitted many articles which could never but excite wonder that they were ever there, and has inserted many, in instances where the wonder is that they were not. In short, the work is well fitted to go forth as a companion to the labors of Mr. Leverett and Mr. Gardner.

The great accuracy and care observable in the mechanical execution of these volumes deserve more than a passing notice. We have seen that accuracy is no where more requisite than in books of this nature; and it is quite as much so in the minutiæ of typographical detail as in particulars generally esteemed more important. The difficulty of correcting the press in works involving a knowledge of a foreign language is so great, that Latin books as accurately printed as these, are very seldom met with.

To conclude; either of the two volumes, the school-book or

the Latin Cyclopedia, if we may call it so, to each of which Mr. Torrey's Lexicon is attached, is very highly creditable to all who were engaged in its publication. They are works which have been long needed, and they are executed in a manner which leaves hardly any thing to desire, but compels the scholar to wonder that he has been able to do without them so long as he has. We welcome them as most acceptable additions to the stores of critical learning.

- ART. IV.—1. Histoire du Droit Romain. Par Gustave Hugo, Chevalier, etc., Prosesseur a l'Université de Goettingue, traduite de l'Allemand, sur la Septième Edition, par Jourdan, D. M. P.
- 2. Philological Museum, Vol. 2, on the Roman Coloni. From the German of Savigny.

It is painful to know that so little can be learned of the Roman bar under the Republic.

The profession of the advocate at that time was unquestionably illustrated by the efforts of more truly eloquent and powerful men, than at any other period of its history. But we are scarcely more familiar with the hopes and anxieties, with the daily labors and encouragements of the Ciceros and Mucii, the Scævolæ and Crassi of the Roman bar, than with the Esoteric mysteries of the priests at Memphis, or the Cours de procédure of the solicitors at the court of Minos.

There is something intensely interesting and instructive to the professional man, in the diary of the downsittings and uprisings of his professional ancestors—to the lawyer, in the private histories of those whose sympathies and necessities he will be called upon most frequently to live over. Their hopes and fears, with and without briefs—their preparations and labors in private, their manner in public,—their sorrowings and rejoicings—the nature of their professional dignities, the steps by which attained and how estimated—the various arts resorted to for wrenching or cajoling the court, for encouraging or confusing witnesses—such are the mémoires, unwritten and unknown, the absence of which mankind must probably always deplore. That illegible

parenthesis in the life of man appears to have been lived, and all its painful experiences endured, not only without any adequate result, but with an almost total loss to posterity.

This misfortune is to be attributed partly to the despotism which immediately succeeded the rule of the consuls. The great deeds done in their day, and in the olden time before them, had not yet passed into history. The days of restriction followed, and, as might have been expected, the glories of consular freedom remained unsung in the hall of Augustus.

More potent far than all the eloquence of the Ciceros and Catos of the republic, were the prætorian guards of the em-

pire.

In the next place the lines of distinction between the bar and the forum were indistinct, and the dazzling displays in the latter left the more grave and sober ministrations of the former comparatively unnoticed. Hence contemporaneous history teaches us of the bar and its state only by implication, while the annalists of the empire were rather paid to forget than to remember, and were little disposed to peril their security by a very enthusiastic commemoration of men and measures with which the imperial despotism had so little sympathy.

So far as we can at present judge, the Roman bar appears to have been based originally upon the theory of dependence, not like ours upon the division of labor. As in the patriarchal state, the father was the patron and protector of his offspring, as in the feudal state the lord was protector of his vassal, so at Rome the patrician protected the plebeian, the patron his

client.

The Roman society was divided into patricians and plebeians at the very outset of its history. The patricians were probably heads of families, under whom were formed the plebs, composed principally of their descendants and freed slaves. So that the titles "majores et minores gentes," would be synonymous with "old and new families." It is not improbable, also, that the patres, or fathers, coming from Etruria, here united with the plebs, or people of the country, into one people, but preserving or transmitting this original distinction by the aid of their political institutions.* The senators and officers of government, who till the revolt of the

Hugo, Hist. du droit Romain, xlii. See also Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, vol.
 1, p. 317; and Die Etrusker, von Karl Otfried Müller, etc.

people and appointment of tribunes to represent them, were elected entirely from the patricians, by their most unjustifiable monopolies, by exciting frequent wars to enhance the price of land-produce as well as money, got the plebeians deeply in their debt. The unnatural severity of the Roman law on the subject of violated contracts, and the enormous advantages enjoyed by the patricians over the plebeians, before the court, made it impossible for the latter unassisted to avoid absolute servitude. But it so happened that there were certain services performed by the plebeians, for which the patricians were very much beholden. When the government became more popular, this dependence was increased, by virtue of which circumstances the plebeians were enabled to secure the protection of the wealthier patricians, who sometimes, through honesty, often through jealousy of rival families, and more often through ambition, assumed the obligation of asserting and defending their rights.

It was partly owing to this connate dependence of the client upon his patrons, that we find the Roman lawyers almost exclusively of noble or gentle families, a fact to which we shall have occasion to allude hereafter. But soon after the promulgation of the laws of the Twelve Tables, a law against the intermarriage of the two classes above mentioned was abrogated, — continual wars were thinning the ranks of the nobility,* whose dissolute and licentious successors, preferring the freedom of the rake to the temperate pleasures dispensed by a rigid marriage code, were eventually to leave the places thus vacated unsupplied. At the same time the rights of citizens were coming more frequently into question, and laws were consequently becoming daily more numerous and complicated. Beside these gradual changes, the plebs were advancing to the privileges, no less than to the duties of their patrician predecessors. Ministers and interpreters of the law were more frequently required. Those who were skilful at the bar and eloquent of speech were naturally preferred. Hence originated the lawyers by profession.† But this result was not very perceptible until the later years of the republic. The Mucian family was its archetype. There were very few plebeian lawyers even in the age of Cicero.

^{*} Tac. An. ii. 25. † Heinec. Antiq. Rom. Lib. i, Tit. 2. 29.

[‡] One of the three brothers was preceptor of Cicero.

There were other guarantees or privileges, which protected this system of exclusiveness, besides the constitutional one

already mentioned.

By the laws of the Twelve Tables, there were certain days called fasti, on which it was proper for the people to institute and defend legal prosecutions, and others called nefasti, when such transactions were forbidden. Beside which there were certain others called intercisi, when such business was proper, part of the day only. The frequent intercalary days in the Roman calendar made these qualified days come round at irregular intervals. Their number in process of time increased to such an extent that special officers were appointed to inform him "qui reum in jus vocabat," when it would be proper to commence his suit; and any proceeding instituted in violation of such officer's authority was voidable. As the pontifical college was filled almost exclusively by patricians till A. U. 454,* and until the expiration of the republic was under their control, it is apparent that the latter here retained a very great advantage over the plebeians, and of course on any occasion where their respective prerogatives came in question, were pretty sure to take the lion's share.†

In the next place, the mode of practice, or civil procedure, was buried under a set of absurd and intricate formulas, which were artfully and for state purposes kept carefully concealed from the plebeians.‡ They consisted chiefly of certain symbolical gestures, adapted to a legal claim or defence, and prepared by Claudius Cœcus, about the middle of the fifth century of Rome. Though afterwards privately published to the world, yet, to understand them always, required special preparation. These, or worse forms, were in existence and subjects of ridicule in the time of the

empire.

Such were, first, the principles of dependence in which the

^{*} Livy, 10.6.

[†] The calendar of these days was afterwards discovered and published by an obscure plebeian, to the great relief of the people, who had endured so long.

"Fastos publicavit, et actiones primum edidit." Liv. 9. 46. Hugo, Hist. du
Droit, clxxxii. A. Gellius, 6. 9. Plin. 33. 186.

\$\frac{1}{2}\$ Sunt jura, sunt Formulæ de omnibus rebus constitutæ.—Cic. pro
Quin. Rosc. com., 8. Cic. pro Muræna, 11. Suet. Aug. 88.

⁵ Gravina de ortu et progressu juris civilis, xl.

Il Absurd as these forms appear to us, they are quite as rational as many of our own legal fictions. Instances of Roman forms are collected in Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 158; Michelet's Hist. of Rome, in Appendix; Aulus Gellius, 20, 10; and Cic. pro Muræna, 12.

Roman bar originated, and such, secondly, the spirit to which its subsequent modifications were exposed. mostly of the noble and the wealthy, its members were then, as every where and at all times, the conservatives of their age; but there they were also, as no where else and at no other time, a body of the most eloquent orators and accomplished gentlemen that the world has ever seen.

Of the mode of educating the Roman law students we know little, except by inference. During their first years they were kept usually under the charge of Greek masters, by whom they were instructed in grammar and rhetoric. Plotius opened the first Latin school of rhetoric, during the last half century preceding the birth of our Saviour. Cicero, yet in his youth, was very desirous of attending, but was overruled by his friends and advisers, who thought Greek instructors preferable for an aspirant to the bar, for which he was destined.* Greek instruction was almost universal. Scarcely a man is to be found in the age of Augustus who was not instructed by Greeks, abroad or at home. "At nunc infans delegatur Gracula alicui ancilla, etc.,"† is the language by which Tacitus publishes his contempt for the custom to his contemporaries, and verifies the fact to his posterity.

At the age of about seventeen, they took the toga virilis, or, in other words, became of age.‡ This was an occasion of great joy to the candidates, and, among the wealthy, was accompanied with considerable display. Oftentimes divine rites were performed in the capitol, at which all the friends and relatives of the family assisted.

At this stage of their education they were usually placed under the charge of some distinguished lawyer, by whom they were introduced to the forum, where all the judicial proceedings were transacted, and under whose direction they prosecuted their professional studies. One must not imagine, however, from this, that they entered upon any such course of legal study as awaits the almost desperate student of legal science in our day. In the time of Cicero, we presume, all the law which was worth the reading might have been comprised in any two volumes of Blackstone.

<sup>Suetonius "De Claris Rhetoribus," c. 2.
† Tac. de Causis, etc., 29.
‡ Cicero took it at that age. Tacitus says, Nero received it from Claudius when he had the companies of the compani</sup> – An. 12. 41.

⁵ Cic. de Amicitia, 1. Gravina de ortu, etc., lix.

The leges regiæ, or earliest laws of Rome, which, fortunately, were nearly all burnt or lost; the laws of the twelve tables, the few senatus-consulta, a few plebiscita, and fewer responsa prudentum, of any authority, constituted the whole professional library of a Roman jurisconsult.

To achieve a complete mastery of this law was considered a trifling labor. Cicero professed himself, when only about twenty years of age, so well acquainted with its mysteries as to be able to sustain a dispute on any legal question with

the greatest lawyers of his age.*

Antony, says he, never studied the civil law, nor was he sensible of any loss for not knowing it, although he was doing a very large business.† He thought all the useful parts of the civil law, applicable to any one case, might be comprehended in a very short time.‡ We may infer these facts substantially from the very early age at which the law-yer appeared at the bar, and sometimes, too, in suits of vast importance.§

Caius Gracchus, before he was twenty, had completely established his reputation by his skilful defence of Vettius. Crassus distinguished himself by his prosecution of Carbo when he was only nineteen. Hortensius, who, for thirteen years, was, longo intervallo, at the head of the Roman bar and the successful rival of Cicero, appeared for one of the Roman provinces of Africa against its governors, at the age of nineteen. The cause was tried before Scævola and Crassus, as judges, the first of whom Cicero calls the most accomplished orator among lawyers, and the other, the most accomplished lawyer among orators. They quoted the conduct of Hortensius on that occasion many years afterwards with very marked approbation. His excellence, says Cicero, was im-

[•] Epis. ad fam., 7. 22. "Sed, O Dii immortales, non dicerem hoc, audiente Scævolå, nisi ipse dicere voleret, nullius artis faciliorem sibi cognitionem videri." —Cic. de Orat. 1. 41. And again: "Omnia (jura) enim sunt posita ante oculos, collocata in usu quotidiano, in congressione hominum atque in foro, et neque ita multis literis aut voluminibus magnis continentur."—Cic. de Orat. 1. 43.

[†] Cic. de Orat. 1. 58.

[‡] Ibid, 59.

[§] Nono decimo etatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicesimo Cesar Dolabellam, altero et vicesimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multo etate antecedens, Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insequuti sunt quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus. — Dialogus de Causis Corrupte Eloquentiee, 34.

[#] Ut eloquentium juris peritissimus Crassus, juris peritorum eloquentissimus Scavola putaretur. — Cic. De Claris Orator. 39.

mediately acknowledged, like that of a statue by Phidias, which only requires to be seen to be admired. Calvus's celebrated prosecution of the unpopular Vatinius took place before he was twenty-one. The accused, overpowered with alarm, interrupted the orator by exclaiming to the judges, "Must I be condemned because he is so eloquent?" Catullus speaks of some one clapping his hands in the middle of the speech, and exclaiming, "Great Gods! what an eloquent little wagtail."†

The time when Cicero first appeared in any cause is more doubtful. His first recorded speech at the bar was for Quinctius, at the instance of the comedian Roscius, in the twentysixth year of his age; but he expressly says, in his speech on that occasion, that he had tried many smaller cases before. But the elaborate style of preparation to which Cicero always accustomed himself, excepts him from the class of those whose actions represent the customs of their age. was then lying back and watching with emulous eagerness and studious devotion the brilliant career of the mature Hortensius. He was girding on his armor for that magnanimously contested game which was finally "drawn," on account of the age of his opponent.‡

In general, it appears, from the average age at which the Roman lawyers offered themselves as candidates for professional patronage, that very limited legal preparation was necessary therefor. With us, any large, or even adequate amount of purely legal learning, at twenty, implies very limited general accomplishment, and affords a strong presumption against any broad distinction for its possessor; at the same time, by a skilful education, one may, at that age, make a speech which, for effect, may not offend the critical taste of maturer years. Thus, at Rome, the most careful preparation marked all the productions of their eminent advocates, both when young and old, but it was almost entirely with a view to seize the auram popularem.

• Cic. De Claris Oratoribus, 64. + "Risi nescio quem modo in corona, Qui, cum mirifice Vatiniana, Meus crimina Calvus explicasset Admirans ait hæc, manusque tollens, Dii magni salaputium disertum!"

Catullus, c. 53.

‡ Brutus, 64 - 92. 5 Tibère fut élevé avec soin dans la famille impériale. A l'âge de neufans, il

All their strictly professional labor, while students, appears to have been in the courts where they were usually in attendance, taking notes of speeches, which they afterwards reproduced in their own language; at other times, they were engaged in studying the past, the nature and spirit of leagues and conventions with allies, and the tactics of the forum and senate.† But by far the largest portion of their attention was given purely to rhetorical studies, in which their labors to perfect themselves did not cease, oftentimes, until the last years of their public lives. Cicero's ardor, in this respect, is almost incredible. While a student, he took lessons of Molo, a Rhodian, and a celebrated teacher of eloquence, then residing at Rome. He kept, at the same time, domesticated with him, one Diodotus, a stoic, and preceptor of logic, to whose teachings he devoted himself carefully. He never intermitted, however, as he assures us, for a single day, some exercise in oratory, in which he was usually accompanied by two fellow students, noblemen nearly of his own age, with whom he used to declaim in Latin and in Greek, more frequently, he says, in the latter, because that language furnished a greater variety of eloquent expressions. While afterwards on his grand tour through Greece and Asia, in his twenty-eighth year, he took lessons of Demetrius, an Assyrian teacher of rhetoric at Athens, and in Asia was voluntarily attended by the principal orators of the country, with whom he renewed his rhetorical exercises. The chief of them were Stratonica, the most eloquent of the Asiatics, Dyonisius, of Magnesia, and Æschilus, of Cnidus; afterwards, returning to

prononça, du haut de la tribune, l'éloge de son père, qui venait de mourir. Quelque aingulier que nous paraisse ce fait, d'autres exemples le rendent vraisemblable et

De Claris Orat. 90.

il s'explique par l'education native que recevaient les jeunes Romains d'une illustre naissance. — Villemaine — Mélanges Historiques, Tibere, vol. 3. . Quinct. 1. 3. 6.

^{† &}quot;Ergo apud majores nostros juvenis ille, qui foro et eloquentiæ parabatur, imbutus jam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat, hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus interesse, sive in judiciis sive in concionibus, adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque excipere et jurgiis interesse, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in prœlio disceret. . . . Atque Hercule sub ejusmodi preceptoribus juvenis ille, de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori enditor sectetor indicatorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator judiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui, quotidie audienti, note leges, non novi judicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuctudo concionum, sæpe cognitæ populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat, sive desensionem, solus statim at unuscuicunque causæ par erat." Dial. de Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ, 34.

Rhodes, he applied again to Molo, his old teacher, and when about forty years of age, though prætor, and in full practice at the bar, we find him taking lessons of Gnypho in rhetoric and oratory.*

Such was the kind of preparation which made Cicero the orator, but it is precisely the kind of preparation which he would have recommended to others, and have made himself for the bar, had he had no political aspirations. To shine then as a lawyer was to shine as an orator.

It is important to bear in mind that it was the Roman bar under the republic for which such preparations were considered so essential, and for professional purposes so adequate. A course of study so different from our own was for the transaction of an equally different kind of business. as now, men prepared their wares for market according to the demand. The mechanic made what would be used, the author wrote what people wished to read, and the speaker spoke what people wished to have said. The lawyer's professional learning was rhetorical, and his successful achievements eloquence; because, in the first place, it was upon a peculiar susceptibility to impressions from that quarter that his clients' interests depended; and in the next place, most of the legal business had no precedent, appealing rather to the sentiments than to authority. Were we to annihilate from our term calendars nearly all the cases growing out of the intricacies and involutions of our real estate law — nearly all. those begotten of negotiable securities, and decidedly the larger portion of those which arise from the relation of debtor and creditor—the remaining business would be very analogous to that which engrossed the almost exclusive attention of the Roman tribunals. It would relate to crimes and misdemeanors.† But in our higher courts this kind of business is exceedingly rare. The progress of civilization, which has brought with it a comparative distribution and equality of the privileges and comforts of life, the absence of which causes most if not all violations of the criminal law, either directly or indirectly, has made crimes of a flagrant character almost to cease, except in the very lowest class of our popula-

^{*} Cic. De Claris Orat. 91. Mac. Sat. lib. 3. c. 12.

[†] This will appear more obvious when we observe that most of the land was held by a government title and in few hands. Titles were consequently but seldom contested. Where there is no commerce there is no commercial litigation, and the terrible penalties which awaited the convicted debtor generally prevented recourse being had to the law for redress in cases of violated contracts.

tion, still out of the pale of this equalization. No general interests are involved in their condemnation or acquittal. Too poor or degraded to secure eminent counsel to defend them, not worth the expense of a learned prosecution, they receive their sentence without perceptibly raising the pulse of the body politic in one case out of a thousand. Not so when the prosecutor was a state, when the defendant was a proconsul of the Roman empire, and the audience were the overborne and enraged victims of his oppressions, and their sympathizing friends; when all that wealth could add to the skill, or admiration and gratitude to the devotion of the advocate, were lavishly contributed by both contending parties. It was to build up for the successful advocate an empire of ardent admirers, co-ordinate in distinction, if not in political powers, with the sceptred sovereignty itself. For such stakes it was

worth the while of capitalists to risk. While the Roman lawyer was yet but the haughty patrician, and before his professional individuality was determined, Rome had signified to all the nations and kingdoms under heaven her pretensions to universal dominion. The political philosophers of those days knew no principle of public policy inconsistent with any amount of territorial aggrandizement which their arms could achieve. With the sword in one hand, and the subsidized forces of all Olympus marshalled by priestcrast and superstition, under the control of the other, they marched forth among the old kingdoms of the earth, and parcelled out their conquered provinces, with the unscrupulousness of the knave, and the heedless generosity of the prodigal. Section after section crumbled under the weight of Rome's irresistible armament; and the liberal dispensations of the conquerors were received usually with patience, and oftentimes with alacrity. The world as yet knew nothing of government by representation, without which provincial governments must be despotisms. The Roman provinces proved no exception. They at once became the prey of an army of greedy, peculating, ambitious and dishonest quæstors and proconsuls, usually debauchees and bankrupts, who looked upon the comparatively irresponsible station of a provincial governor, as a providential means of redeeming their fortunes, and perhaps of repairing a lacerated character. Out of the corruption by which those offices were usually procured, and the oppressive extortion which disfigured the conduct of their incumbents, sprang a large por-

tion of the business transacted before the Roman tribunals. Indeed, so much had that species of litigation increased, that in the time of Cicero, four of the six prætors, who originally had jurisdiction of civil cases only, were appointed to preside exclusively at criminal trials — one taking cognizance of questions of extortion, a second of peculation, the third of illegal canvass, and the fourth of offences against the state — the crime of "majesty" or treason. All the most celebrated cases in which Cicero was engaged, of which any record has been left us, were of this character. His six brilliant and effective speeches against Verres, the prætor of Sicily, when he was only thirty-seven years of age - his defence of Fonteius — of Rabirius — his four celebrated speeches against Catiline — in the senate, to be sure, but while that body was sitting in its judicial capacity * — his defence of Muræna, of Valerius Flaccus, of Sylla, of Cneius Plancus — his prosecution of Piso, and many others of which we know nothing, except by allusion, all testify to how great an extent official malfeasance and misdemeanors of various kinds engrossed the attention of judicial tribunals. With few exceptions, all the trials in which Hortensius was engaged were in similar or purely criminal cases.

The same remarks may be made of all save the chamber counsel of that period. The burden of the remaining actions, which were not for official malfeasance or misfeasance, were for crimes and misdemeanors. There are various circum-

stances which will serve to explain this tendency.

To some it is sufficient to know that this was before the days of constitutions and in the infancy of established written law, when the rights of individuals were of course more or less undefined, and when defined, but imperfectly secured. In addition, however, to these organic deficiencies, we find Rome maintaining a slave population within her territories, which, a few years after the death of Cicero, was found equal to the whole free population of the Empire, at the same timet without national habits of industry, the necessity of which for state purposes had been heretofore superseded by the abundant plunder of the provinces; under the continual influence of amusements supported by government, calculated to

^{*} By virtue of the Cornelian law.

[†] Atheneus boldly declares that he knew many Romans who possessed, not for use but ostentation, ten, and even twenty thousand slaves.

Deipnosophist, 1. 6. p. 272.

blunt the sentiments and quicken to crime; and, finally, without any contemporary nation to study, the imitation of which would not tend to enfeeble their virtues and in most cases intensify their vices. Besides, Rome was without any municipal police,* and the habits of her citizens were demoralized by those imperial fortunes which inadequate legislation had permitted to accumulate, and which had begotten all the intolerable vices of great social inequality.† Surely these are sufficient causes both to prove and account for the existence of loaded criminal calendars.

Thus we see that the lawyer was the pivot upon which were often balanced the most engrossing interests of society. Fortune, fame, and often life itself, were suspended upon his exertions alone. We see further. That it was for the protection of no paltry wretches, who lived undistinguished and died unregretted, that the Roman learning, ambition, and enterprise, were so exclusively devoted to the study of eloquence — but for the governors, prætors, quæstors, proconsuls, and senators, cum judicium esset de fama fortunisque, ! for the pillars of state by whose favor the government stood firm, and whose wrath could make it tremble. On the lips of their advocate appeared oftentimes suspended the happiness of millions, and when successful, great was their re-They became at once the preservers and benefactors for whom no amount of gratitude was sufficient, no amount of devotion profane. And perhaps there never was an audience which in all respects the orator would prefer to that which the eloquence of the Roman republic addressed. Though not so cultivated and apprehensive as that of Pericles or Isocrates, yet the broadest scholar and the most bril-

^{*} Modern municipal police, or night-watch, first made its appearance in Europe, and probably in the world, shortly after, and in consequence of the intro-

nurope, and probably in the world, shortly after, and in consequence of the introduction of Gipsies into Europe, in the fifteenth century.

The commercial relations which had been then recently established, suffered severely from the thieving propensities of those Ishmaelites of Egypt, whose hands were against every man, and against whom was every man's hand. The obvious necessity of a municipal police, then probably for the first time, effected such an organization. — Dissertation on the Gipsies, by H. M. G. Grellman.

† For instances of this wealth, see Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," p. 503, et seq. "Sex Domini," says Cato the Elder, "semissem Africae possidebant."

† Cicero, for Murema.

† In Cicero's defence of Reseive he apposed himself to the research of the

[§] In Cicero's defence of Roscius, he exposed himself to the vengeance of the dictator Sylla. The boldness of the orator's conduct made him almost divine in the eyes of the people. He has left his own opinion of the aptitude of that and similar cases calling forth popular sympathy, for oratorical display, in a letter to his son. De Off. 2.14.

liant rhetorician had ample verge and scope for the powers he chose to exert. But better than all, when the Roman people were changed, they retained the thunder and the lightning which the orator could control. They were both susceptible and firm. They kept faith with their advisers nobly, for a people not united by any systematic organiza-While the capriciousness of the Greeks was so conspicuous that we almost wonder that any should have been. found among them reckless enough to have risked notoriety, the Romans almost always treated their public servant and successful aspirant with a discriminating and permanent affection. 'Though Cicero violated the laws of his country and the dearest rights of the people, though he was ever in principle a rigid aristocrat, though he was attacked at one time by the eloquence and assurance of Antony, at another by the virulence of Clodius, and again by the cautious disfavor of the rising Augustus, and afterwards by all their powers combined; and though at one time quite wealthy, a cardinal vice in the eyes of the ancient democracy, yet "Roma patrem patria libera dixit." The people always liked him, always listened to him with admiration, almost always went his ways, and, unlike the Greeks, when once they espoused a project, there was a plausible if not a logical reason if they deserted it. It was for such an audience mostly, and for such issues, that the Roman lawyer became so laborious a student of the art of eloquence.

It is from this point that we have to regret our want of information most deeply. We would fain know in what manner and to what extent the lawyer was accustomed to prepare himself for a trial, how he got up his cases, his mode of examining witnesses, the kind of mental training most essential to his success, and the kind of habits most frequently resulting therefrom. These are a few of the dead facts which the burial-places of history, we fear, can never be made to surrender. What we do know of those facts is chiefly inferential.

In all their great efforts, the preparatory labor appears to have been perfectly prodigious. Contributions were levied upon every known art and science, and a whole life was too short to satisfy their aspirations. As we should expect from their devotion to rhetoric as an art, the most studious attention was paid to action.

• Juvenal, 8. 244.

Hortensius, who was a perfect enthusiast in his profession, and who never permitted himself to pass a day "unexercised and unbreathed" in its cultivation, appears to have devoted himself especially to gesture, and with great success; though to the critical eyes of Cicero his manner was not always sufficiently artless, but rather precise for an orator. But it is sufficient evidence of his skill, that he used to draw Roscius and Esopus, one the most successful tragic, and the other the most successful comic actor of his, or perhaps of any age, to study his action. Valerius Maximus says that his manner was so fascinating that many did not know whether they went to the forum to hear or to see him.

Cicero, whose action was originally as defective as that of Demosthenes, appears to have been nearly as devoted in correcting and improving it—as we have already seen. He used to receive instructions from Roscius and Esopus, and one of his common recreations was with Roscius to try their respective skill in representing different passions, the one by his eloquence of gesture, and the other by his eloquence of speech. Stage effect appears to have been no less carefully studied than action; and some magnificent situations

are to be found in the history of Roman eloquence.

What can be more impressive, indeed, more sublime, than Cicero before the Roman senate, whom he had called together at day-break, to act upon the arrest of the Allobrogian ambassadors, with whom Catiline had been tampering? Behold him, pale with watching, and exhausted, rising in the midst of that surprised assembly, and proceeding to expose the systematic scheme of villainy which, but for him, would have changed the whole form of government in less than thirty-six hours. He has extracted the fangs from the conspirators; he piles upon the tables of the senate evidence of their guilt and the city's danger. The consul, who is the central figure of the scene, has done all which his authority permits, and waits the further constitutional action of the government. He triumphs in the deeds of a protecting angel, while, as a man, he receives all the accumulated sympathy and love to which such deeds have entitled him.

<sup>Cicero, De Claris Oratoribus, 88.
Val. Max. l. 8. c. 10.
Pluta:
Pluta:</sup>

^{*} Val. Max. l. 8. c. 10.

"Ac certe satis constat contendere cum cum ipso histrione solitum, utrum ilse sæpius candem sententiam variis gestibus efficeret, an ipse cloquentiæ copiam sermone diverso pronuntiaret. Quæ res ad hanc artis suæ fiduciam Roscium abstraxit, at librum conscriberet, que cloquentiam cum histriona compararet."

Mac. Sat. 2. x.

Again, several of the scenes in the trials of Verres and Cluentius are equally effective; and more particularly his argument for the restoration of his Palatine house, which, after his banishment, Clodius had confiscated, and converted into the temple of Concord, for the purpose of preventing its reversion into the hands of Cicero.*

The dress and personal appearance of the Roman advocate was as much studied, and with as much propriety, we think, as stage situation. Macrobius says that Hortensius dressed with the most scrupulous care and neatness; that he prepared his attitudes and adjusted his toga before a mirror when about to speak, and so tucked up and secured its folds by a concealed knot as to give them a peculiar flowing appearance.t

An illustrative anecdote, whether true or false, is told of Hortensius by the same desultory miscellanist, of his instituting an action for damages against a man who rubbed carelessly against him and disturbed his toga, while he, "elaboratus ad speciem," was walking in the street.;

Augustus legislated specially against wearing the lacerna, a kind of military cloak, in the forum, either as hearer or speaker, a custom which had recently come into fashion, but which appeared to him inconsistent in that place with the dignity of the "togatæ gentis;" and on a certain state occasion discharged some citizens thus dressed from the assembly, repeating indignantly from Virgil, "Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam."

The influence of such kind of art, when skilfully managed, is unquestionably effective, however bad it may look upon record. Lord Chatham, certainly no bad authority, was a

^{*} This, as a law argument, appears superior to any thing Cicero has left us. It is exceedingly ingenious, and being for the recovery of his own property, he was more anxious to keep the attention of the court fixed upon the argument than the orator, a merit unfortunately but too rare in Cicero's professional career.— Oratio pro Domo suo.

Macrobius, Saturnalia, lib. 2. c. 9.

^{‡ &}quot;Ut bene amictus iret, faciem in speculo ponebat: ubi se intuens, togam corpori sic applicabat, ut rugas non forte sed industrià locatas artifex nodus con-stringeret, et signus ex composito defluens nodum lateris ambiret. Is quondam cum incederet elaboratus ad speciem, collegæ de injuriis diem dixit, quod sibi in angustiis obvius offensu fortuito structuram togæ distruxerat, et capital putavit quod in humero suo locum rugæ mutasset." Mac. Sat. l. 2. c. 9.

§ Suetonius Aug. 40. "Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiæ adtulisse pænulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum judicibus fabulamur." Cic.

de Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ, 39.

most devoted student of stage effect. "We know that one of the most distinguished of his partisans often complained that he could never obtain admittance to Lord Chatham's room till every thing was ready for the representation, till the dresses and properties were all correctly disposed, till the light was thrown with Rembrandt-like effect on the head of the illustrious performer, till the flannels had been arranged with the air of a Grecian drapery, and the crutch placed as

gracefully as that of Belisarius or Lear."*

Mr. Bulwer, we are told, so far from finding his account in simplicity of dress, is one of the most notorious ultra fops in the three kingdoms. Augustus W. Schlegel is perhaps even more extravagant in his attention to personal appearance: he never permits himself to appear in the lecture-room save in full dress. Making a sufficient allowance for personal idiosyncracy, we yet find, in the example of such men, high justificative authority for such kind of art. Of course we speak of it entirely as a means to an end, and without reference to other than professional effect. There is one species of preparation, too frequently considered with us as misplaced and inexpedient, for which we are happy to quote the unquestionable authority of the Roman bar. It was habitual with the Roman lawyers to write out their speeches in heavy cases, and speak them from memory. Cicero, in criticising the oratory of Servius Galba, says, that the reason why his written speeches were not as good as those which he had spoken extempore, was because he was not in the habit of polishing all his discourses with care, which Cicero considered indispensable to great success.†

We have the best authority for believing that all of Cicero's greatest efforts were written. Hortensius owed much of his success to his prodigious memory, which, says Cicero, distinguished him from any person he ever knew. He remembered what he had written with the greatest facility, and employed this natural advantage so skilfully, that he remembered not only what he had himself written and premeditated

† "Nulla enim res tantum ad dicendum proficit quantum scriptio."—De Claris Oratoribus, 91. "Stylus optimus et præstantissimus dicendi effector ac magister."—De Oratore, lib. i. 33. Again: "Hæc sunt quæ clamores et admirationes in bonis oratoribus efficiunt, neque ea quisquam, nisi diu, multumque scriptitarit, etiam si vehementissime se in his subitis dictionibus exercuerit, consequetur."—B.

Edinburgh Review of Thackeray's Chatham, for 1834.

with perfect readiness, but every thing as well that had been

stated by his opponent.*

The numerous artificial means by which the Roman orators were accustomed to aid the memory, sufficiently prove the importance which they attached to this species of cultivation. But we are equally well assured of the fact from the internal evidence afforded by such of their forensic productions as have reached us. The condensed yet eloquent style—the skilfully balanced antitheses—the perfect music of the periods, which never offend the most fastidious ear, demonstrate the patient and elaborate toilet which those books must have made.

It was not, then, sufficient to shout liberty and the constitution, to a Roman mob, to cry lo! here, or lo! there, if one wished to wield their powers. Their tastes, at least, had to be respected, though they did sometimes relieve their political advisers from the exacting ceremonial of a rigorous logic. Rarely indeed do we find the orator who is capable of profitably interesting an audience upon any subject which he has not written out, or at least made clear before the mind, even to the phraseology, by thorough and deliberate preparation. The first Earl of Chatham that was, and the Lord Stanley that is, are two of the most considerable exceptions. But the first was rather mastered by, than master of his eloquence. His brilliancies depended not upon his own volition, but the circumstances in which he happened to be placed, upon the fortunate juxtaposition of flint and steel, over which he had but little control. The latter, whose extraordinary talent for debate has been declared by one of his fellow legislators to resemble an instinct, has yet to vindicate his title to a position among the standard orators of his own age and country.

The authorities for writing and mnemonical preparation, on the other hand, are respectable both for numbers and weight. Lord Brougham, by his own confession, wrote out the peroration of his speech on the trial of Queen Caroline seven times before he was satisfied with it. A large portion of Canning's great speech on Portuguese affairs, bears abundant internal evidence of having been previously written. Sheridan used to crush his adversaries with impromptus which he had meditated for months, and written out innumerable

^{*}Cic. de Claris Oratoribus, p. 88. See other instances collected in an excellent sketch of Hortensius by Bayle, v. 8, art. Hortensius.

times. Mr. Macauley, member of Parliament for Edinburgh, whose début on the Reform bill in the house of commons, Mr. Macintosh pronounced the most splendid probably ever made in that house, had written out the whole of his speech on that occasion, and spoke it from memory, a habit which he has continued in most cases ever since. Sheil was convicted of having sent a speech to the press before the house had met, on the occasion for which the speech was reported to have been delivered, and Mr. Macintosh's luminous and philosophical disquisition upon the Reform bill, was all written and committed.

The instances of such preparation at the bar are not very numerous with us now, owing to the difference between the practice of the ancient and modern bar. The exclusively logical course of argument required in the address of the latter, and the tame unexciting subjects of litigation generated in these "piping times of peace," are sufficient explanations of the fact. But above and beyond these reasons already enumerated, our professional emoluments are altogether insufficient to justify any great devotion to a single cause. The statutory allowance does not expand in proportion to the amount of labor bestowed in the first place; in the next place, the amount in dispute does not often justify a large appropriation to counsel; and, in the third place, the comparatively settled state of the law and its rigorous administration, leave less room for the exercise of ingenuity and forensic power, though awakened by the most adequate inducements.

Herein does our bar differ materially from that of Rome, which difference leads us directly to inquire how the lawyers of that state were paid.

This is a subject which must always have a very important bearing upon the legal profession. If, for the discharge

^{*}But that this kind of preparation is more frequently adopted than is generally suspected we have no doubt; that it is not adopted as frequently as it should be, there is less doubt. We are happy to quote both the precept and example of one of the most distinguished scholars connected with the modera English bar, as our authority. "The tenth article of the Law Tracts, though delivered by the editor as a speech, was in truth a written argument in an equity cause, in the last stage of which his professional assistance was required. Written speeches in the courts of justice must ever cost very great labor, such as with extensive business at the bar, is altogether impracticable. Yet there are some nice points both of law and equity, which in respect of the extreme precision requisite to a proper treatment of them, may be more satisfactorily elucidated in that way than by the most brilliant energy of Rhetorical eloquence." — Hargrave, Law Tracts, preface, art. X.

of duties requiring a high order of intellectual power, they are liberally paid, their profession will probably be illustrated by men of the highest order of talent and power. If the pay be parsimonious, the duties will be imperfectly discharged by officers of inferior dignity. If the pay be liberal and the duties trifling, the occupation can confer little distinction.

The Roman bar, in respect of compensation, had not its parallel in either of these cases, though it most nearly resembled the first. Its distinguished members were usually munificently rewarded, and the duties were such as required the highest intellectual accomplishment; but, at the same time, any pecuniary reward was illegal, and, of course, contingent, which fact excluded all who were not in possession of a tolerable fortune at the commencement.

We have already seen in what manner the Roman patricians became the hereditary lawyers of the land, and how all their legislation tended to the retention of this privilege. We have also seen that from the increase of inhabitants, the extension of foreign and domestic commercial relations, and the ordinary multiplication of crimes in a crowded population, the law necessarily must have become more complicated, and the amount of litigation very much increased. The encroachments thus made upon the time of the patrons, without any pecuniary compensation, soon became a serious inconvenience. Of course, the client's interests were frequently neglected. Douceurs and gifts began to be exacted for a duty which Romulus, by the theory of his constitution, had intended should be gratuitously performed.

This kind of indirect taxation increased to such an alarming extent, that the plebeians had mortgaged nearly all their liberties to the senate and patricians, when M. Cincius, a tribune of the people, passed a law, which afterwards bore his name, forbidding every lawyer from receiving any presents or compensation for professional services.* We need no historical records to inform us that a law of that kind must have been a stumbling-block, but scarcely an obstacle; and that the universal forbearance of all the needy would prevent its rigid execution. Presents continued to be made as before, albeit by stealth, and with cautious dexterity.†

ment. ad Leg. Cin. iii. seq.

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^{*} The Cincian Law was promulgated in the year of Rome 549, about two hundred years before Christ. — Dio. lib. liv. Tac. an. xi. 5. xiii. 42.
† Heinec, Antiq. Rom, lib. ii. tit. vii. p. 358. xi. Fred. Brummerius Com-

Cicero received about twenty thousand sestertii from Cornelius Sylla, whom he defended against an action for treason.* He had also been retained by the island of Sicily to conduct the impeachment of Verres, and achieved a reputation for almost miraculous disinterestedness, because, though absent one hundred and ten days collecting evidence upon the island, he not only was unwilling to take pay for his services, but resolutely refused to have even his travelling expenses reimbursed, having passed his time, while on the island, with some of his friends, to save expense. was an affectation of magnanimity, however, in which he did not see fit often to indulge in his maturer years.

A more usual, because a legal way, of recompensing professional services, was by testamentary devises. fortunes appear to have been accumulated in this way, and no more satisfactory evidence could be given of a lawyer's ability than the amount of his inheritances from this quarter. Cicero mentions numerous testimonials which Lucullus had received of this kind from his Asiatic provincial subjects, and frequently alludes, in his letters, to similar favors extended to himself. When, upon one occasion, Antony falsely declared that Cicero had never received any such assurances of his clients' regard, he replied, that he had received upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, not like Antony, from the forged wills of strangers, but as testamentary donations from dying friends.**

The practice of champerty, as might have been expected, was one of the earliest offspring of this law, and was, in its turn, made a subject of severe restrictive legislation. redemptores litium^{††} were a class accustomed to interest themselves in the event of a suit with expectation of remunerating themselves from the proceeds of the judgment when recovered. This class of lawyers have received the severe con-

^{*} Dunlop. Hist. of Rom. Lit. vol. ii. p. 169.

[†] Plutarch in Cic. p. 600. ‡ Lit. ad Atticum, 2, 20. 11, 2.

^{5 &}quot;Immo jam ante multæ fraudes hinc legi factæ erant per xenia, strenas, natalia, modi artes," etc. — Heinec. Ant. Rom. lib. ii. tit. vii. xi.

"Maximas audio tibi L. Lucullo, pro tuâ eximi â liberalitate maximisque beneficiis in tuos venisse, hæreditates."—Pro Flac. 34.

"Lit. ad Attic. 2. 20. 11. 2. Pro Milo, 18.

^{**} Philip. 2. 16.

tt "Redemptores litium, sunt qui ex eventu litis sibi certam quantitatem caverint." - Vicat, voc. Redemptor.

demnation of our law as fomenters of litigation, and may be considered one of the worst features of restraining laws upon this kind of labor.

The Cincian law, from its obvious inconveniences, passed into comparative desuetude until revived by Augustus, but, before the completion of his reign, was openly disregarded. During the reign of the Emperor Claudius, they used not only to take exorbitant fees from their own clients, but oftentimes from both sides, in which case, the "poorest pay was usually the victim." One Caius Silius, consul elect, with the concurrence of the whole senate, demanded that this law should be revived and invigorated.* The merits of the statute were up before the emperor, who, in the plenitude of his stupidity, for once, stumbled upon a measure which would not have disgraced a statesman. Silius, the paramour of the notorious Messalina, argued that lawyers should find their reward in the approbation of their contemporaries, of posterity, and their own consciences, like the orators of old; that paying them only foments litigation by awakening a sinister interest inimical to peace and good order; that they should follow the example and reap the reward of Asinius, Messala, and Arruntius, who were raised to the highest dignities of the state by an unblemished life and an eloquence never exposed to sale.

To this, the lawyers, led on by Suillius, replied, that fame was uncertain; that legal distinction was acquired only by labor and expense; that most people chose their profession for their support, and there was no reason why the bar should not yield support as well as the military and agricultural professions. That Asinius and Messala were enriched by the civil wars, or were the heirs of wealthy houses, and might afford to labor for glory alone, but equally opposite were the cases of C. Clodius and Caius Curio, who never spoke in a cause but for extravagant fees.

The stupid Claudius, who, at this stage of the discussion, had probably forgotten all of the argument of Silius, decided that the Cincian law should not be revived, and, thereupon, fixed a settled fee,† which might not be exceeded, and which, if necessary, might be collected by execution. This law, though afterwards revived once or twice, was substantially extinct.

* Tac. An. 11. 5.

† About eighty pounds.

Professional rewards which are exposed to such contingencies necessarily offer but small temptation to any who are not indifferent to pecuniary emolument. It was not possible, nor had it been intended, that the industrious plebeian should divide with the patricians, the distinctions of their monopoly, or any of its revenues; consequently, until the latter days of the republic, the Cincian law appears to have excluded from the legal profession all who were not of noble or wealthy families. Though, sometimes, lawyers of low birth (and of this number was Hortensius) became eminent, yet they were almost universally independent of their profession for their support.

To emerge from the double incumbrance of low birth and poverty was the lot of none but those whose rare talents gave them an enduring faith in that which was within them. Hence, the dazzling splendor of wealth and rank, or the substantial glory of positive worth, which illustrated this period

of forensic eloquence at Rome beyond compare.*

To the same law is probably due, to a great extent, that universal proclivity of the Roman lawyers to political life. Nearly every man who distinguished himself under the republic went into political life, and generally through the law. Some unfortunate province was consigned to him to be plundered, as the cheapest way, we presume, of sustaining a nobility. Cicero took a prætorship at thirty-one, and was successively prætor and consul. Hortensius was successively a soldier, military tribune, edile, prætor, and consul. Antony rose through the lower offices to the dignity of consul, and afterwards proconsul of Cilicia. L. A. Cotta was consul, and afterwards censor. The Gracchi, the Scævolæ, Lælius, Cato, indeed all, not only of the legal, but the literary men of any distinction, from Varro downwards, took office.† Its pecuniary emoluments, unlike those of the bar,

citus prosperrime ductos, post victorias et trophæa, civilibus stipendiorum oficiis floruerunt laureasque fori speciosis certaminibus occupantes."—Nota politica in Tac. C. Forstneri, p. 322.

^{*} There is a striking similarity in the organization of the old French and the Roman bar, growing, probably, out of similar causes.—"Les parlemens ne se trouvaient guère composés que de personnes appartenant aux anciennes familles parlementaires qui avaient reçu de leur parens des leçons de fierté, et sucé avec le lait les principes fondamentaux de ses compagnies, ou de nouveaux conseillers, qui, possédant de la fortune, avaient embrassé cette carrière pour s'élever au-dessus du commun et se procurer l'exemption de la taille ainsi que les pré-rogatives de la noblesse."—*Institutions Judiciaires par J. D. Meyer*, tom. 2. p. 609. † "Consularesque triumphales multi, Crassi et Antonii, Scævolæ post exer-

were never precarious during the growth of the republic. The unbounded license for plundering which it conferred upon the incumbent, was also a sufficient security for almost any amount of credit at Rome, while the feelings entertained by the proud citizens of Italy, were little calculated to suggest any scruples against such a mode of repairing their

The extent to which this licensed robbery was carried may be inferred from the burden which the small island of Cyprus, in the province of Cilicia, on one occasion voluntarily assumed. In order to be spared from furnishing winter quarters to the garrison of that prefecture, they paid in advance about two hundred talents, or forty thousand pounds. The other cities, particularly of Asia, were accustomed to a similar exhaustion.

Cicero's forbearance in this particular was so extraordinary that he feels it necessary to assure his friend Atticus that he is not speaking hyperbolically. When his administration of Cilicia was finished, he remitted to the Roman treasury out of the surplus revenue of his province, eight hundred thousand pounds. "This," said he, "makes my whole company groan. They imagined it was to have been divided among themselves."† He left about twenty thousand pounds in the hands of his agents in Asia, as his official dues, to be forwarded to him at Rome. I

The fortunes which were sometimes thus acquired were princely. \ Hortensius had his sumptuous villas at Tusculum, Bauli, and Laurentium, besides his splendid house on the Palatine hill, which was afterwards to form the centre of the imperial palace. His olive plantation he was accustomed to nourish regularly with wine; and once in a cause in which he was engaged with Cicero, changed the order of the summing up, that he might go into the country to water or rather wine a favorite platanus. | Notwithstanding this

[&]quot;Quâ ex insulâ, (non ἐπερβολικῶς, sed verissime loquor,) nummus nullus me oblivente erogabitur." Ad. Attic. 5. 21.
† Ad Att. 7. 1.
‡ Ad Att. 11. 1.
§ "Sex domini semissem Africæ possidebant, cum interfecit eos princeps Nero." Cat. Prisc. De Re Rusticâ.

[&]quot;Is Hortensius platanos suas vino irrigare consuevit, adeo ut in actione quâdam quam habuit cum Cicerone susceptare, precario à Tullio postulasset ut locum dicendi permutaret secum, abire enim villam necessario se velle, ut vinum platano quam in Tusculano posuerat ipse suffunderet." Macrob. Sat. l.

profuse use of wine, his heir found ten thousand casks in his cellar after his death.

Cicero is said to have had eighteen villas in different parts of Italy, besides numerous bathing-places which he had built for his convenience when travelling. And yet neither Cicero nor Hortensius were very notorious for their wealth at that time. The latter appears to have drawn considerable attention to the extravagance of his expenditures, not the amount of his possessions. Almost every governor of a province having the slightest pretence, would get permission from the senate for a triumph, on which occasion his expenses were seldom under ten, and often over one hundred thousand pounds. The philosopher may regret, but cannot be surprised, that the liens of a harassing and badly paid profession should be sundered by such substantial temptations as these.

Further, none but men of very distinguished abilities could hope to receive presents sufficiently large to supply the place of a regular income. But such men would not wish to incur the penalty of a violated law, much less the risk of detection in an act which would generally have been considered undignified, if not disreputable,† for such trifling pay as the creditor of a protested note could afford for its collection. Consequently we are forced to the further inference, that the mediatorial aid of the court was invoked only in cases of deep importance—that lawyers of distinction (who only were likely to receive retainers in such cases) were the only ones liberally paid, while all that humble but useful class of the profession, who, with us, for a small compensation, care for the comparatively unimportant interests of the lower classes, must have been exceedingly limited.

The innumerable cases of domestic oppression, of this unnatural restriction begotten, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of Rome? But of their existence no room is left in the mind of the philosophic historian to doubt.

It must not be imagined that these evils, which operated as a partial disfranchisement of the poor, were confined to that class alone. As in some trades the good debts are intended to cover the bad, so the rich clients in Rome were

Bayle, tit. Hortensius.

† A line from Ovid will suffice, if authorities are required, to show the low estimation in which paid advocates were held by the Romans.

"Turpe reos emptå miseros defendere linguâ."

Ovid, Amor. 1. 10. 39.

^{*} Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 14. c. 14. His numerous fish-ponds, and other instances of his extravagance, are mentioned by Varro, De Re Rusticâ, l. 3. c. 3, c. 17, and Bayle, tit. Hortensius.

generally compelled to pay for any services, if rendered to their less fortunate neighbors. When some subject-king, or provincial prefect, or wealthy criminal of another kind, became seriously dependent upon the services of his counsel, he was not long in learning that the hardest debts to pay are those of gratitude, and that there are impulses to give as strong from without as within the human breast. If by the absolute counting out of the money the danger of violating the law appeared too serious, or if the present exigencies were not sufficiently great to overcome the prudence of the counsel, his preliminary professional service was usually to draw the will of his client elect, or at least so much of it as would settle upon himself a comfortable retainer. Thus the law was avoided, and the client seduced into an enormous mortgage upon his estate, by the length of the credit, and the inevitable transfer of the obligation to his heirs.*

We have already seen that none but men of established reputation would be likely to receive briefs in such cases, and as such alone were liberally paid, none but the distinguished could presume to live by their profession at all. Hence it is that we hear or know of so few Roman lawyers. Cicero, in a sketch intended to cover both the bar and the forum, enumerates only about a dozen men as prominent at any one time, and that, too, in a city more than ten times as large as New York

large as New York.

Thus it appears that the legalized restrictions which we have above been considering, drove the ambition of the country into political life, left a large portion of the poor population unprotected, before the law exhausted the wealth of the rich, and fed the pride and vices of the tens at the expense of the thousands.

Of the Roman mode of procuring and waiting upon clients a few more notices may be interesting. The custom of "drumming," in mercantile phrase, is by no means of recent origin, nor an exclusively mercantile usage. On the contrary, in this branch of the arts the Romans appear to have been over all other nations facile principes.

* That the burden of the Cincian law pressed in this direction is apparent in the nature of things, and is further attested by the author of the Dialogue on the Corruptions of Eloquence, who, after quoting with approbation Virgil's prayer for the society of the sweet muses, determines "nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar, non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet: nec, incertus futuri, testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam, quam quod possim, cui velim, relinquere quandocunque fatalis et meus dies veniet." Chap. 13.

The professional prospects of lawyers depend much upon the extent of their personal acquaintance, which, therefore, they are always anxious to enlarge. They are more properly citizens of the world, and have usually possessed, we think, more symmetry and completeness of character, in all the great eras of civil society, than the incumbents of any of the other practical professions.

The extent and causes of these characteristics would be an interesting subject of inquiry, in which we dare not at

present indulge.

Great as this natural tendency undoubtedly is, we find in the almost universal political aspirations of the Roman lawyers an additional incentive to the enlargement of their personal acquaintance. Nearly all the magistrates under the republic were elected by the people—hence not only the candidates—the natio officiosissima wanted clients in presenti but voters in futuro. Electioneering for both purposes was reduced to a science.

To flatter strangers and to avoid offending forgotten acquaintances, was the first lesson learned and the last habit surrendered by the candidate for public consideration. The lawyers and the politicians were daily accustomed to take with them, when they went into the street, a slave or two, who knew every man of distinction in Rome, and whose duty it was to whisper to his master the name of any such who happened to approach them, in order that an old friend might be greeted with adequate familiarity.‡ These slaves were called Nomenclators, a somewhat expensive but invaluable Directory, particularly, if, as might be expected from the education of many of that class at Rome, some illustrative anecdotes or historical incidents had become associated in their minds with the crowds which thronged her streets, who had both lived and acted history.§

[•] Cic. in Piso, 23.

[†] Popularem vero auram, que precipue erat opus, captabant nomenclatione, blanditiis, assiduitate et benignitate. — Hein. Ant. Rom. 1. iv. tit. 18, 98.

Mercemur servum, qui dictet nomina, lævum
 Qui fodicet latus, et cogat trans pondera dextram
 Porrigere; Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina."

Hor. Epist. lib. i. 6, 50.

§ These servants were also sometimes called monitors, — Cic. pro Marana, 36, and at other times stuffers, if we may be allowed to coin a noun from our verb to stuff—in somewhat common use in this connection, and which alone conveys the meaning of the Latin farcio. Dicti etiam sunt fartores, qui veluti in aures infarciebant civium nomina. — Hein. Ant. Rom. 1. 4, p. 18, sec. 78.

Plutarch says that the use of the nomenclators was illegal, and that Cato for that reason in sueing for public offices refused to use them. But that does not agree with the negative pregnant of Cicero in his oration for Muræna, in which he rallies Cato for his stoical rigor and inconsistency. do you keep a nomenclator? the thing is a mere cheat, for if it be your duty to call the citizens by their names, it is a shame for your slave to know them better than yourself. — Why do you not speak to them before he has whispered you, or after he has whispered you, why do you not salute them as if you knew them yourself, or when you are elected, why do you grow careless of saluting them at all. very good social but very bad stoical philosophy." Cicero appears to have been provided thus on all public occasions.

Of the manner in which clients were usually received and waited upon, little can be added to the rich and imaginative description of Gibbon; albeit that illustrious historian has clearly taken advantage of the indistinctness of history to idealize the profession of the law and its heroes at Rome.†

The probability is, that the manner of the Roman lawyer was always respectful to his political peers, and, upon occasion, sufficiently tinctured with hauteur to his inferiors. One's birth, or station in life, was a legitimate subject of sarcasm in the forum ; and, though the lawyer of distinction, who had acquired by his profession, if he had not inherited by birth, the feelings of a patrician, was ever ready to extend the utmost courtesy to his plebeian friends, and even slaves, as a favor, yet he could become indefinitely saucy when that courtesy was claimed as a right.

The democracy of Rome, in its organized and united state, was feared, and its asserted claims respected by the

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^{*} Pro Murena, 36. Ad Att., 4. 1. Hein. Ant. Rom. l. 4. p. 18. † Decline and Fall, c. 44. p. 757.

[†] Neither Cicero, the statesman, nor Cicero, the orator, could protect Cicero, the man, from utter ruin, if he were to make a remark in our day like the following, applied to one L. Cæsulanus, a plebeian lawyer: "I, myself, heard him, in his old age, when he endeavored, by the Aquilian law, to subject L. Labellius to a fine for a breach of justice, but I should not have taken any notice of such a low born wretch if I had not thought that no person I had ever heard could give a more suspicious turn to the cause of the defendant."

Cic. De Claris Orat. p. 75. § Witness Cicero's conduct to his slave Tiro, who collected and edited a volume of his sayings, and afterwards, his very fascinating correspondence, a service, on the part of the slave, for which posterity should ever hold him in grateful remembrance.

nobility, while its individual representatives were despised. Any principle which united the people, made them paramount and sovereign; but when separated, the rights of an individual were but as a reed, which the noblemen might break and trample under their feet with impunity. The Christian religion had not yet taught the equal value and accountability of every human soul, nor had modern democracy established men's equal rights before the laws. The undisguised contempt with which Horace visited the profane vulgar, was the common sentiment of all that aristocratic clique of which he was a most successful toady. The plebeian had no recognized points of equality with the patrician, save physical strength. His deficiency in blood qualifications could be only imperfectly supplied by multiplication of numbers, in the same way that animals, in their contests with men, repair the inferiority of their intellectual powers. was only the aggregate Roman people that was feared. History corroborates our inferences from such a state of facts. The plebeian's suits, if at all, were taken up for the glory of the orator, not the protection of the injured. In his business intercourse, the lawyer seems never to have forgotten his professional privileges. A kind of state was kept up while receiving his clients. He gave his opinions usually from an elevated seat. The venue of his inspiration appears to have been, as in respect to personal position, almost as local as that of the Pythoness.

The custom of prefixing preambles to statutes, in modern times, has been considered a very significant manifestation of the progress of popular sovereignty. The right to know the reason for the passage of a law is not far removed from the right to dispute it, if it appears unreasonable. This was a principle of deference, however, to which the Roman lawyers very seldom yielded. It was optional with them, and not customary to accompany their opinions with reasons, as if their dictum placed the question beyond dispute.† And, indeed, these opinions were of great authority; they were "re-

† "Quid? quod etiam sine probationibus monentis auctoritas prodest, sic, quo modo jurisconsultorum valent responsa etiamsi ratio non redditur." — Seneca Epis. xciv.

^{* &}quot;Ex solio tanquam ex tripodo."—Cic. de leg. 1. 3. Orat. ii. 33., iii. 33. "Non immerito jurisconsulti domus totius oraculum civitatis videretur Ciceroni."—Cic. de Orat. 1. 45.—Hein. Ant. Rom. lib. i. tit. ii. 33.

cepta sententia," "receptum jus," "receptus mos," etc.; though they had legal force only by courtesy before the empire.

This is in singular contrast with the abject humility which they would, if necessary, assume, to secure a vote or a favor from the people. The co-existence, in Rome, of a people continually winning new rights from the vast domain of ancient conservatism, and an aristocracy, too proud, almost, to breathe the same atmosphere, accounts for it. A privileged class universally become mean as they become weak; but the peculiarity of the law aristocracy at Rome was, that all legislation had, either naturally or artificially, so crystallized around them, that they became not only distinguished for the ordinary vices of an over-indulged class, but they furnished from their ranks almost all the scholars, and statesmen, and orators, and generals of that very remarkable era. Indeed, whoever pauses to contemplate that brilliant period of world history, is almost immediately impressed with the conviction, that the Roman bar, before the empire, with all its vices and weaknesses duly considered, was one of the most elegant and accomplished bodies of men which has ever existed.

ART. V. — Communication of the Secretary of the Navy, June, 1841. Congressional Documents. Twenty-seventh Congress, Extra Session.

"THE navy, not inappropriately termed the right arm of the public defence, which has spread a light of glory over the American standard in all the waters of the earth, should be rendered replete with efficiency." This sentiment, so well expressed by President Tyler in his inaugural address, cannot but find a response in every American bosom. is, indeed, but the solemn expression of the general conviction and almost universal wish of the country. The popular will is said to be the law of our land. Whence comes it,

Hein. Ant. Rom. lib. i. tit. ii. 35. t "Jurisconsultorum responsa et decreta sæpe ab oratoribus dicendo everti."
Cic. pro Muræna, xiii. Ib. pro Cæcina, xxiv.
Dr. Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, i. sec. 42, 43, 44.

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then, that with this will, so unanimous in favor of the creation of a navy proportioned to the extent of our commerce, and our great exposure to maritime attacks, it has never been created? One of the reasons which may be assigned for this anomaly is, that the navy for some years has been much less favorably regarded by the government than by the country. The impression has been entertained by the government, that the navy was not favorably inclined towards it, because it did not throw its influence into the scale of the ascendant party. The great merit to which the navy may justly lay claim, of abstaining from all connection with parties, and all interference with political strife, has been construed into enmity, on the principle that those who are not for us are against us. The navy has been for the country which created and sustained it, and not for any particular party. Confining itself to the duty of yielding obedience to the existing government, it has considered it no part of its province to decide of what individuals that government should consist. The number of naval officers who vote at all is very small; of those who take any active part in influencing the opinions of others, it is still smaller. Though the constitution imposes no disability upon them, this forbearance should be a merit with all parties, instead of being a motive of dissatisfaction with any. The attempt to introduce politics into navy yards, and to make political orthodoxy a substitute for skill and faithful industry among workmen, is a most expensive experiment. It may swell the votes of a dominant party, but it adds immeasurably to the cost of constructing and equipping our ships. The workman who sits on a log reading the orthodox paper of the day, or who pauses, axe in hand, to harangue his nearest companion as to the merits of a presidential candidate, may render an acceptable service to individuals, but does not forward the interest of the nation that employs and pays him.

Another efficient cause for the want of energetic action in placing our navy on a formidable footing, commensurate with the adequate protection of our commerce and the defence of our extensive coasts, is doubtless to be found in the want of information on a subject involving, perhaps, a little mystery. It is not, however, very difficult to understand and appreciate a few essential facts, which we will proceed to state. In the first place, then, England has a commerce of which the aggregate value is about four hundred and forty

millions of dollars, without counting her rich returns of bullion which the balance of trade, usually in her favor, enables her to draw from all quarters of the globe. France has a commerce worth rather more than two hundred and seventy millions of dollars, and we a commerce which, even in these years of depression, is still worth nearly two hundred and sixty-six millions of dollars. The tonnage of England engaged in the transportation of this valuable commerce amounts to about two millions eight hundred thousand tons, worth probably one hundred and forty millions of dollars; that of France to seven hundred and sixty-seven thousand four hundred and thirty-nine tons, worth about thirty-nine millions of dollars; and that of the United States to two millions ninety-six thousand four hundred and ninety tons, worth nearly one hundred and five millions of dollars. The seamen of England amount to one hundred and seventy-five thousand men; those of France to about seventy thousand; and of our own, as ascertained from the entries and clearances of our custom-house in 1839, which necessarily omitted a large number employed in whaling and other remote voyages, neither beginning nor terminating within the year, to seventy-one thousand five hundred and thirty-six, of whom sixty-eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-two were men, and two thousand six hundred and fourteen boys. Making the reasonable allowance of one man for every twenty-five tons of shipping, — England has one man for every sixteen tons, and France one nearly for every twelve tons it would give us about eighty-four thousand seamen employed in our commercial marine, which, added to eight thousand seamen employed in the navy, would make an aggregate of about ninety thousand. The real number would not doubtless fall short of one hundred thousand. Such being the value of our commerce, amount of our tonnage, and number of our seamen, as compared with those of England and France, what ratio do we find between our relative preparation for maritime defence? Why, England has an available force of one hundred and four line of battle ships, eighty-six frigates, and more than two hundred smaller cruisers, including fifty-one steamers; and in actual commission, twenty-nine line of battle ships, twenty-nine frigates, thirty-five sloops, and one hundred and forty-five vessels of inferior force, of which forty-six are steamers. This fleet in commission is manned by twenty-one thousand seamen, four thousand boys,

and nine thousand marines, making an aggregate of thirty-four thousand, exclusive of officers. France has an available force of forty-nine line of battle ships, fifty-seven frigates, twenty-five corvettes of the first class, and two hundred and six vessels of inferior force, among which are thirty-six steam-Of this fleet, eight ships of the line are in actual commission abroad, nine equipped ready for immediate service on the completion of their crews; also twelve frigates, thirtynine sloops, seventeen brigs, thirty-six smaller vessels, twentyseven transports, which are armed, and occasionally act as cruisers; and twenty-one steamers. These ships in commission are manned by a force of twenty-four thousand men, exclusive of officers.

Turning from the condition of the English and French navies, and the formidable aspect in which they present themselves, what do we find to be the condition of our own? last Navy Register shows it to consist of eleven ships of the line, sixteen frigates, twenty-one sloops, four brigs, nine schooners, four steamers, and a store ship. Some of these ships are unseaworthy, and many others require extensive repairs. Of this force there are only the following in actual commission: four ships of the line — three of these being receiving ships, which never quit their moorings — five frigates, thirteen sloops, three brigs, eight schooners, two steamers, and the store ship, manned with a force in all of nine thousand one hundred and twenty-five men.

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A consideration of the facts thus briefly stated with regard to the relative value of our commerce, as compared with that of England and France, and the extreme disproportion which our means of defending it bear to those of the powers in question, plainly shows that our navy is wholly inadequate to make head against the powers with which we are liable to be brought into collision. If any other argument were necessary to prove the importance of our possessing a navy commensurate with the exposure of our wide-spread and valuable commerce, and proportioned in some measure to the navies of other maritime powers, it might be found in the fact which our past history conclusively exhibits, that all our difficulties with foreign powers have sprung immediately from the want of a powerful navy. It was this deficiency which, soon after the establishment of our independence, invited the spoliations of the Barbary powers, and led to the Tripolitan war. The same want of naval preparations soon

after invited those predatory attacks on our rich and tempting commerce by France and England, which were carried to such a ruinous extent. In 1800, a season of almost universal war in Europe, we had nearly a million of tons of shipping, exposed without the slightest show of protection, on the high seas. And in 1805 our exports had reached the value of one hundred and eight millions of dollars. An annual expenditure of six or seven millions in the support of fleets and convoys would have secured the safe transit of the valuable products which we exported, and of the enhanced returns by which they should have been repaid, and protected our peaceful citizens, engaged in carrying on their lawful pursuits, from molestation, seizure, and restraint. It was not for want of patriotic warning, even at that early day, that we fell into the error of trusting to the generosity of powerful belligerents, and failed to provide the only means of causing our neutrality to be respected, in the creation of a powerful navy. In 1798, a distinguished statesman, foreseeing the evils that awaited us from a weak reliance upon the justice and generosity of other nations, expressed his perfect conviction that "twelve ships of seventy-four guns, as many frigates, and twenty or thirty smaller vessels, would probably be found, our geographical situation and our means of annoying the trade of the maritime powers considered, a force sufficient to secure our future peace with the nations of Europe."

There can be little doubt that had this opinion been acted upon by our government from that time forward, we should have escaped from those ruinous spoliations carried on in rivalry by France and her allies on the one hand, and England on the other, amounting to an aggregate of seventy millions of dollars, without counting the loss incurred by the consequent check given to our commerce throughout the world. Nor can there be any more doubt that the maintenance of a respectable navy would have prevented those aggressions and insults of every sort, which provoked our late war with England, in which we expended in the armaments which it rendered necessary, one hundred and twenty-eight millions, lost by labor diverted from productive occupations the sum of fifteen millions, and were cut off almost entirely from the lucrative profits on the exports of our productions; and by which we were subjected to the invasion and desolation of our coasts, the slaughter of our citizens, the temporary

suspension of our settlements in the west on account of the incursions of the savages in alliance with Britain, and a general interruption of enterprise throughout the land—an aggregate loss, altogether, of more capital than would have sustained for us a formidable navy in all time to come; and the whole of which, together with the temporary sacrifice of our national honor, only subsequently redeemed by the heroism and blood of our seamen, might have been saved by the creation of a navy coëval with our independence, and grow-

ing with our commerce and national power.

Instead, however, of fitting out a force sufficient for the protection of our commerce, when assailed by the French and English belligerents, we determined to withdraw that property from the high seas, to arrest our enterprise, and pass from a state of unbounded activity to one of self-suspended animation, thereby, in the hope of injuring our assailants, waging a war upon ourselves more ruinous than theirs. Our position was no less undignified than it was disastrous. Insult and oppression sought us out even on our own coasts; until at length, when stripped, impoverished, and unprepared, we were driven by the very excess of the contumely with which England treated us, to fight under every disadvantage. The circumstances under which we commenced this war, from which there was no means of honorable escape, were truly We were in a situation to send to sea seven frigates, three sloops, and eleven brigs and schooners, besides one hundred and seventy gun-boats, the paltry and miserable substitutes of our disbanded navy; while England had at sea ninety-six ships of the line, one hundred and fifty-one frigates, and two hundred smaller vessels; and in the neighborhood of our own coasts the overpowering force of seven ships of the line, twenty-three frigates, and seventy smaller vessels. Enormous, however, as was the disparity, we sustained an honorable struggle, and though suffering greatly from the destruction of our commerce, the glory which our little navy gained for us, healed the wounded honor of the country, and was accepted as an offset to our national misfortunes. We fought our way to self-respect, and to the respect of our enemy, winning for ourselves a name which, sustained by adequate preparation, will do us good service in all time to come.

Having at length settled our difficulties with England by an honorable peace, it still remained for us to seek redress

from France for injuries scarcely less grievous, and which might with equal propriety have led to an appeal to arms, had not our resentment been restrained by the recollection of her valuable services in our struggle for independence. After presenting ourselves through a succession of years to the various governments that have ruled the destinies of France, as suppliants for justice, we at length obtained, after submitting to be reviled from her tribunes as greedy and avaricious, a tardy promise to return a portion of what had been plundered from us; a promise which a fancied insult, and still more the fact of her being armed and ready to assault us, while we were wholly unprepared to defend ourselves, almost emboldened her to break. With shipping to the amount of one million seven hundred thousand tons, with a value of nearly four hundred millions of dollars, exposed with no commensurate protection on the ocean, and coasts undefended by fortifications, or the surer safeguard of a formidable fleet, we held out to France, in 1836, that temptation to a sudden coup-de-main, which she has ever been so little able to resist.

The crisis, however, was happily passed, in a great measure owing to the determined attitude which the country assumed, in the bearing of her chief magistrate. To the energy of President Jackson we are not a little indebted for the honorable yet peaceful result of our dispute with France; and it would have been well had we profited by the good counsel with which he soon after advised the representatives of the people to learn from the recent crisis in which the country had been placed, to prepare in season the means of defence for future emergencies.

"I submit it, then, to you," he remarked, "whether the first duty we owe to the people who have confided to us their power, is not to place our country in such an attitude as always to be so amply supplied with the means of defence, as to afford no inducement to other nations to presume upon our forbearance, or to expect important advantages from a sudden assault either on our commerce, our sea-coast, or our interior frontier. In case of the commencement of hostilities during the recess of Congress, the time inevitably elapsing before that body could be called together, even under the most favorable circumstances, would be pregnant with danger, and if we escaped without signal disaster, or national dishonor, the hazard of both unnecessarily incurred could not fail to excite a feeling of deep reproach. I earnestly recommend to you, there-

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fore, to make such provisions that in no future time shall we be found without ample means to repel aggression, even although it may come upon us without a note of warning."

This earnest and enlightened recommendation, enforced by such unanswerable arguments, and brought home to the convictions of the country by so recent a crisis, has, however, had the fate of every similar one that preceded it. No additional preparations of importance for naval defence have since been made, and our force in commission has been rather diminished than increased. This, too, has been the case during the existence of difficulties of a very complicated character between our country and the most formidable naval power of the day. As if the unsettled state of our conflicting claims with regard to the north-eastern boundary, and the difficulty of keeping the peace on our northern frontier, were not sufficient causes to warn us to be on our guard, we have recently added to the catalogue of our differences with England a question of an exceedingly delicate and exciting character, affecting the integrity of our soil from foreign invasion, and the life of one of our fellow citizens, recklessly destroyed by foreigners on our own territory, on the one hand; and on the other, the liberty and life of a British subject, in peril on a charge of having committed a crime against the laws of our country, while obeying the constituted authorities of his own. In the midst of such increasing embarrassments in our relations with the most formidable of naval powers, does it then become us still to remain indifferent to past admonitions, and impending and constantly increasing difficulties? Is it wise, is it prudent, yet to delay until a more fitting season, to place our naval defence on a formidable and imposing footing and so to maintain it, while we have a commerce to protect, and multiplied relations with foreign powers which may at any time become complicated? asking too much, that from the charges on that commerce from which we derive our chief revenue, a sufficient portion should be set apart for the protection of commerce, and as a permanent means of national defence? We hope that there is no American among us who could answer in the negative, and that the present Congress will not rise without taking measures to place our navy on a permanent and formidable footing with the least possible delay.

We propose to inquire what would be a sufficient navy to

secure for us those advantages of ample protection to commerce and national defence which we so imperiously require. We may assume, then, that the extent of our navy in commission should be regulated by the value of our trade to be protected, by a consideration of the proportion which the navies of other maritime countries bear to their commercial marine, and by the necessity of maintaining at all times a sufficient school for the instruction of our officers, and for the formation of seamen, and to form a nucleus susceptible of being easily expanded to the full measure of our naval There are at least five nations, namely, England, strength. France, Russia, Turkey, and Egypt, which maintain naval forces in commission superior to ours; and Holland, with only a sixth of our population, of our commerce, or of our national resources, maintains a force about equal to our own. But as England and France are alone in a condition to cope with us on the ocean, or in a maritime position analogous to our own, we will confine ourselves to the consideration of their navies in estimating what should be the proper extent of our own. Since our existence as a nation commenced, the only aggressions on our commerce, except the petty depredations of the Barbary cruisers, have come from the navies of England and France. There is, therefore, a peculiar propriety in basing our preparations for naval defence upon the armaments by which we are likely to be assailed.

If the amount of tonnage owned by the different maritime powers be taken as a measure of their naval strength, ours is to that of England as three to four, whilst it bears to that of France nearly the proportion of three to one. Our naval strength, however, is latent, whilst that of England and of France is developed and ready for exertion. That our naval strength should at once be developed to the extent of the naval establishment of either England or France, we do not Those nations have interests connected with their foreign possessions, their vulnerability at remote points, and their interference with the internal politics of other countries, to which we are happily strangers. Still, the extent of their navies must, in a great measure, determine that of our own. Though our wars are likely to be waged for defence, rather than for ambition, still, we must be ready to meet the enemies with whom conflicting interests may bring us into collision. We should be prepared to come successfully out of

the struggle, especially as this very preparation will be our best safeguard against the occurrence of war.

Taking into consideration, then, the exposure of our vast and valuable commerce throughout every sea, and of our extensive sea-board to sudden attack, together with the existing naval armaments of England and France, we are of opinion, that our own naval preparations should be on a scale suited to enable us to put to sea, within three years, with a fleet of forty sail of the line, forty frigates, thirty sloops, and thirty steamers. One half of this force should be sufficiently forward to be available within a year; of the remainder, half might remain on the stocks ready for launching, and the rest in frames prepared for setting up. As a school to prepare officers, and partially to prepare crews for this fleet, eight ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and fifty vessels of inferior rates, should be kept perpetually in commission. This is the least force that would form a competent school for our navy, extend to our commerce in every sea the full protection which it requires, and secure it in the earliest stages of hostilities among belligerents from those depredations to which it has heretofore been so often a prev.

Of the ships of the line, two might be assigned as flag ships to the Mediterranean and Pacific stations, and the remaining six kept together in squadron with an equal number of frigates for the practice of naval evolutions, and the attainment of that perfection in every thing that relates to skill, discipline, and efficiency, which can only result from the emulation occasioned by the re-union of a considerable force.* During the summer this squadron might remain on our own coast, in readiness to be sent wherever the interests or honor of the country might render its presence desirable; and in winter it might cruise in the West India seas, within reach of a speedy summons to proceed to any point. The remainder of the force in commission could be distributed

^{*} We are happy to find the establishment of a home squadron, to protect our coasts and commerce from any sudden attack, recommended as a subject worthy of the immediate attention of congress. To meet this object would require a force at least equal to what we have proposed.

In connection with this subject, we cannot avoid repeating a suggestion which we have frequently before made on other occasions, as to the great advantage that would result to the country from making the revenue service part of the navy proper, as it is in England, where the prevention of smuggling is so much more difficult. This would afford to the navy additional employment of a most valuable kind, and impart a knowledge of our coasts and harbors which, in case of war, would be of incalculable advantage.

among the various stations where we have hitherto found it necessary to maintain squadrons; not, however, to be fixtures there for three years, as is now usually the case, but to pass a portion of the cruise only on each station—every ship, except those bearing the flags of the commanders-in-chief on the different stations, circumnavigating the world in the course of its cruise—going out either by the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, and, in the course of its passages from station to station, touching at all the coasts and islands frequented by our merchant vessels, and affording them protection, assistance, and encouragement. By such a system of cruising, we should always have a force wherever we have commerce to be guarded; and our men of war, for ever in motion, instead of being, in a great measure, stationary, would be constantly touching, unexpectedly, at every point where an unprincipled or rapacious government might exist, and traversing every sea visited by our traders in their gainful pursuits. It is unnecessary to urge the value to our commerce of this wide extension of our cruising grounds, for it may be questioned, whether one of our men of war ever entered a port, frequented by our merchantmen, without being able to render them valuable services. Sometimes they require repairs, difficult or impossible to be procured; masts to be fished, sails to be made or repaired, or mutinous crews to be awed into subjection. In like manner, a more extended field of cruising could not fail to furnish our ships of war with increased opportunities of succoring our merchant vessels on the high seas, of furnishing provisions and water to their famishing crews, and enabling them to complete their voyages with safety to themselves and the valuable property which they are conducting.

To officer suitably the force which we deem the least that would be adequate to the protection of our wide-spread commerce, and to furnish a sufficient school for the speedy expansion of our naval power to that formidable extent which, by preparing us for war would most effectually keep it at a distance, would require ten admirals and ten vice-admirals, fifty post captains, one hundred commanders, two hundred passed midshipmen, and three hundred midshipmen. The admirals would usefully and appropriately fill the offices of navy commissioners and commanders of navy yards, and, with the vice-admirals, command our home and foreign squadrons, which would then have at their heads officers of

equal rank with those of foreign navies, with whom they would be brought in contact. The post captains would command the ships of the line and frigates; the commanders, all the vessels of inferior force, including steamers, sloops, brigs, and schooners, also, the recruiting stations, fill situations of executive officers in the navy yards, and might, with great advantage to discipline, be also employed as executive offi-

cers of line of battle ships and frigates.

With regard to the grade of admirals, we ought to be able to account more satisfactorily for our navy having so long remained without it, which is not merely valuable as both a stimulant and a reward for faithful services, but absolutely necessary for the attainment of a high condition of discipline. We may possibly attain this in single ships without the grade of admirals, but never in fleets or squadrons. In every other navy but our own, this higher grade has been found absolutely essential to command the respect of the inferior ones, and to secure subordination. Every one conversant with military affairs would ridicule the idea as absurd of having no grade in our army higher than that of colonel, which corresponds with the highest title recognized in our navy. Yet, there is no greater necessity for gradations of rank in our army than in our navy. In all military services there should be the greatest possible disparity of rank between those who command and those who obey. Even in our navy, the necessity of a higher grade is recognized, in a usage which confers upon the commander of a fleet a title not sanctioned by any law of the land. He is styled commodore, by courtesy, and is placed in command of captains, who, the moment his special service ceases, are his equals; of commanders, who will become his equals after a short interval; and of lieutenants and midshipmen, who will, also, surely become his equals with the lapse of time. This may seem an absurdity, but it is, nevertheless, a fact. By turning to the Navy Register of this year, we will find on the same list of captains, an officer who reached that grade in 1799, and another, who only entered the service, in its lowest grade, fourteen years afterwards. With a due succession of grades, such as exist in our own army, and in every navy but ours, such an anomaly, which is no less pernicious to the service than cruelly unjust to its senior officers, could never occur.

This want of higher grades and a just proportion of numbers between the higher and lower, is also a source of great

evil to the junior officers; juniors, many of them only in rank, but not in years or professional experience. The slowness of promotion among the inferior officers, one might almost say the total absence of it, is a serious misfortune both to the service and its members. The efficient command of a single ship requires both bodily and mental energy, matured by experience, but not subdued by those chilling influences of declining age, under which activity and enthusiasm wither away. Nelson was not yet forty when, after years of brilliant services, he fought the battle of the Nile; and Perry was but twenty-eight when he won the victory on Lake Erie. In the present day, our junior officers, filled with the spirit and energy which would make command a source of unbounded pride, and furnished with experience and skill to qualify them for its efficient exercise, are doomed to pass their best years without assignable limits in subordinate drudgery, while the period for the performance of higher and more responsible duties, if it ever arrive, will find them with decaying health and failing powers, weaned from their profession, indifferent to duties which have become strange to them, and fit only for retirement. There are no fewer than sixty lieutenants in the navy, who have served from twenty-five to thirty years, and a number of them, more than twenty years in their present grade, and whose ages vary from near forty to fifty years. There are more than a hundred, in all, who have been upwards of twenty-three years in the service, and who are still, most of them, far removed from any prospect of promotion.

The arrangement of officers that we have proposed, and which, in its main features, does not materially differ from a bill which passed the senate in 1837, has in view such a relation between the higher and lower grades, as would entirely remedy, for the future, the present serious affliction of slow promotion. It has hitherto been the system, to crowd the lower grades of the service by so numerous an admission of midshipmen, as to be wholly disproportioned to the higher offices they were intended afterwards to fill. This system has been most pernicious to the service, by permanently impeding the promotion, which should act as a stimulant to exertion, and unjust to the individual, by diverting him from surer channels of preferment to the sluggish pools of professional stagnation.

An easy check might be given to the present great pres-

sure of applicants for admission into the navy, as well as to the introduction of unsuitable materials, by the creation of a naval academy, at which those who receive their acting appointments should present themselves, and furnish similar evidence of character and capacity for the service as is required at the military academy. The age for admission should not exceed fourteen, and supposing the previous education to have been attended to, which should always be a requisite for admission, three years would be sufficient to lay a solid foundation of naval education. Craney Island, at Norfolk, would furnish a good site for such an institution, as it commands an extensive view of navigable waters, in which ships may be seen performing evolutions. Mathematics, navigation, astronomy, the laws of nations, drawing, and the French and Spanish languages, would furnish the appropriate For exercises, besides the use of arms of every description, they should be regularly and daily trained to the duties of seamen, on board a small ship conveniently moored for the purpose; occasionally rigging and stripping ship, bending and unbending sails, loosing, reefing, and furling, exercising the guns, and firing at a target. Several times a week the ship might weigh her anchor, and, sailing about the harbor, furnish at once instruction and amusement to her crew, while, during the summer, the ordinary season of academic vacation might be passed in an extended cruise along our coasts. Every thing being done by rule on board of this vessel, the youths would have before them a complete epitome of their profession, and be perpetually exercised in the execution of its practical details. Such a system would furnish an invaluable ground-work of professional education to our future naval officers. The first examination for admission would reject many unsuitable applicants, and the subsequent years of probation would remove all the incorrigibly stupid, vicious, or insubordinate. The chosen few who would pass such an ordeal with credit would be a valuable accession to the navy from the first moment of their entering on its active duties. They would not only be useful on board ship by the services they would immediately render, but tend to stimulate their superiors to increased exertion. Coming forward, too, under a re-organized system of the navy, should such a re-organization ever take place, they would enjoy a more rapid promotion than has of late existed; hope would be kept alive within them, their ambition stimulated, and they would obtain commands while they were of

an age both to fill creditably and to enjoy them.

Though it is desirable that a naval school should be established by Congress, to give it a more formal and permanent character, a respectable substitute for one could still be maintained from the means now under the control of the department. There are at this moment no fewer than seventeen professors in the navy, receiving pay and rations to the amount of twenty-one thousand dollars, and whose services on board of most ships when they are employed, owing perhaps to no fault of theirs, are absolutely valueless. As many of these as necessary might be collected on board of a ship in ordinary, or in one of the navy hospitals, where there might be space, and a naval academy organized under an officer of rank, to whom all the unemployed midshipmen in the navy might be ordered to report themselves. A small ship could be attached to the school, on board of which they might be daily exercised, and in which they might occasionally cruise. Owing, however, to the greater difficulty that would be found in controlling and teaching midshipmen, who, having made a cruise, might fancy that they were already masters of their profession, it would be better that the academy should be created in the manner we have proposed, as a nursery for the service, and only candidates for the situation of midshipmen received into it.

Though the system of promotion by seniority, which exists in our navy, may be open to grave objections, we do not think it safe to substitute any other rule of preference. For brilliant services in war, promotion out of the line of seniority is indispensable; but in time of peace there are no services that can be rendered to justify a preference. Did such a usage exist, who shall say that the influence of a powerful friend might not, in some cases, be the occasion of advancing the unworthy at the expense of the meritorious? But if there can be no advancement by merit, lest it might give occasion to injustice, the interest of the service at any rate requires that the navy department should on all occasions exercise, which has not been the usage, complete discretion as to selection for commands. Both the interests and honor of the country require that those who are placed in responsible stations abroad, upon whose qualities depend the comfort and safety of our crews, to whom is entrusted the guardianship of our wide-spread commerce, and the maintenance of

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our national honor, should be in all respects equal to the task. For such a purpose it is not possible to take every man in his turn in indiscriminate succession, as his name stands on the navy register. Yet this is the blind rule by which commanders for our ships are detailed. In every corps there must be some delinquent members, and our navy is not exempt from them. Instead, however, of remaining in retirement, they — equally with the meritorious — take their turns for command. Any officer of experience, who will recall what he must have seen abroad of the occasional ignorance, professional and of every other sort, imbecility, and even vicious propensities of commanders of single ships and commanders of squadrons, must feel that the interests and honor both of the navy and the country call for some other rule of selection for command than invariable rotation by seniority.

If, however, the formation of an efficient corps of officers is a matter of vital importance to the well-being of our navy, the creation of a class of American seamen by it for its own use is a consideration of by no means inferior importance. It is a lamentable fact that three fourths of the crews of our men of war are foreigners, and at least one half of them natives of the country with whom we may at some future day have to contend. How important, then, is it, that while the British navy is manned almost entirely by Britons, the American navy should be manned, not in a great measure, as is now the case, by Britons also, but by Americans! can be little doubt that the means of effecting this great national object might be found in carrying out to its full extent the existing law for the admission of naval apprentices into the service. At present, all the naval apprentices are drawn from the five recruiting stations established at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk. In those cities parents in necessitous circumstances, or having children that are troublesome to them from a roving disposition or excess of spirit, are most happy to procure the admission of their children as naval apprentices, convinced, as they have an opportunity of becoming, that they will not only be well taken care of in every respect, and receive a substantial education, but also acquire a profession by which they may support themselves comfortably. Though the advantages which naval apprenticeship holds out to parents are appreciated by those living in the cities where the lads are received, they are entirely unknown to the country generally. If they were made

known far and wide through the newspapers, and the government were to publish extensively the places where and the terms upon which it would receive boys as naval apprentices, the pay which it would give them, the degree of education it would afford, and the advantages it could hold out, in keeping open for the meritorious the situations of petty officers and boatswains and gunners, and in cases of extraordinary merit an admission to the highest honors of the profession, there can be little doubt that any requisite number of naval apprentices could readily be obtained. Instead of the present system of giving to the lads a monthly pay out of which they are to be clothed, the whole of which, in the case of a careless boy, without great attention on the part of the officers, may be absorbed in clothing, it would be advantageous to the apprentice for the government to furnish him annually with a given quantity of clothing, as it now does soldiers and marines, also with his ration, and to let his pay be entirely separate, in the form of an annual salary varying from twenty to one hundred dollars, as he increased in years and usefulness, and merited the approbation of his commander; the salary in all cases accumulating until the apprentice should be of age and entitled to his discharge. system would have the great advantage over the present one of more effectually preventing the dissipation of the pay of the apprentices through their neglect or loss of their clothing and other causes, and of accumulating considerable balances of their earnings in the hands of the government, to prevent their desertion as they acquire their profession and become useful, and also to be paid in mass into their hands at the time of their discharge. The sum which would thus accumulate would be a handsome remuneration to the apprentice at the close of his service, would give him a good start in life, placing him in a better position than most young men of his age, and hold out to parents increased inducements for placing their children in the navy.

There is no necessity of retaining the apprentices for any considerable period in the receiving ships, in order to educate or train them. Their education could go on in most respects better in a cruising ship at sea, than in a receiving ship at her moorings. In a cruiser, too, they would not simply prepare themselves for future services, but become immediately useful. The physical strength of a lad of fourteen is already considerable. Two of that age may be considered

equal to one man in the maturity of his powers. In every ship of the line, then, we might send three hundred apprentices between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, one hundred and fifty in the frigates, seventy in the sloops, and twenty in the smaller vessels. Eight thousand apprentices, which, we doubt not, could be procured within a year, by putting the whole country under contribution, instead of five cities, would suffice to place the requisite number on board of all the ships of which we have urged the equipment. will be readily understood as the most important advantage of this system, that after it should have existed two or three years, most of the original number of apprentices would be well grown, and partially formed as seamen, while others being yearly added to the service, after an interval of not more than ten years our navy would be entirely manned with complete crews of our own creation, and of native growth. If this system were at once adopted, and gradually extended to the limit of which it will admit, we should no longer encounter the difficulties we now do in fitting out our ships, nor see them, as is almost always the case, wasting the months that should be passed in cruising, in efforts to fill up the complements of their crews, draining the country of its able-bodied seamen, to the frequent embarrassment of commerce, instead of carrying away the redundant and unruly youth of the country, rescuing them in many cases from idleness and vice, and returning them at the end of a few years, well-grown, plainly educated, and skilful seamen, capable of gaining their subsistence and becoming useful members of society. While many of the apprentices would doubtless enter the merchant service, and push their fortunes to the highest stations and the competence which it affords, the mass would doubtless remain attached to the navy, becoming familiar with its ships and officers, and, like them, part and parcel of the navy itself. The navy being thus manned by Americans growing up in the service, the harsh system of discipline which has originated in the unlimited introduction of foreigners might be gradually changed, a milder and more perfect control would take its place, and our men of war become models of good order, and the happy and contented home of all embarked in them.

In connection with this desirable object of promoting the creation of native seamen to man our navy, much might be done by compelling all merchant vessels, whether in the

foreign or coasting trade, to carry at least one apprentice for every one hundred tons, those which were under one hundred tons and over seventy, carrying one apprentice. By this means a standing body of twenty thousand apprentices would be maintained, and three thousand five hundred well trained American seamen be annually created. Without such a law, our commercial as well as our military marine will continue almost entirely in the hands and at the mercy of foreign seamen. Indeed, the majority of foreigners in our merchant ships far exceeds that which is found on board of our men of war, where the number of foreigners, compared with Americans, among the crews, is computed to be as three to one. Out of our eastern ports, especially the smaller ones, some American crews may be found; but in the shipping of our larger sea-ports a vast majority of the seamen are foreigners. Nine tenths of the seamen who sail out of the port of New York are computed to be of this character. We found on board a London packet ship in which we once made a passage, only one American before the mast, out of a crew of sixteen. Is not such a fact truly alarming, and does it not call for instant amendment, such as the passage of a law by Congress, compelling merchantmen to carry apprentices, would speedily effect. Even in time of peace the evil of manning our public and private ships with foreigners is of sufficient magnitude; in the navy, to which the sordid motive of better pay and rations has alone attracted the foreign recruit, whose bad habits and want of real attachment to the flag he serves under render indispensable a harsher tone of discipline than would control a native seaman; in the merchant service, by increasing disorders, interruption of voyages, revolt, mutiny, and sometimes loss of property and of life.

Having thus adverted to the subject of officering our navy, and suggested a means of remedying the present dearth of American seamen, and indeed, of seamen of any description, to man our ships, by urging the creation of extensive nurseries of seamen, both in the navy and merchant service, we propose making some remarks upon a subject of little inferior importance: that of our naval architecture. From the high character which American naval architecture bears abroad and at home, many might be disposed to think that our ships of war are, in this respect, already unequalled on the ocean. This, we believe, however, to be far from true of our re-

cently constructed men of war, however undeniable a similar proposition might be, as applied to our commercial vessels. Many of our recently constructed men of war have been defective, and some of them monsters of deformity. We will not speak of the Pioneer, the Consort, or the Pilot; but if the Lexington, or still more the Natchez, the latter now wisely broken up, were compared with the United States, built in the last century, and taken as an evidence of our progress in the art of ship-building, the falling off would be disheartening. The case, however, is not desperate with us, though some defect must exist in the system under which the models of our ships are determined, to render the production of such vessels as the Natchez possible in this age and country.

Our safest, and perhaps, shortest road to the establishment of a fixed set of models for the various classes of ships, would be to ascertain which is our best ship in each class, by causing those which have the highest reputation to cruise together until the superiority is awarded to the best. Having thus determined on a fixed set of moulds for all the various classes of vessels, which ought, in every case, to be rated according to the number of guns which they carry, instead of by the present fallacious mode, we should not afterwards depart from these settled models but upon irresistible evidence that better ones could be obtained. The trial of speed and qualities between the different vessels of our navy could easily be effected by attaching them to the squadron of observation and practice, of which we have urged the equipment. A rivalry in sailing and in every other point of excellence, would soon be produced, and greater efforts would be made to ascertain and preserve the trim of our ships. The listless indifference that could induce the commander of a beaten ship, in a trial of sailing, to console himself with the reflection that he did not build her, when he had failed to make all necessary efforts to ascertain her trim, would be unknown in a better constitution of the service; and more justice would be done to the naval architect, who cannot always make a ship sail, however she may be handled. experimental squadrons maintained on her coasts by England, have been of incalculable benefit in advancing naval architecture and in introducing many valuable improvements.

There is good reason to believe that, owing to defects in the management of details, and possibly, in no slight de-

gree, to the introduction of politics into our navy yards, that the construction, and still more the repairs, of our national ships, are effected at a far greater cost than they ought to be. We were, more than a year ago, aware, through the researches of a lieutenant in the navy, who personally examined the expenditure books at the New York navy yard, that the repairs of our ships had, in many cases, exceeded the original cost of them in an incredibly extravagant degree, although the original cost itself was far greater than the same work would have been done for in the British navy, private ship-building being, at the same time, more costly in England than with us. These researches have since been made public, through another officer, in a series of able articles in the Southern Literary Messenger. They exhibit, among other facts, the following monstrous items, which have not been contradicted. The Ohio two-decked ship was originally built at a cost of three hundred thousand dollars. Her repairs, preparatory to her departure for the Mediterranean, exclusive of stores, cost five hundred and ninetyfour thousand dollars. The estimated expense of the original equipment of the St. Louis sloop, was eighty-five thousand dollars; when subsequently repaired, on one occasion, she cost one hundred and three thousand dollars. of these monstrous facts, and other important considerations, would it not be a wise act for congress to direct the construction of ten first class sloops of war by contract, let out to ten of the most skilful private builders in our various ports, under carefully drawn specifications, and under the watchful superintendence, as to fidelity of materials and workmanship, of officers of the navy? By furnishing only the principal dimensions of the hulls, and number and size of guns, and quantity of provisions to be carried, and leaving the models, sparring, and general equipment, with the exception of the batteries, entirely to the builders, a generous rivalry would be introduced among them—the whole ship-building genius of the country would be enlisted in the improvement of our naval architecture, and this genius would not be fettered by the interference of minds unacquainted with the rules that regulate it, nor its creations revised, modified, and re-modified, until every thing of form and beauty that belonged to the original idea had wholly escaped. These ten ships might be built of the same materials as our packet ships; white oak, locust, and cedar, taking care only to make the bul-

warks of the best materials for preventing injury from shot. By this means, our live oak, which is annually becoming scarcer, would be reserved for our heavy ships, instead of being used, as it now is, for the inferior vessels, and even for schooners. All our small vessels are now too heavily built, to the great diminution of their sailing, buoyancy, and qualities as sea-boats, and great increase of their original cost. The object of this heavy construction with such valuable timber, is greater duration without repairs; and yet they are torn piece-meal, on an average, once in four or five years, and repaired at a cost not unfrequently exceeding that of their original construction. The building of these ten ships by the most distinguished of our private builders, would begin a new era in our naval architecture. It would open new channels of improvement from quarters where, from what has been effected in our naval architecture, as applied to commercial purposes, improvement might be confidently expected; and the ships, being completed and brought together at sea, might be tested in all the qualities that constitute an efficient man of war, and the palm awarded where it might The result could not fail to check the extravagant expenditures of our dock yards, stimulate the efforts of our naval constructors connected with them, and be highly con ducive to economy and improvement.

In connection with this proposition to enlist the whole ship-building talent of the country in the cause of improving our naval architecture, we cannot avoid urging the advantage which the government would derive from accepting the proposal which has been made by some enterprising and experienced merchants of New York, in consideration of certain advantages to be conceded to them in carrying the mails, which would put them on an equal footing with foreigners, to establish a line of large American steamers between New York and Liverpool, which could readily become the property of the government in case of war. By favoring this spirited project, the government would have, at all times, at its disposal, several powerful steamers without incurring any expense for their construction and maintenance, in order for sea service, unless it should have occasion to use them. Moreover, private ingenuity and skill would be brought into competition with those which are now employed on behalf of our government in constructing and equipping sea steamers at our naval dock yards; a corps of native engineers for sea

steamers, too, would thus be trained, of whose services the government might, at any moment, avail itself. The steam fleet of England, already formidable for its numbers and power, is perhaps doubled in its effective available force, by the private steamers now sailing as packets across the Atlantic, under its encouragement and patronage, officered, in almost all cases, moreover, by members of the royal navy, who are thus, without expense to the government, acquiring

a practical knowledge of ocean steam navigation.

Although the exercise of the crews at quarters has been generally attended to in our ships, yet the essential matter of naval gunnery has, of late, been almost entirely neglected in most of them. Since our war with England, the greatest attention has been paid to naval gunnery, both by that country and by France. The subject has been studied in these navies scientifically and practically, and many improvements introduced into the batteries, and the greatest practical skill and precision attained in the use of them. our late war with England, our naval successes were mainly owing to the superiority of our gunnery and the complete training of our crews to perfection in every thing connected with the fighting department. Since then, both England and France have bestowed great attention on naval gunnery, and we, very little. The consequence is, that the navies of both those countries may be considered before ours in that essen The throwing of hollow shot charged with tial particular. combustible materials, horizontally from common cannon, invented by a countryman of our own, Robert L. Stevens, towards the close of our war with England—an invention which narrowly failed of being used by the President, in her action with the British squadron which captured her; whilst it was abandoned in our service, or at least laid aside, to be only produced in the event of war, has been adopted and perfected in France, by M. Paixhan, who has invented, for the purpose of projecting the hollow shot, a gun, not only admirably adapted for that purpose, but possessing great advantages over the common long gun, for ordinary purposes. These advantages consist in an increased range with a diminished quantity of powder, and great strength in the gun and resistance to bursting. This object has been obtained by a shortening of the ordinary long gun, a better distribution of the weight, and especially, by adapting the chamber for the reception of the cartridge, as in the carronade, the cham-

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ber being much smaller than the rest of the bore. Paixhan's guns and explosive shells have now, for some years, formed part of the armament of all French ships of war. neous experiments in England led to the conviction that the length of ordinary long guns could be reduced with great advantage, and guns bored out, or, as it is technically called, "reamed up," when the original chamber is left unenlarged, so as, at the same time, to obtain a diminution of weight in the gun, and an increased range with the same charge of powder. In consequence of this discovery, and to save the expense of entire new castings, many of the ship guns in the British navy have been enlarged. The projection of hollow shot from ordinary cannon has also been experimented on in England and brought to perfection, and all their cruisers recently fitted out have guns cast expressly for their Although this invention of explosive shot to be discharged from ship guns originated among ourselves, it is but a year ago since our first ship was sent out with explosive shot as part of her ammunition, and guns expressly destined for their discharge. England and France, in addition to the attention which their ships pay to gunnery during their cruises, have schools of gunnery practice at their naval establishments, where experiments of every kind in gunnery are perpetually made, their officers and seamen are taught scientifically, and practically trained, and skilful gunners and quarter gunners educated to serve in the navy. Something of the same sort has, we are happy to see, been established for improving our naval gunnery. During the two past summers the steamer Fulton has been employed, with a numerous corps of officers, under the command of Captain M. C. Perry, in gunnery practice, and in testing the relative excellence of various descriptions of guns and projectiles to be discharged from them. The practice has been conducted in a most thorough and practical manner; and whilst results of an important nature have been determined with accuracy, a large body of intelligent officers of different grades have been instructed in naval gunnery, and will carry into the active duties of the profession the means of improving the naval gunnery of the whole service. The vast importance of increasing the calibre of the long guns now in use in the service, so as to throw heavier shot without increase in the charge of powder, and with a diminution in the weight of the gun, and the advantage of the least possible

windage or difference between the size of the shot and the calibre it is to fill, have been placed beyond a doubt; and the government will scarcely fail to cause all our long guns to be reamed up to throw heavier shot, and, as the appropriations will admit, to cause new guns of an improved form to be cast for all our ships. It will also scarcely fail to continue the gunnery practice, already so well commenced, and multiply the opportunities it affords for the instruction of our officers and men, by extending it to all our naval stations. are now behind both England and France in naval gunnery, and in the efficiency of our batteries, small arms, and cutlasses. A year or two of care and attention will be well employed in restoring our equality with them in these particulars. Our ships, lying alongside of British cruisers in foreign ports, see them, day after day, training their men in firing at targets with great guns, muskets, and pistols, and exercising them, paraded along the deck, to the use of the cutlass — an example which many of them never think of imitating. At this moment we are, generally speaking, for there may be occasional exceptions of thoroughly efficient ships, as far behind them in most of the attributes of preparation for war, as we were before them at the commencement and throughout the continuance of our late struggle.

Among other urgent wants of the service, is a more complete system of naval jurisprudence. The act of congress by which our navy is now governed, is so vague, indefinite, and loosely put together, that it is often difficult, in drawing up charges against a delinquent, to find a clause directly applicable to the most ordinary offences, and the clause which forbids "scandalous conduct, tending to the destruction of good morals," has to be called in on almost every occasion. Another important want, is that of a general system of internal regulation, for the discipline and police of our ships. Such a system would simplify the service and render it alike in all our ships, and, in some measure, supply the deficiencies of an ignorant or negligent commander. A great saving of expense might be obtained in the maintenance of our navy, by establishing and vigorously enforcing a fixed set of allowances of all the various kinds of stores for the different classes of vessels to last a given time. The allowances in the British navy are ample without being extravagant, and might be adopted in ours. Something of the sort already exists among us, but in no cases are the expenditures kept

within the allowances. Extravagant purchases of stores are frequently made in foreign ports immediately after a lavishly abundant outfit from our own dock yards. By absolutely interdicting all purchases, except in the case of a ship disabled by stress of weather, in which event the loss of spars or sails should be first established by a formal survey, a great amount of wasteful and unnecessary expenditure might be spared. In the articles of paint and paint-oil, alone, large sums might be annually saved to the country by the establishment of fixed allowances.

A great injustice was done, at the last session of congress, to a number of helpless widows and orphans of persons disabled or dying in the service, by repealing entirely a clause of the naval pension law, affecting a large number of pensioners. This clause, by being made retrospective, had exhausted the whole pension fund in paying arrears, amounting, in many cases, to handsome fortunes, to persons already not necessitous in their circumstances, instead of its being used simply as a fund to afford a pittance to the destitute. The faith of the government had, however, become pledged for the support of a large number of individuals whom it had taught to depend upon it, and who are now left destitute. It would, therefore, seem but fair that, whatever the pension law may be with regard to the widows and orphans of persons hereaster dying in the service, those who have already received pensions, and been taught to depend on the government for support, should still be succored.

In 1798, the secretary of the navy put forth the following

wise admonition:

"The protection of our coast, the security of our extensive country from invasion in some of its weaker parts, the safety of our important commerce, and our future peace, when the maritime nations of Europe war with each other, all seem to demand that our naval force should be augmented — so much augmented, indeed, as to make the most powerful nations desire our friendship, the most unprincipled respect our neutrality. The peaceful character of America will afford to the world sufficient security that we shall not be easily provoked to carry the war into the country of an enemy, and it will become the wisdom of America to provide a cheap defence to keep it from our own."

We have already seen that it was about the same time announced as the opinion of a distinguished statesman, that

"twelve ships of the line, as many frigates, and twenty or thirty smaller vessels, would probably be found, our geographical position and our means of annoying the trade of maritime powers considered, a force sufficient to insure our future peace with the nations of Europe." The history of our country, in recording these admonitions of its sages, also shows us, that the government of that day shrunk, from motives of economy, from the inconsiderable outlay which the maintenance of the proposed naval force would have required. A shrinking which, first and last, has cost the country not less than five hundred millions of dollars, including the losses by spoliations on the property of our citizens, the interruption of our commerce, with all its valuable returns, the diversion of national enterprise from productive occupations, to say nothing of the consequent check to prosperity by the extinction of such vast capitals, nor of the widespread private ruin which it involved.

With these admonitions before us, and with the incalculable national misfortunes which resulted from the neglect, is it not strange that we have not long since started on the safer and more honorable course of providing against foreign aggressions by the establishment of a navy proportioned to the exposure of our commerce and our extensive sea-coasts to assault, and our liability to be involved in contention with the powerful nations with whom we have conflicting inter-In our recent difficulties with France, now happily past, our government bore itself in a tone and language worthy of the dignity and real power of the nation; but this tone and language, far from being accompanied by an attitude of formidable preparation, were weakened by an absence of all preparation for resistance on the element where we were likely to be assailed, that held out to France, armed as she was at all points, a temptation to a sudden coup de main, which, considering her past history, it is really wonderful that she should have resisted.

With all these admonitions before us, and with such experience of the past, at this very day we are still pursuing the same course with a nation far more formidable to us than France, with whom we have difficulties of an embarrassing character.

The chief objects of the extra session of congress were supposed to be, to provide for the deficiencies of the revenue, remedy the financial derangements of the country, and

place it in a state of preparation for defence. And yet the only notice that we find of the naval defences of the country in the message of the President at the opening of the extra session, is the statement of the undeniable fact, that "for the defence of our extensive maritime coast, our chief reliance should be placed on our navy, aided by those inventions which are destined to recommend themselves to public adoption;" accompanied by the information, that, "in reflecting on the proper means of defending the country, we cannot shut our eyes to the consequences which the introduction and use of the power of steam upon the ocean are likely to produce in wars between maritime states. We cannot yet see the extent to which this power may be applied in belligerent operations, connecting itself, as it does, with recent improvements in the science of gunnery and projectiles; but we need have no fear of being left, in regard to these things, behind the most active and skilful of other nations, if the genius and enterprise of our fellow citizens receive prompt encouragement and direction from government." The only other suggestion with regard to naval defence contained in the message is the following: "In order to introduce into the navy a desirable efficiency, a new system of accountability may be found to be indispensably necessary. To mature a plan having for its object the accomplishment of an end so important, and to meet the just expectations of the country, require more time than has yet been allowed to the secretary at the head of that department. The hope is indulged, that by the time of your next regular session, measures of importance in connection with this branch of the public service may be matured for your consideration."

We believe that the just expectations of the country looked to some more decided recommendation from the executive for placing the navy on an immediate footing of efficiency and preparation. But though our navy is stated in the message to be our chief reliance for maritime defence, nothing is said of the expediency of immediately raising it from its present weak and languishing condition. If we cannot shut our eyes to the consequences which the introduction of the power of steam on the ocean is likely to produce in maritime wars, a very imperfect use of them will reveal the alarming fact, that while we have two war steamers not yet completed, and one miserable abortion in the Fulton too cumbersome and drawing too much water for efficient harbor defence, and

wholly incapable, from her model, of going with safety at all times even from port to port along our coast, and have not at our command throughout the whole country a single private steamer suitable for ocean navigation and for war, England has fifty-one steamers of war specially designed for ocean navigation, and the command, at any time, of not less, probably, than one hundred others of a superior class, owned by individuals, and of which the number, through the encouragement of the government, is constantly increasing. view of this alarming disparity, a disparity that will require years to overcome, which the comparison between our readiness and that of England to avail ourselves of the use of steam power in maritime war, we think that there is room to fear our being left in regard to these things behind the most active and skilful of other nations, since we already occupy that station; and that the moment for the genius and enterprise of our fellow citizens to receive prompt encouragement and direction from government has already arrived.

If it requires time to mature a plan having for its object a new system of accountability in the navy, congress can at least appreciate the material facts that we have a cruising force in commission of one ship of the line, five frigates, eleven sloops, and eight smaller vessels, including the steamer, and that we could probably, if not blockaded, send to sea in a year eleven line of battle ships, seventeen frigates, twenty-one sloops, and eighteen smaller vessels; while England has in commission twenty-nine line of battle ships, twenty-nine frigates, and one hundred and eighty smaller vessels, and that she could send to sea within a year, without greater efforts than we would have to make to fit out our inconsiderable fleet, one hundred and four line of battle ships, eighty-six frigates, one hundred and fifty smaller vessels, and a fleet of one hundred and fifty steamers, either belonging to her or at her disposal; the whole of this formidable fleet manned, moreover, by native seamen, while we must depend in a great measure on the mercenary service of foreigners. these important facts palpably before us, has not congress sufficient data to justify it in at once placing the navy on the footing we have proposed; in maintaining a commissioned force of eight line of battle ships, eighteen frigates, and fifty smaller vessels, and in taking such measures as would enable us to put to sea within three years with a fleet of forty line of battle ships, forty frigates, thirty sloops, and thirty steamers, half of this aggregate force being placed in a condition to be made available within a year; in providing for the rapid creation of native seamen, both by the navy and merchant service; and in extending all possible encouragement to the prosecution of steam navigation on the ocean by pri-

vate enterprise.

Accompanying the Presidential message which was so painfully wanting in recommending preparations for naval defence, we find a document from the representative of England, "formally demanding the immediate release" of a British subject under trial for infraction of our laws, on the ground that the British government avowed as its own act the violation of our territory, in the course of which one of our citizens had been murdered, and announcing the "serious consequences which must ensue from a rejection of this demand." We also find an able reply to this document from the secretary of state, in which, while a just and conciliatory answer is returned, the formal demand for the immediate release of the individual is not granted. In this reply the significant assurance is given, that "the American people are not distrustful of their ability to redress public wrongs by public means;" and in reference to the murderous violation of our territory, avowed by England as its own act, that this republic "is jealous of its rights, and among others, and most especially, of the right of the absolute immunity of its territory against aggression from abroad; and these rights it is the duty and determination of this government fully and at all times to maintain."

We could wish that our state of preparation for defence were better suited to give effect to this manly and becoming language. Though we are not of those who believe that a war with England is probable, yet with such grave causes of disagreement with her, the weakness of our means of defence is unwise and culpable. The rumor has already reached us that her Mediterranean fleet, after bringing to terms the Pacha of Egypt, through the destruction of his towns and the wholesale slaughter of his subjects, in a quarrel in which England had no just cause to interfere, is held in readiness to appear suddenly on our coasts in the event of the demand for the immediate release of McLeod not being complied with. That demand has not been complied with, and we are unprepared to meet the "serious consequences" with which we are menaced. If France has a taste for coups de

main, the history of England, both early and recent, sufficiently proves that she cannot always resist the same temptation. An assault from her fleet of line of battle ships and steamers upon our own defenceless ports, without one note of warning, would not be more iniquitous than the capture of the Spanish treasure ships in time of peace, accompanied by such well-remembered circumstances of horror; or than the destruction of the Danish navy, also in time of peace, with the slaughter of several thousands of its brave defenders. We repeat, that we do not think a war with England probable; but we believe that immediate and ample preparation to meet it would be our surest guarantee against its occurrence; and such ample preparation we devoutly trust that congress before its adjournment will see fit to provide.

ART. VI.— Ten Thousand a Year. A Novel. Originally published in Blackwood's Magazine. By the Author of "Passages from the Diary of a late Physician." Philadelphia: 1841. Carey & Hart. 5 vols. 12mo. (Unfinished.)

WHEN Halleck told us, twenty years ago, that "Trumbull's Independence" and "Mr. Allen's lottery sign" should both "endure for ever," he pointed with his careless finger to a great truth, which, as one meditates, seems ever greater and truer. Ninety-nine hundredths of mankind like a bad picture just as well as a good one, provided only that they can see what the artist is aiming at, and that the object be something agreeable. The picture is a suggestion, not a thing: the figures it conjures up in the mind are not its own, nor reflections of its own, but creatures of the excited imagination, which works upon its hints. The lottery sign now, without Halleck, "sine vate sacro," would have been forgotten; yet if on some pretence it could have been smuggled into the Rotunda, it would have got its share of admiration, a faith in its praises would have sprung up with repetition, and grown to an immortality.

Blackwood's Magazine is a sort of momentary Rotunda for a certain kind of stories; and narratives and pictures are subject to many of the same deficiencies, and require the aid of our imagination to be enjoyed to much the same extent.

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Taste may be said to be the power of supplying this aid; people of taste, therefore, relish works of imagination, because, entering as it were into the thoughts of the artist, they see in his work not what he effected, but the high ideal of his fancy, the beauties he endeavored to produce. The wretchedest daub of a painter that ever lived can see this in his own pictures; they recall the scene and circumstance of his daydreams to him, as a knot in a pocket-handkerchief brings back the train of thought which was passing when it was tied, though perhaps the picture, to all other eyes but its author's, may be equally unsuggestive. But let the picture once get a reputation, let the man who cannot see its merit be once well persuaded that there are people who can, and you shall see him go off into fudge ecstasies and tell a thousand falsehoods to get your good opinion of his taste, when perhaps he would be utterly incapable of telling you a single one to get your money.

This is provoking, for it obscures judgment, and darkens instruction for a time as to the merits of any thing new. Time sets it all right again. The "Passages from the Diary of a late Physician" are far advanced on their journey to total oblivion, for which bourne "Ten Thousand a Year" is likely

to set out as soon as all its baggage is packed up.

Consider, after all, what a picture is at the very best and highest. Outline and color, one fixed expression, one instant's posture, one single point of view. But the variety of life, its warmth, its fulness, its energy, its action; the rich commentary that one instant supplies upon another; the comprehensiveness of many-sided view; all these are lost—they cannot be given, and it is the utmost stretch of the artist's power if he can hint at them. You take the hint, and create for yourself; you weep over his woes, if his scene be sad, with an inly self-congratulation; you praise him with compliments à ricochet—you have calculated their recoil upon yourself,—

"O, lachrymarum fons, tenero sacros Ducentium ortus ex animo, quater Felix, in imo qui scatentem Pectore te, pia nympha, sensit."

The suggestions of a narrative, like those of a picture, and especially in a work of fiction, must always be deficient in realizing points of view; must always lack what Rahel calls the "infinite presuppositions" of real life. All these are

therefore to be supplied, or some substitutes for them, from the stores in the memory, or powers of imagination of the reader. In doing this probably is a great part of his pleasure, and if you do not shock or derange his ideas with any palpable falsehood or inconsistency, he will take an interest in almost any series of scenes through which you may choose to lead him. Some art of combination and scenic effect must no doubt be exerted, and some regard had to the previous knowledge of those to whom you address yourself, as one great point is to bring this into play by association. But only avoid gross faults, and you shall have gentle critics; display average talent, and you shall gain an average success; and this with the same certainty in novel writing, as in merchandise, or medicine, or law. We say not this satirically; on the contrary it is a blessing that our pleasures are not strictly limited by the number of works by great masters; and that when Shakspeare's fictions and Walter Scott's have ceased to amuse us, Tom, Dick, and Harry are all capable of doing it, and Mr. Bulwer and Mr. Warren are actively engaged in the But the man who reads Ten Thousand a Year with much pleasure may rely on it he furnishes a large portion of his own enjoyment from his own stores, partly from his ignorance, partly from his negligence, and partly from his knowledge and fancy. It is his ignorance which prevents his being shocked with certain solecisms in manners and customs, his negligence which skims lightly over inconsistencies in character and action; and it is by virtue of a little knowledge and a great deal of fancy, that he accepts as portraits of Lord Brougham, Sir James Scarlet, and other distinguished persons, some of the imaginary characters of this story. Leaner sketches, scantier traits, less exhibition of character in word and action, cannot well be imagined in written portraits. You take the author's word for it that Mr. Subtle was very subtle, and Mr. Quicksilver very showy and brilliant and unsound, and Mr. Crafty very cunning; but when you seek in their doings or sayings for any practical exemplification of these characteristics, nothing is to be found but failures. There is something so mawkish in this naming the characters from their parts, that a well-educated child of ten years old would be sick at it. It is the grossest and clumsiest of artifices, and resembles nothing so much as the old wood-cuts and coarse pictures in arras, where each figure is marked with a written name, and caricatured to corre-

spond to it. Gluttony has a vast paunch and puffy cheeks, Drunkenness a goblet and tipsy laugh, Murder a dagger and A novelist has no right to do this. He ought to use the advantage he has, the opportunity of giving his characters progress and development, allowing them, as men's characters do in real life, to grow better or worse, and to come out, on continued acquaintance, quite other than they appeared to us at first. Here is much of the interest of a true story, and here should be much of that of a good fiction. Much study of character, much knowledge of human nature, is certainly necessary to write such fiction; it is vastly easier to represent your personages with two hues, like the black and white men on a chequer board. Some are conceived in sin, born black, and christened for devils or fools - Quirk, Snap, Bloodsuck, Tagrag, and so forth. Others come forth all bonor and beauty, and get names like Aubrey and Delamere, which to a sycophantic Englishman of an interior class are indeed but little lower than the angels. All progress, all development in the matter of character, is thus shut out. You know beforehand that there can be no hopes of Tittlebat Titmouse, nor any redemption for Oily Gammon. "Qualis ab incepto, servetur ad imum" - a great precept, most slouchingly and stupidly followed.

It is plain the author has conceived no shading, blending, or softening to any of his creations; the color each has, it has so deeply and so singly, that it seems like a square lump from a box of paints, rather than an effect of pencil and pa-

lette.

Another instance of the utter contempt of this writer for the idea of drawing from life is to be found in the political bearing of his work. He would fain exalt the tories, and satirize the whigs, which is all well enough; but he has not the skill to do it. If he had wrought in some political events, illustrating the effects of political principles, and had contrived them so as to deduce an argument pro or con, from a plausible tissue of circumstances, he would have shown talent and given us pleasure, and might have helped to confirm or convert us. But merely to find that every man with a fine name or an indifferent one, such as Aubrey, Delamere, Parkinson, Tatham, etc., is a tory, while all the Bloodsucks and Mudflints are whigs; this cheap and easy satire only proves that the author would have been more pointed and cogent in this direction, if he had possessed the power.

We shall now give a brief account of the story of this book, and then look a little more in detail at the execution of some of the scenes, and the keeping of some of the characters. There is a constant straining after effect, which makes almost every chapter a regular strong scene of some sort or other; and inasmuch as human life is not so made up in fact, the man who represents it so sacrifices probability and nature as a matter of course. He writes to be read but once a month, in Blackwood's periodical; he forgets from month to month some part of what he has written, and trusts perhaps to his readers doing the same. What laurels he has, he has earned easily; he writes therefore extemporaneously, and here and there lets you see very plainly that his ideas of his own story are uncertain from one sentence to the next.

Tittlebat Titmouse is a shopkeeper's clerk in London. Quirk, Gammon and Snap, are sharp lawyers, who disinter some claim of his to an estate of ten thousand a year, held by Mr. Aubrey, a gentleman of Yorkshire. They sue for it, and recover it, and Titmouse takes possession. He marries a nobleman's daughter, and the Aubreys are reduced to distress. Mr. Aubrey and all his family are perfect, his wife is a saint, his sister an angel, he himself is both, and a hero besides. Mr. Gammon is in love with Miss Aubrey, who refuses him, being engaged to Mr. Delamere, son of Lord De la Zouch. Gammon, on this refusal, contrives to bring Aubrey's creditors upon him, and the plot thickens, up to the May number of Blackwood, with deeper and deeper distress. You see glimpses here and there, however, of a chance of Aubrey's recovering his estate, as the author lets you know that Titmouse in fact is not entitled to it. Such is the material of four volumes collected, and chapters enough not yet republished here to make another, while the end, or restoration, is still indefinitely postponed. The author keeps the results in his own hand, by binding himself to nothing for his characters, except that they shall not contradict their names. Titmouse, for instance, must always be a mean creature, but he may do some things as brave as a lion, for it is said expressly, where Tagrag turns him out of Satin Lodge, that he did not want for mere pluck. And in one or two other cases he takes his own part boldly, as where he stands up against Tagrag in the shop, or where he threshes Huckaback; but in general he is an arrant coward, as in the scene with

Aubrey's groom. He is also at the outset handsome, or at the least "by no means plain," but in the seventh chapter we learn that "his protuberant eyes, of very light hue, had an expression that entirely harmonized with that of his open mouth, and both together gave you the image of a complete Add this to carroty hair, and you have a portrait "by no means plain," with a vengeance. But this is by the bye; what we remark on Titmouse is, that if the author chooses, he may make him yet the savior of the Aubreys, without more inconsistency then he has already introduced in his character. Bold in one place, in another a coward, totally unfeeling in many places, and in one (after beating Huckaback) full of penitence and tears, cautious to excess, where he refuses to let Gammon have his papers in Closet Court, and heedless and foolishly confiding at Yatton, where he signs the bond without reading it, what may he not do As for Quirk, who appears almost invariably as an old fool, he is yet the head of a firm of sharp lawyers, and it is he who "had made the business what it was." Snap is too pitiful, and the descriptions of his seeking out litigants and stirring up litigation are caricatured quite foolishly. hero of the book is Gammon, and here also, in this masterpiece of the author, is a tissue of inconsistency. In the scene where Titmouse tears the papers, and in that with Aubrey after his rejection by Miss Aubrey, he is represented as deeply excited and agitated, yet retaining his self-command, and counterfeiting, now composure, and now emotion, just as would best suit his designs. But when the attorney general tells him he shall be able to discharge the rule in the case "ex parte Titmouse," Gammon turns suddenly pale, the matter at issue being to him of very little importance. And when he puts the original evidences of Titmouse's illegitimacy, so precious to him, into Titmouse's own hands, where copies would have answered every purpose, the author feels that he is making him act counter to all the character previously given him, and do what such a man certainly never would have done; but he very quietly gets over the difficulty by informing us that it was a special providence and a miracle. As for his sentimentalities, his love for Miss Aubrey, his refinements on cruelty to her brother, and his contrivances to keep up the appearance of friendship, and his mawkish letters; we must say, having in some sort read them once,

that they are to us now like the recollections of sea-sickness, and we do not wish to stir them up afresh.

There is a tone in all this production against which it is not necessary for us, as Americans, to enter any protest; it is a thing which does not concern us, yet it excites a certain contempt, and makes us hope that writers for magazines in England are not fair representatives of the feelings of the people there in general. We allude to the sycophantic exaltation of rank and fashion, and the studious effort to throw an unfavorable light in comparison, on the class to which the very writer himself in most instances belongs. In the conversation between Aubrey and Gammon about the rejection, Aubrey is made to remind him that though his fortune is gone, he is still, and must ever be, his (Gammon's) superior. He avoids the word, but conveys the idea, speaking, too, with that advantage in the dialogue which an author always gives his own sentiments, and which he ought to use, not to blacken his own face and the faces of his friends to curry a little paltry favor with a class before whom he is ready to lick up the dust, but rather to bring out the nobility of nature against the barriers of fixed rank, and to denounce the prejudice, if such an one exist, which prevents the possibility of his ever being esteemed a gentleman. Under this ban this, author lies probably to just the same extent as Mr. Gammon, (saving his roguery, and that Aubrey did not know when he spoke,) but he may rely on it he will never get from under it by sycophancy. He cannot rise till his class do; he may renounce his father and mother, and cut his friends and acquaintances, and caricature them to make sport for the Philistines, but he will never bridge the gulf for himself alone. To us lookers on across the ocean such matters are exceedingly indifferent in themselves, but we like to see a man true to his instincts, his nature, and his position. There is a slavish twang in the pæans of a commoner to nobility, which is as false and odious as the affectation of democracy in Lord Byron, or Benedict Arnold's "address" against disloyalty and rebellion.

The great pretension of Ten Thousand a Year is, to be a legal novel. Characters of great lawyers, portraits from the life—a trial of deep interest, with all its developments of learning and ingenuity, its unexpected turns, eager and anxious argument and close investigation—the sifting of evidence—the searching interrogatories and artful cross-exami-

nations, -all these things were to have been brought out, and are not; Mr. Warren doubtless intended it, but when he comes to an interesting crisis he invariably blinks and evades Quirk, Gammon and Snap, have discovered that Mr. Aubrey holds his title to his estate through inheritance from the younger branch of the descendants of one Dreddlington, whose son Harry had mortgaged it; and this mortgage was afterwards assigned to Geoffrey Dreddlington, on his paying the money Harry had borrowed. But Harry's mortgage was executed during his father's lifetime, and of course before the estate came to him, but then his father gave a deed of confirmation. Geoffrey becomes thus the owner, but by purchase, as the right by inheritance would be in his own elder brother Stephen, who is the ancestor of Titmouse. Aubrey inherits from Geoffrey, and on the occasion of his own marriage, his titles are examined, and his lawyers direct his attention to this fact, that if any descendants of Stephen Dreddlington are living, he may find his property disputed. But Aubrey takes no notice of the matter, and it is not till Quirk and company (to whom a copy of this caution to Aubrey has been conveyed by an unfaithful clerk) take the matter up, that any investigation is made at all. They bring the action for Titinouse, but, before doing so, serious difficulties present themselves as to their remuneration. The English law is very precise and strong against champerty, private barratry, and maintenance - terms which signify, in general, the undertaking of suits by lawyers on the speculation of being paid out of what may be recovered, or on shares, or on condition of being paid only in case of success. These are foolish, and often pernicious laws, but they exist, and Messrs. Quirk, Gammon and Snap, are very much puzzled to hit on an evasion of them which will enable them to get well paid out of Titmouse's good fortune and to bind him to that beforehand. Old Quirk, after forty years of all sorts of dishonest practice at the bar, appears never to have thought this matter over; it is taken up and discussed as a novel difficulty by all the partners, and several evasions are proposed. At last, they hit on one which satisfies them, and they proceed, but here, it is to be observed, that the author does not inform us how this Gordian knot was untied or cut. He had taken the reader with him so far into this argument, as to interest him in knowing how it ended; but no, Mr. Warren could not invent a good solution, or would not take the trouble; he slurs it over and we hear no more of it.

When we come to the trial, we are favored with characters of each of the lawyers, who are all fitted with names to match - Lynx, Crystal, Sterling, etc., and these characters are decided efforts in the way of fine writing. It is a very easy kind of fine writing, and depends chiefly on a good memory for adjectives and some notion of what they mean; anybody can do it in any quantity. But that which is not easy, is to show such characters in characteristic action; and that Mr. Warren has not done. The case is opened, and it is perfectly clear in Titmouse's favor, for Aubrey, strangely enough, though warned of his danger long before, had never been at the pains to find the deed of confirmation, by Harry Dreddlington's father, of Harry's mortgage, without which his title was not worth a rush. Suddenly, and by accident, with a most melo-dramatic suddenness, it is found, and lo, the tables are turned, and the case is clear for Aubrey. Then a flaw is discovered in it, an erasure in a material part, and it is of no value, and the tables are turned again, and the title is clear for Titmouse. There is no room here for any forensic eloquence, no room for ingenuity, learning, or talent; the great lawyers arrayed on both sides and so pompously introduced, have nothing at all to do. We are, indeed, told that they are brilliant and acute in their conduct of the case; one of them says, "I object to that question;" we are not told what the question was; and another says, "Take time, Mr. Jones," which is all we get in the way of extract or notes of the evidence. One or two speeches, of about equal importance, we get, but no argument; the rest is narrative; for this writer can tell what was done, but he cannot relate how it was done, nor portray He goes beyond the old story of "This is a bear;" he shows you an effaced picture, a blurred canvas, and says, "This was a bear," or a lion, or an angel.

Well, Aubrey is vanquished. An array of witnesses, of whom he knows nothing beforehand, is brought up, a case is apparently proved, and the test questions are decided against him. But he has yet the power of resistance; he may have another ejectment tried; he may appeal, and sift the whole subject thoroughly, with the advantage of knowing more fully his enemy's strength and means. The better to appreciate the propriety of doing this, we must observe, what the

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author tells the reader long afterwards, that Titmouse was, in fact, illegitimate; therefore, some part of his proofs must have been faulty. Titmouse's claim, too, if established, is a claim in law, but not in conscience; Aubrey's ancestor is the rightful transmitter of the estate, and the legal error about the erasure might destroy his title but could not vitiate his right. He ought, therefore, on all accounts, to have fought to the last; but no, he is so honest and honorable that he gives up on a first defeat, a cause good in justice evidently, and good, if the proofs had been sought out, in law, also. He gives up Yatton, and retires, with his family, to poverty in London. And certainly, in several points of view, he does well. He advances the story to the scenes the author wished to bring in, but could not, by natural and probable means; and, besides, if he had taken another trial, it must have been merely another like the first. The perspicacity of Mr. Crystal, the learning of Mr. Sterling, the acumen of Sir James Scarlet, could only have been brought to his aid through the medium of Mr. Warren's imagination, and there is small hope, in that case, that they could have done him any good. But the discovery which all these keen lawyers did not think of as possible, the idea which never occurred to Aubrey, to save his ten thousand a year, occurs, nevertheless, to Oily Gammon; he seeks for it and finds it, or finds it, for the author's convenience, without seeking. He lights upon the proofs of Titmouse's illegitimacy, takes possession of them in three papers, (we are not told what they were,) and preserves them to secure his influence over Titmouse, and to extort money from him. When the time to begin operations with them arrives, he tells Titmouse about them, produces them, trusts them in his hands—he tears them up, and behold, Gammon's wand is broken again, though he persuades his victim the papers were only copies. Titmouse, though he had just before remarked the "curious old writing," is obliging enough, rather than derange the plot of the story, to believe they are copies, and that the originals are safe under sundry locks and bars.

All this is wildly improbable and inconsistent; poor invention, coarse and clumsy construction, and total failure in details. There ought to be more expenditure of brain and knowledge on a legal novel, than this. The man who pretends to write a legal novel and gives us no more, is an impostor, who not only cheats us of what he promises, but in-

sults our understandings, by not even giving us a resemblance of it; he does not even take the pains to give us a counterfeit. We know what such a book should be, but not from him; we know it from real trials, which one reads, when well reported, with such an interest as scarcely any other kind of reading can excite. When a legal point, having any doubtfulness about it, is discussed and elucidated by able men, and made to bear on an important issue, when we know something, too, of the parties interested in that issue, and learn to sympathise in their hopes and fears, the driest subjects become enlivened, the points of the abstrusest study are made intelligible and attractive; the mind grasps easily matters the most foreign to its habits, and masters them with a delightful exercise of power. We follow a master mind, and are pleased and surprised to find that we can follow him, through a train of logical reasoning, to a clear decision; and perhaps, after doing so once, another master will reverse the spell, undo the reasoning, and show us that the decision was a fallacy; but the interest will keep up to the last. The parties, in such a cause, will not be found, as in Mr. Warren's book, all sorted by white and black, all pure and lofty on the one side, all odious and base on the other; there will be degrees and modifications. If we rejoice in the event with those that do rejoice, we shall also weep a little with those that weep. And in the evidence, what a field of study, what a harvest of entertainment is displayed. The vast varieties, cross-lights, and illustrations of co-incidence and discrepancy in a story, the effects of cross-examination, the ingenuity of counsel, the doublings and turnings of dishonest witnesses, the occasional embarrassment of honest ones, the impracticability of the stupid —all this ought to be set forth in a story, as we see it pass before our eyes in real trials, and famous shall he be who will do it well. would be difficult to do it — very difficult, and perhaps no model of the kind, in fiction, now exists. Ten Thousand a Year is not that model; it is a thing to which we return, from our excursion in search of what might be, with an increased feeling of antipathy; tame, flat, and unprofitable. No argument, no evidence, no play or display of character; but, in place of all this, mere wordy and windy assertions, that mighty fine things were said and done, but they have all died unrecorded. Some popularity must attach to a book which has so

attractive a name as Ten Thousand a Year; and very many people like this work, as we have hinted before, for qualities which are not in it, but in themselves; they furnish from their own stores by far the greater part of their entertainment.

ART. VII. — Temples, Ancient and Modern; or Notes on Church Architecture. By WILLIAM BARDWELL, Architect. London: 1840. J. Fraser. 8vo.

"HE that altars an old house," says Fuller, "is tied, as a translatour to the original, and is confined to the phancy of the first builders. Such a man were unwise to pluck down good old building (perchance) to erect worse new; but those that raise a new house to the ground are blameworthy if they make it not handsome, seeing, to them, method and confusion are both at a rate." We wish here to direct the attention of our readers to the lamentable disregard of propriety and good taste that shows itself so conspicuously in our rural church edifices. When, in England, the rage against Romanism was at its height, man's mind rejected all that might tend to keep alive a latent feeling for the accursed thing; and, not being competent, or at least likely to use just discrimination in any thing pertaining to the matter, to judge between cause and effect, God's worship was conducted with a strict disregard to all that might approach, in the most remote degree, to the pomps and ceremonies that had so long usurped the place of that spiritual communion at which they were aiming. In the deep glen or the broad field, with the blue sky for an arch, England's oaks for columns—in such a temple men listened to the stirring words of those among them whose minds labored with one idea. Wherever their impulses prompted, there they worshipped; and man, and all that pertained thereto, became as nothing to them, when under the influence of these spiritual illapses. Then, some of the "timehonored Lancasters," the ancient temples, fell before the ardor of a rude soldiery — then, too, the lofty spire that points the soul to heaven — all grandeur — all beauty — the swelling organ tones, that peal forth the anthem that, in notes of sweetest melody, make us weep with those that weep, or rejoice the soul with their bird-like carol — all form — all order — these were abominations, and were rejected as unworthy the notice of the spiritual man. We do not wonder at this; we do not regret it. It tended to rub off the rust, though in the roughest manner, that had eaten into man's soul.

But this excitement passed away, and these, again, adopted a manner and habit of worship stern and forbidding in its simplicity. The tendency of these present times is not towards a blind obedience in matters of conscience; and we hail it as an earnest of better things, that man is striving to realize something of the wonder of his own nature; much error, and perhaps excess, will be the consequence; we wish to "prove all things," to "hold fast to that which is good." Religious worship exercises now, as it ever has done, a remarkable influence upon man's mind; and nothing brings the most elevated intellect, in which the might of the Eternal is ever present, into most feeble communion with it so effectually and certainly, as prayer and praise. How much more necessary, then, is some direct and tangible way of bowing down in adoration and thanksgiving, to the great mass of mankind? Will we then say, that the things which refine, elevate, and direct the religious feelings of mankind, shall be altogether disregarded? We will say, with the poet, "The groves were God's first temples." But such temples! Can man's efforts approach them in grandeur, in sublimity, or in beauty? So, too, we can say, the patriarchs dwelt in tents; each man lived as best pleased him, and governed his own family despotically. We do neither.

It may be a question with some, whether, in our church structures, architectural or picturesque effect be desirable. Some may fear that the attention will be distracted from that high and holy idea of God, which, in his house, should pervade every soul; a conscientious regard for the expense attendant upon all but the plainest structure, will deter others from an exercise of taste that would characterize their individual operations. We much doubt if these be sound ob-

jections.

In a new country, the absolute wants of a people walk over every other consideration, and present shelter and security are all that are sought after. But this cannot excuse the barn-like or incongruous structures that now shock the sense and taste in most of our country villages. The descendants of the pilgrims have been and are insensibly influenced by the feeling and dread which we have mentioned. So much is this the case, that we know instances where musical instruments are admitted in great variety in church worship without a thought, when the mention of an organ will call forth an exclamation of pious horror. Added to this, the dearth of examples worthy of imitation is a source of much evil; and the almost entire want of information upon such subjects, in the persons to whom the selecting of a plan is committed, does not insure much beauty or propriety. These call in the aid of some carpenter, who, with a small glimmering of architectural light, heaps together a mass of columns and cusps, which to the eye of the initiated, or the man of taste, is sometimes irresistibly ludicrous. Architecture now numbers among its professors with us, some who possess not only artistical skill, but taste and elevation of character; to these, in all cases, should the design be submitted. We may then hope to see springing up in our rich valleys and quiet nooks, temples where the poetry in man's heart may kindle itself - houses worthy of the religion we profess.

For more than a century had the old wooden church stood, when we first learned to lisp a prayer; in the midst of a grove, surrounded by the grey slabs that told of death, its massive beams, dark only with the tints of time, supported the roof that protected from the pitiless storms the heads of youth and age; birth, marriage and death, had here been commemorated, for generation after generation; from those clear heads and strong arms that first gave God thanks in the forest, fighting against the Indian, through all the changes for good and for ill in their posterity (our progenitors) it had stood; the spirits of the just made perfect here went up as incense, and the tears of the humble and repentant sinner were wiped away; word came here from the wanderer, and prayer or thanksgiving rose for him who, absent in body, was present in spirit. All these lent an indefinable charm to the place. Say what you will, we respect not the man who does not feel the influence of such a place. The evidences of humanity (these as well as others) which man leaves behind, are a bond and sentiment between him and the living man; nor should such be rashly severed. But time walks on, and necessity has now raised up in another spot a better and more enduring structure. But, saddest thing of all, not content with demolishing the building so long held holy and sacred, these trees that had stretched their arms over it, these silent guards around the temple—these softened shades under which the school-boy had played, and the man fled from the warm greeting of the summer sun—these too were cut to the ground!!

The necessity for placing the church in the centre of the settlement no longer exists; great latitude is therefore allowable in the choice of a situation, and in this way advantage may be taken of a grove, or a vista, that will add a charm or a beauty to the whole. We cannot enough insist upon the importance of this. Secluded as it were from the touch of selfishness and vice, the light softened by the cool shades that give a tone of quiet and seclusion to the spot, the soul is certainly more disposed to relax the strained and care-worn habit of a too selfish every-day existence, and breathe forth in the chant or prayer. Understand not that we would give you the idea that these feelings should influence you at no other time. Is not the grass refreshed by the nightly dews, and mind and body by the sweet influences of sleep? So, too, the Sabbath was made for man.

Shall we do away with all sentiment in this matter, and reducing every thing to this ultra-utilitarian standard, ask the smith to mould us beautiful forms from the cold and unyielding iron, that lies dull and dark at his feet? Every where we endeavor to keep alive the feeling for the beautiful and good, in man, who strives in cities, or toils ceaseless on the plain; and shall it be totally disregarded here?

Some one style of architecture should be strictly observed in these rural edifices. There is now less danger that this should be violated in cities than heretofore, as the buildings in progress bear witness; but to any one who has paid attention to the subject, the singular mixture of the Grecian and pointed styles must at first excite laughter, and then regret. "Unity and fitness," as the artists would say, are the chief points; and when combined with a perception of the picturesque or beautiful, the result will be pleasing even to the uncultivated man, and will give to these churches a higher and more intellectual character than they now possess. Looking upon some, perhaps most, of our country churches, and some in cities, we see all the orders of Grecian architecture somewhere showing themselves; the white wooden columns contrasting violently with the red brick of the walls, and the whole surmounted with the Gothic spire. Here, certainly,

all unity is lost, and but for the four walls which bound all this, one would hardly be able to combine out of it a whole. The spire is pleasing in the landscape; it tells of civilization and Christianity; besides, the place for a bell is indispensa-Its perpendicular lines, however, which point the sky, do not harmonize with the long, horizontal, and depressed lines of Grecian architecture, so that the contrast is too marked, and therefore improper, and not pleasing. A late writer says of the Gothic or pointed style, in its fullness and grandeur: "The first and chief expression is that of the thoughts raised to God, and, separated from the earth, ascending boldly and straightly to heaven. This is what every one must feel in contemplating the aspiring pillars, arches, and vaults, even if he cannot analyze the feeling. All the other parts of the whole are symbolical and significant. The altar was placed opposite the rising sun; the three principal entrances were to receive the crowds of people from the different parts of the world. The three towers express the three persons of the mystery of the Godhead, according to the The choir raises itself, like a temple within Christian belief. a temple, with exalted dignity. The figure of the cross was used in the Christian churches from the remotest times; not merely arbitrarily, as it may be supposed, or that it should attract the eye from the other beautiful forms. The rose is the principal feature of all the ornaments of this style of architecture; the peculiar form of the windows, doors and towers, being derived from it, as also the rich decorations of leaves and flowers. The cross and the rose are therefore the chief forms and symbols of this symbolical style of architecture. The expression of the whole is the solemnity of eternity, the thoughts of earthly death interwoven with the most enchanting plenitude of a life of perpetual bloom." When we add to this, that it is the growth of the Christian religion — that it admits of any capacity, being equally adapted to the cathedral pile, or the rural church — susceptible of ornament, or chaste in its simplicity - admitting of a great variety of form, so that it does not weary by its sameness—and complete and perfect as a whole, — we think that it possesses claims superior to that of any other style, and therefore is preferable for its "fitness." We will not say that in no case is the Grecian temple fit or beautiful; but when stripped of its chief characteristics — gigantic size, and massive and enduring material — we may then think that there is little left to

be desired. And when the town hall, the exchange, and the church, express but one and the same purpose, its propriety

is at least questionable.

"If to do, were as easy as to say to do, chapels had been churches." — we confess it — we confess that it is much easier to pull down than to build up. — We wish that the best and wisest men who are scattered here and there among us, would turn their attention somewhat toward this subject, and use the influence of their character and cultivation to the

improvement of those around them.

A material of an excellent and enduring kind is quarried for us in most parts of our country; but from what we conceive to be a shortsighted economy, it is neglected for a more perishable and meaner one. When we consider the lasting nature of stone compared with wood, and the saving in annual outlay, which with the wooden edifice is necessary for the continuance of its short life, we conceive that prudence, if nothing more, will select it over any other — but the judicious expenditure of what is now frittered away in these puerile attempts at style and ornament, under the direction of the man of taste and skill, will give us all that we ask.

We would that these now shapeless rocks should lift their moss-grown tops toward the heavens, and mingle with the primeval forest that has so long waved over them. From a spot where nature has done much, and man can do more, should go forth the sounds that call the poor to pray; beyond, spreads out the rich and teeming valley or the ceaseless ocean, all telling of the majesty of God, yet subservient to man; here, the vine creeps over the broad buttress, or in sportive growth stretches its long arms up the moss-covered trunk; the birds mingle their sweet notes with those of man in praise and thanksgiving. It is a green spot in the desert of the world, where wells up the fountain that slakes the thirsty soul — that satisfies its most earnest longings — "a place of prayer, and praise, and offering." Here gather the hard hands and earnest faces of honest industry—the smiles of childhood, and the whitened heads of age—the youth in early manhood, matron and maid—they all unite in one common purpose; one thought, one idea pervades the place. The man feels that he is but a small part of the great whole, yet that he has a work to do; and he must go away with a soul soothed and quieted, with purposes elevated and refined.

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"He has renewed his strength, and goes forth like a giant refreshed with wine."

Could we but add to this the modest parsonage, overgrown with woodbine and ivy, its hidden walls telling of quiet meditation and holy purposes, the picture would be entire; and we venture to say, that among all the representations of English life and scenery, none are more generally pleasing than these. The refined feel the charm—the rich, that here gold is powerless—and the poor realize their humanity, and that God, the father of all, is so to them.

The pastoral duties, as formerly practised, seem to be fast passing away, and giving place to a loud and wonder-exciting declamation. If this be an evidence of the growing spirituality of the people, it is well; but we doubt if such be the case. A desire for change, a restlessness, an ambition, seems to influence all classes; and we now rarely find the contented and holy man, bound by ties of association and mutual kindness to the people to whom he has ministered; who has struggled against the selfishness of this world, that he might be not only a spiritual comforter, but one whom we might safely trust when perplexed with the anxieties of a too busy existence—a man without guile. The efficacy and importance of sermonizing hold a prominent place in the minds of the greater part of the community. We have no objection to this, but let us not give up the other.

We would respectfully suggest to those having influence in this matter, whether the admission of persons to be our teachers, of no very great capacity, and a limited perception of the workings of the human mind, may not have been detrimental; and productive, to some extent, of the very evil that we have been deprecating. We do not doubt the purity of intention of these; we question not their motives; but we think they are mistaken, and know not what they can do

In our selection of the site for the rural church, sufficient room may be had for placing the monuments of departed worth around it, so as to give it an additional beauty and interest. It must be confessed, we think, that the places provided for the last repose of the mortality of those who, when alive, possessed no small share of our affections and hopes, are characterized by a neglect which would shock the sense of the Indian who strews flowers over the grave. A plain slab, bearing the name, birth, and death, stands in some de-

solate, untamed field — and this is all! Let the man sometimes wander amidst the tombs, and yield himself to the influences of the place; there, commune with his own thoughts, and with the dead; his mind, diverted from the excitement of the crowd, will get something of the realities of things, and he will go away with a truer estimate of the value and uses We would divest death of some of the charnel-house appendages of decay and darkness, and let in a gleam of sunshine, that will light the soul to that higher communion where we may meet with those we have loved and lost. not the man of taste fear to show it, in the cultivation of flowers around the grave of a friend; it is a mark of affection, that would once have been repaid by the smiles of one whose spirit now looks upon him with an eye of love. debased and worldly may trample upon these things, but not always:

> "A still, resistless influence, Unseen, but felt, binds up the sense."

A better spirit, a reverence for holy things, now so rarely seen, will come upon them. Such consummation is devoutly to be wished; we may then look forward without dread to

"a cheerful old age, and a quiet grave."

Public attention has of late been strongly awakened to the importance of providing suitable places of repose for the dead, especially in the vicinity of our large cities; and the beautiful grounds which have been selected for cemeteries at Mount Auburn, near Boston, at Laurel Hill, near Philadelphia, and at Greenwood, in our own neighborhood, are a proof that a purer taste in relation to the subject is already prevailing in the community. All these sites are well chosen, and admirably adapted to the sacred purpose to which they are devoted; but we happen to be most familiar with Greenwood, from its proximity to us, and therefore we can speak of it more particularly, without justly incurring the charge of local prejudice. We know but few lovelier spots in the world than this, and none of greater capabilities for every improvement appropriate to such a cemetery. It may challenge a comparison with Père la Chaise, with the most famed of the Campo Santos in Italy, or with those which overlook the "Sweet Waters," in the neighborhood of the Golden Horn. The contemplation of such a cheerful and tranquil

resting-place at the end of the wearisome journey of life, deprives death of half its terrors; and we know not how the unpleasant associations connected with the material grave could more effectually be removed than by a visit to it at this delightful season, and a sight of those peaceful shades, under which we may rest, when we have put off our "mortal coil." We have only to hope that the hand of man, in the part of the work which it belongs to him to do, will not mar the beauties which nature has so richly and gracefully distributed there.

- ART. VIII.—1. The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas. By WILLIAM KENNEDY, Esq. London: 1841. R. Hastings. 2 vols. 8vo.
- 2. Texas and the Texans; or, Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the Southwest; including a History of Leading Events in Mexico, from the conquest by Fernando Cortes to the Termination of the Texan Revolution. Philadelphia: 1841. Thomas, Cowperthwait, and Co. 2 vols. 12mo.
- 3. Texas in 1840; or, the Emigrant's Guide to the New Republic. By an Emigrant, late of the United States. New York: 1840. W. W. Allen. 12mo.

On what ground does Texas claim to be recognized as an independent republic, and what is the probability that it will be able to maintain its independence, and raise itself to a respectable rank in the great family of nations, are questions which naturally arise in the mind of every one who is interested in its destiny. To these questions a fuller and more satisfactory answer is given by Mr. Kennedy, in the work whose title we have just cited, than in any one which has come to our knowledge. The high character of this gentleman and the fact that he has no personal interests to advance by what he writes, add great weight to his testimony, and we are highly gratified in having such an authority in support of the opinion we have long entertained, that at the battle of San Jacinto were laid the foundations of the second durable state on the American continent. Mr. Kennedy went to Texas with a mind unprejudiced against the country by the

various unfavorable rumors which had come to his ears; he saw and judged for himself; and in this published account of his observations and inquiries, he has given a proof alike creditable to his candor and his understanding. is not a book of travels, but one of a graver character, having in view to present, with historical and statistical accuracy, "The Rise, Progress, and Prospects" of this infant republic; and this it does, we think, with great distinctness and scrupulous fidelity. In the introductory chapter, we have something of a personal narrative, from which we learn that the author accompanied Lord Durham to the Canadas, in 1838, and was there appointed by him assistant commissioner, with Mr. Charles Buller, to inquire into the municipal institutions of the lower province. After remaining there for some time, until he had completed the duties assigned him by his commission, he came among us, and was held in high estimation by a very numerous acquaintance, which he here formed. His first object was "to examine the working of our state legislatures; his second, to visit Texas." We do not proceed far in his book before we discover that he is of a very different spirit from that of most of his compatriot travellers abroad; he prescribes to himself a rule which is not less sensible than politic, that is, to be satisfied, when travelling in a foreign land, "with being treated as well as a native of his own condition and apparent claims." By observing this rule, he goes on smoothly over the roughest road, and sleeps soundly on the rudest couch, and satisfies his hunger with the coarsest fare. On reaching Galveston, he finds the hotels and boarding houses crowded, and is compelled to remain a day or two on board the steamer; with ordinary travellers, the vexation of such a mishap would have been vented in abuses of the country in which it was experienced; not so with our author, no word of complaint escapes from him; on the contrary, one would infer, from his first account of the country, that he had met with a reception which put him in the pleasantest humor possible; we must give it in his own language:

"Having mingled freely with all sorts of people, and roamed over the low, sandy shores of the island, I proceeded to Houston, at that time the seat of government. After examining the character of the soil, and inquiring into the general resources of the country, I directed my attention to the government, religion, laws, police, and manners. I found a stable government, religion respected, laws well administered, protection afforded to property and person, and the general tone of manners the same as in the United States. Every facility for acquiring information was cheerfully given by President Lamar and the members of his cabinet. Astonished to perceive a condition of things so entirely different from what I had been led to expect, by the people and press of the northern states, I intimated an intention to publish a work on the republic, on my return to England, for the purpose of explaining its true position. To enable me to carry out this resolve, I commenced the collection of documents, which I continued indefatigably in the United States, until I had amassed such a number as warranted me in attempting something more substantial and useful than that irresponsible, and often illusory production, a modern book of travels."

We are well aware, that there are very strong reasons why Mr. Kennedy or any other Englishman should appear pleased with Texas, and give a couleur de rose picture of her institutions and condition. This young republic has manifested a strong desire to cultivate the friendship and favor of England, and shown itself ready to purchase that benefit by offering her many commercial privileges and immunities of great We are far from wishing to disturb this harmony and reciprocal good-will; still we think it behooves us as Americans and next of kin to this infant nation, to look to it, and see how far we are willing to have the remoter parent supplant us in its affections, by the greater fostering care she bestows upon it in its infancy. For our part, we frankly acknowledge we are glad to see that the bitter hatred towards our mother country, which sprung up in the hearts of our fathers, when they renounced their allegiance to it, does not necessarily run in the blood of their descendants, wherever they may dwell, but that citizens of the United States have only to cross the Sabine to revive that affection which it is natural for them to cherish for the land of their ancestors. We should be glad also, if the knowledge of this fact should open our eyes to the importance of our own relations with this child that has settled on our borders. The great commercial states of Europe, always alive to their own interests, have shown, by entering into treaties with our neighbor, that they are anticipating an advantageous trade with her; and there can be little doubt that the time is near at hand, when the anticipation will be realized; we confidently predict, that before the close of the present century the commerce of Texas will be as important to England and France as that of the United States now is. But it is not our intention to use these volumes merely as a peg to hang our own speculations upon; we believe it will be far more acceptable to our readers, and surely more conducive to the interests of the country about which we are writing, to gather from them the leading facts which exhibit its condition, and justify our author in his

highly favorable account of it.

We have already said, that this work of Mr. Kennedy furnishes the fullest and most satisfactory information upon all the great questions which may be started respecting Texas, and we must now, by a closer examination of it, give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves, of the correctness of our estimate of its value. And first, of the topics of which it treats — it is divided into three books, of which the first is devoted to the geography, natural history, and topography of Texas; the second to its history, from the period of the first European settlements to the establishment of the republic; the third to the narrative of Texan affairs subsequent to the battle of San Jacinto, and the social aspect and prospects of the republic; to which is added an appendix, containing the most important state papers connected with its political history. We see, therefore, that it embraces the most important subjects which enter into a full account both of the country and people.

With respect to geographical position, it could not be more favorably situated; extending along the Gulf of Mexico, from the Sabine to the Rio Grande del Norte, and from the twenty-sixth to the fortieth parallel of north latitude; and thus lying wholly in the milder portion of the temperate zone, its climate needs only the ameliorating influences of population and cultivation, to become as healthy and as delightful as that of any spot on earth. Indeed, in many parts it is already so, according to the account of Mr. Kennedy, who thus de-

scribes it:

"While the midsummer air of the alluvial region of the Mississippi is surcharged with noxious moisture, the clear atmosphere of Texas is quickened and renovated by invigorating breezes from the blue expanse of ocean, which, passing over the dry, rolling, and verdant surface of the interior, enliven the spirits, and induce a love of existence, even for the passive physical enjoyment it affords." "But for these refreshing breezes, which, during six months, blow at most without intermission, the summer heat of the low lands would certainly be oppressive and pernicious."

"The sweet south-western breeze, which is so necessary to health and comfort on the level region of the coast, may at most be termed an unmingled luxury among the cool springs, translucent streams, wooded 'bottoms,' 'islands' of timber, and flower-spangled prairies, of the rolling country. The greater portion of this beautiful region, which has obtained for Texas the name of the 'Italy of America,' is blessed with a temperature delightful to the sense and favorable to life, and to most of the products which render life agreeable. Here the mildness of the seasons enables the planter to 'pick' all the cotton he can raise, to grow as much corn as he requires, and to accumulate stock of every description, almost without labor or expense."—Vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

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And then, as to the salubrity of the climate, he testifies as follows:—

"To the swarms of medical practitioners that yearly issue from the universities and colleges of Europe, Texas offers little encouragement as a field of professional speculation. There is no malady that can properly be called endemic: and the febrile diseases, which usually afflict early settlers, especially in southern latitudes, are of a mild type, completely within the control of medicine, and generally to be avoided by the observance of a few simple rules of living. Emigrants accustomed to northern habits, should, at least until they are thoroughly 'acclimated,' shun undue exposure to the noon-day sun, exercise caution in the use of fruit and salted food, abstain from ardent spirits, and refrain as much as possible from drinking, save at meals. If any part of Texas can be termed sickly, it is the narrow strip of country running parallel to the gulf, where, in the low timbered bottoms, the rivers deposit the accumulations of their annual overflows. In this section, to which Providence has granted exuberant fertility, in compensation for its comparative insalubrity, settlers are hable to be attacked by bilious and intermittent fevers; but after receding some distance from the coast, no part of the globe is more friendly to the regular action of the human frame. Pulmonary consumption, so destructive in England and the northern states of the American Union, is almost unknown in Texas. Rheumatisms and chronic diseases are not prevalent, and nine tenths of the republic are considered healthier than the most healthy parts of the United States. In the opinion of respectable medical men, a residence in this country would be as favorable to persons of a consumptive tendency as the south of Europe, or Madeira. As a general fact, it may be stated, that the farther from the lands bordering on the coast, the more salubrious the locality; and persons who arrive in summer will be quite safe by retiring fifty or sixty miles inland. The district comprehended in the 'Mexican department' of Bexar

is of remarkable salubrity. It rarely freezes in winter, and in summer the heat by the thermometer (Fahrenheit's) seldom exceeds eighty-five degrees. The water is delicious, the sky rarely clouded, and the breezes as exhilarating as champaigne, and far more invigorating. Many Mexicans residing in the vicinity of San Antonio have attained the patriarchal term of one hundred years, in the full possession of health. When the commissioners appointed to select the seat of the government of the republic, visited Bastrop, on the Colorado, they were, in proof of its salubrity, shown the grave-yard of the town, which had no more than eleven tenants, although the place had been settled above seven years, and comprised a population of several hundred souls. I have heard planters jocularly remark, in reference to the qualities of the atmosphere in north-western Texas, that it was possible for men to petrify there, but not to putrefy." Vol. i. pp. 73-75.

Among the many prejudices which pervade the community respecting Texas, is that of its being subject to the devastations of the yellow fever, and as this is naturally and justly a cause of great alarm, and a formidable objection to those who wish to visit it, we cite a passage from our author, showing precisely what foundation there is for the belief.

"'In no part of Texas,' observes Almonte, in his Noticia Estadistica sobre Tejas, 'is vomito prieto, or yellow fever, known. Until the autumn of 1839, there was no instance on record of the pest of Vera Cruz and New Orleans having visited Texas. About the latter part of September in that year, an epidemic appeared in the towns of Galveston and Houston, which Dr. Ashbel Smith, an eminent medical practitioner, who treated a number of cases, pronounced to be yellow fever. In Galveston the disease was confined exclusively to the Strand, a street contiguous to a low, muddy, and undrained part of the beach, where the filth which business and population engender, had, from a deficiency in the police regulations, been permitted to accumulate. It is doubtful whether the fever were imported from New Orleans, or originated in local causes. For general healthfulness, Galveston island, including the city, is probably unsurpassed by any place in the world." Vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

The inquiry next in importance to that of the pleasantness and salubrity of the climate, concerns the productiveness of the soil. On this point there has been less diversity in the accounts which have been given of the country than on most others; nearly all concur in representing it as wonderfully fertile and varied in its productions. In corroboration of his

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own opinion, which is very decisive in favor of the claim of Texas to uncommon fertility, Mr. Kennedy calls in the testimony of Humboldt, Mr. Clay, General Pike, Colonel Longworth, Mr. Ward, formerly British chargé d'affaires at Mexico, General Ward, and Colonel Almonte, all of whom agree in thus representing it; after showing upon such authorities and from his own observation, that "for apparent depth, and richness, and capability of raising most of the commodities necessary for animal subsistence and enjoyment, the soil of Texas is not surpassed by that of any country in the Western Hemisphere," he proceeds to an enumeration of the productions to which it is best adapted. Among these the first and most important is the cotton plant, which is undoubtedly to be its great staple, and hereafter to be grown in almost indefinite quantities. For its cultivation, Texas possesses a great advantage over the most favorable portions of the cotton growing country in the United States, in not being obliged to form "fresh plantations oftener than once in three or four years — in the general superiority of the article produced, and the excess in amount of production." It is said also that the fine Sea Island cotton of Georgia and Carolina may be grown to perfection in the low alluvial lands, bordering on the gulf of Mexico. Our author gives us no statistical account of the number of bales of cotton annually produced in Texas, but we learn from other sources, that it has already exceeded one hundred thousand.

The sugar cane is another plant which is equally certain to become one of the great staples of this rich agricultural region, and one, for the cultivation of which, it possesses like advantages over our own adjoining territory. As yet, the want of sufficient capital and laborers has prevented the Texan planter from growing sugar to any considerable extent.

Next to the above, the most important crop is Indian corn, of which fifty to sixty bushels, and on very good land, seventy-five bushels to the acre, are produced. "Two crops may be gathered annually, the first of which is usually planted in February, the second late in June. A crop of wheat, equal in quality to the finest Kentucky, has been cut in May, on land in western Texas, and the same land has yielded a heavy crop of Indian corn in the ensuing October."

There is also every reason for believing that Texas will one day be a wine-producing country. Grapes of every variety are found growing spontaneously in many parts of it, and in many the climate is sufficiently mild and uniform for the finer sorts, which will not bear the extremes of either heat or cold.

In addition to the above, the tobacco and indigo plants, the nopal, on which the cochineal insect feeds, the silk mulberry, the sweet potatoe, the vanilla, and most of the fruits of the temperate and tropical regions, every kind of Cereal and of esculent culinary vegetables, may be enumerated among the productions, which, as we learn from our author, the bounty of nature pours forth in great profusion and in great perfection either in some one, or in all the districts of

this fertile country.

In recounting the natural riches of Texas, its forests, which constitute one of its principal beauties as well as one of its greatest treasures, must not be omitted. All the varieties of trees which are found in the United States, are here seen in luxuriant growth, and many others peculiar to this region. The live oak is more abundant than in any other equal portion of the western continent, and as our stock of this invaluable timber is nearly exhausted, we shall soon be obliged to rely upon the Texan forests for the supply required both for our war and merchant ships, unless some of the maritime states of Europe should secure the exclusive privilege for themselves, as they will doubtless be desirous of doing. In northern Texas, there is a very extensive chain of forests, called the "Cross Timber," which forms a most remarkable feature of the country, and is thus described by Mr. Kennedy:

"The Cross Timber is a continuous series of forests, extending from the woody region, at the sources of the Trinity, in a direct line north, across the apparently interminable prairies of northern Texas and the Ozark territory, to the southern bank of the Arkan-This belt of timber varies in width from five to fifty miles. Between the Trinity and Red rivers, it is generally from five to nine miles wide, and is so remarkably straight and regular, that it appears to be a work of art. When viewed from the adjoining prairies in the east or west, it appears in the distance like an immense wall of wood stretching from south to north in a straight line, the extremities of which are lost in the horizon. There appears to be no peculiarity in the surface of the ground, over which the Cross Timber passes, to distinguish it from the surface of the adjoining country; but where the country is level, the region traversed by the Cross Timber is level; where it is undulating, and where it is hilly, that also is uneven, conforming, in every respect, to the general features of the adjoining country. The trees composing these forests are not distinguishable by any peculiarity from those which are occasionally found in the adjoining prairies, or in the bottoms bordering the streams which intersect the Cross Timber. Oak, hickory, elm, white oak, post oak, holly, and other trees, are found in it. The Cross Timber, in its general direction, does not perceptibly vary from the true meridian. As might naturally be supposed, it forms the great landmark of the western prairies; and the Indians and hunters, when describing their routes across the country in their various expeditions, refer to it, as the navigators of Europe refer to the meridian of Greenwich."—Vol. i. pp. 101, 102.

Want of room compels us to pass rapidly over the second chapter, which our author devotes to the natural history of We learn from it, that secondary and alluvial the country. formations are the great geological characteristics of Texasthat there are numerous indications of gold and silver in the vicinity of the San Saba hills, and that mines of the latter were formerly wrought to considerable extent — that iron ore is widely and abundantly distributed throughout the country that coal, both anthracite and bituminous, is found in great quantities between the Trinity river and the Rio Grande and that an inexhaustible supply of salt is furnished by the salt lakes and saline springs and streams, along the coast between the last named river and the Sabine. For a more particular account of its mineral riches, and also of its quadrupeds and other animals, we must refer our readers to the work itself.

The hasty view we have here given of the climate, soil, and productions of this region, is sufficient to show, that with respect to physical advantages, it is entitled to rank among the finest and most favored of the earth. It is now in possession of the descendants of a race which has never failed to turn such advantages to the best possible account; and we know of no reason for supposing that they are in any way inferior to, or able to accomplish less than those from whom they spring; a glance at the history of the settlement of the country by its present possessors, first as a Mexican province, and then as an independent state, will enable us to judge if their characteristic energy is impaired, and what may rightly be expected of them for the future. In pursuing this inquiry, we shall still follow Mr. Kennedy, but not rely exclusively on his authority.

The Anglo-American colonial establishment in Texas had its origin in the grant of a district of country on the Brazos,

nearly one hundred and fifty miles square, made to Moses Austin, in the year 1821, by the Spanish authorities in Mexico. Mr. Austin was a man of uncommon enterprise and great ambition, but he could hardly have anticipated the mighty results which we already see must follow from his attempt to plant a colony in this wilderness. The time will come when he will be recognised as the founder of an empire, and an interest be felt in his history not inferior to that which fiction has imparted to the history of the supposed founder of regal Rome. He had to encounter numerous perplexities and difficulties in accomplishing his purpose; but his determined spirit overcame them all, and enabled him by the aid of his friend, the Baron de Bastrop, to obtain a favorable answer to his memorial, asking permission to settle three hundred families in Texas. But his success was not made known to him until it was too late for him to enjoy it; while still uncertain of the result of his petition, he was obliged to depart from Bexar and make a journey to the United States, the fatigues and exposure of which cost him his life, as is set forth in the following touching description of it, by Mr. Kennedy:

"The journey homeward was attended by extreme suffering and hardship. From Bexar to the Sabine, Texas was then a total solitude, the settlements at Nacogdoches and its vicinity having been destroyed by the Spaniards, in 1819. Robbed and deserted by his fellow travellers, Austin was left alone in the prairies, nearly two hundred miles from any habitation, destitute of provisions and the means of procuring them. In this wretched situation, with nothing to subsist upon but acorns and peccan nuts, he journeyed onward for eight days, constantly exposed to the weather at the most inclement season, swimming and rafting rivers and creeks, until he reached the hospitable roof of an American settler, twenty miles from the Sabine. Worn down with hunger and fatigue, he was unable to proceed further. His constitution had received a shock from which it never recovered. After recruiting his strength, he resumed his course, and arriving in Missouri in spring, commenced preparation for removal to Texas; but a cold, which had settled on his lungs, produced an inflammation that terminated his existence, a few days after the gratifying intelligence was communicated to him of the approval of his petition by the Spanish authorities at Monterey. He died on the 10th of June, 1821, in his fifty-seventh year, leaving, as a last injunction to his son Stephen, to prosecute his plan of Texan colonization. During a life of vicissitude and activity, Moses Austin maintained a reputation free from the suspicion of dishonor. His energy disappointment could not damp, nor misfortune subdue."—Vol. i. p. 317.

Stephen Austin, the son, scrupulously obeyed the dying injunctions of his father, and carried into execution his plan of colonization, in spite of all the obstacles which arose from the repeated changes in the Mexican government, and the unwillingness of each successive one to sanction the doings of that which preceded it. It was not until 1823, that the supreme executive power of the now independent state of Mexico, confirmed the original grant made to his father by the Spanish colonial authorities; nor was he able, until the following year, to fill up the colony with the stipulated number of three hundred families. This being effected, Mr. Austin's first object was the regular organization of the colony, according to the provisions of the decree of the supreme government, by which he was empowered "to maintain good order, and govern the colony in all civil, judicial, and military matters, to the best of his ability and as equity might require, until the government should be otherwise organized; the local government being thus committed to him, without the guidance of written laws or specific instructions of any kind." He then formed a code of provisional regulations in civil and criminal manners, and appointed magistrates, opened a book of record for registering the land documents and title deeds, in which the whole of the titles of the three hundred families in the settlement were recorded and signed by the empresario, the commissioner, and the alcalde, giving them the same validity in law as the originals in the colonial archives. It is hardly to be expected that the administration of any man, however faultless, could give entire satisfaction in such a situation as that in which Mr. Austin was placed; nor was he exempt from the common lot of leaders in like enterprises, but was harassed with a full share of opposition and obloquy, notwithstanding his persevering endeavors for the general good and the faithful adherence to his engagements. In reply to the many wilful misrepresentations of his own character and that of his associates, we are glad to present to our readers the following unequivocal testimonial in their favor, which we find in the work now before us:



[&]quot;Austin, without assistance, civil or military, from the government, had nothing but his own moral influence to sustain his authority. The colony did not contain a single soldier, and for the first five years there were not fifty in all Texas, nor was any salary or

allowance whatever appropriated to the expenses of local administration. Yet the affairs of the settlement proceeded with regularity, and with less internal dissension than might have been anticipated. To this the dispositions of the colonists were, of course, mainly in-The idea has been industriously circulated, in the strumental. United States and Europe, that the early colonists of Texas were chiefly criminal outcasts from the neighboring territories. No representation could be more unfounded or unfair. Fugitives from justice might indeed cross the frontier, seeking shelter under a foreign jurisdiction, in a locality where escape was comparatively easy; but measures were adopted, both by the government and by Austin, to shield Texas from that evil; and, in 1823-4, several foreign delinquents were expelled from the colony, under the severest threats of punishment in the event of their return. This fact proves that the intruders could not have been numerous, as the militia, which was composed of the settlers themselves, was the only power by which their expulsion could have been effected. The founder of the first Anglo-American settlement in Texas might well regard his triumph over past difficulties as the pledge of an auspicious future. The heir of his father's enterprise, he dug in the heart of an alien wilderness, with the sturdy hands of a small company of freemen, the foundation of an empire destined not only to be the centre of a superior civilization, but to reclaim from barbarism, partial or complete, millions whose energies, physical and mental, have long been wasted or misdirected under the combined ascendancy of sloth, ignorance, and slavish superstition."-Vol. i. pp. 333-335.

Although there were many vexatious measures adopted from time to time by the Mexican government in relation to the Texan colony, there was nothing indicative of a decidedly unfriendly disposition, until the decree of Bustamente, on the sixth of April, 1830, which "prohibited the citizens of foreign countries lying adjacent to the Mexican territories, from settling as colonists in the states or territories of the republic adjoining such countries, and suspended those contracts of colonization, the terms of which were opposed to this article." Taken in connection with the increase of the garrisons and the substitution of martial law for civil authority, this decree clearly evinced a determination to check the growth of the colony, and keep it in a state of complete dependence. The elements of the new colony proving from day to day more and more discordant to the state to which it was joined, it sought to obtain relief from the evils under which it labored, by the establishment of a state government which should more carefully watch over its local interests than it was possible for the federal government, which had its seat in the city of Mexico, to do; and, to this end, it sent in a petition to the federal government, detailing the injuries sustained from a connection with Coahuila, and the considerations which the petitioners had to urge to entitle the state of Texas to become a distinct and independent member of the Mexican federation, accompanied with strong representations of the onerous burdens imposed upon them by the high duties, in some cases amounting to prohibition, of the existing tariff. Mr. Austin was one of three commissioners appointed to present these petitions to the federal government, which duty made it necessary for him to visit the city of Mexico, in the spring of 1833. Waiting in vain, for months, to have the petitions acted upon, and at last despairing of success, in October of the same year, while the country was in a state of revolution approaching almost to anarchy, he wrote to Texas, recommending the people there to organize as a state de facto, without further delay. The letter advising this step was afterwards returned to the federal authorities in Mexico, and, in consequence of it, orders were issued for Austin's arrest. He was already on his return to Texas, and had proceeded as far as Saltillo, when he was stopped, taken back to the capital, and imprisoned in the dungeons of the old inquisition, shut out from the light of day, and denied the privilege of speaking to or corresponding with any one, or the use of books, pen, ink or paper. During his long absence from the colony, which continued nearly two years and a half, many months of which he was confined in prison, the disaffection towards the Mexican government had become so great, as to threaten a violent and immediate separation from it. Good and substantial reasons were not wanting to justify such a proceeding. The revolutionary spirit in Mexico had not yet subsided, and consequently there could be no hope of tranquillity for any state united with it; a consolidated central government had been established in place of the federal one which the constitution of 1824 had secured to the several provinces; and, better than all, the prosperity of Texas evidently depended upon its being separated from the lifeless mass with which it was connected, and if it had power to effect its independence, its right to do it was as undeniable as that of Mexico to separate from the mother country. Relying on the justice of their cause, and on the determined spirit and courage of the people, a few thousands dared to defy a popu-

lation of nine millions; they "vowed to drive every Mexican soldier beyond the Rio Grande, or whiten the plain with their bones;" and they have since proved, by the faithful performance of their vow, how well they were entitled to the liberty they claimed. It is unnecessary for us here to speak of the events of their glorious and successful struggle for independence, which began with the battle of Gonzales, and ended, about six months after, with that of San Jacinto: they are fresh in the memory of every one, and will never pass into oblivion so long as deeds of noble daring are traced on the pages of history. On the one hand, the admiration of mankind will never be withheld from the noble band who rushed on to victory with the war-cry of "Remember the Alamo!" nor their execration, on the other, from the cowardly assassins, whose cold-blooded murders had given to these words the power of inspiriting the heart and nerving the arm

with the most desperate valor.

Mr. Kennedy introduces us to his third book, which treats of Texan affairs subsequently to this battle, and the social ASPECT AND PROSPECTS OF THE REPUBLIC, with a striking and eloquent passage from De Tocqueville's Democracy in America, in which he predicts the continued triumphant progress of the Anglo-Saxon race, in extending their dominions over the western hemisphere, and clothes it with "the solemnity of a providential event." This idea has become very general in our time, and, indeed, so far as the page of human destiny is laid open to us, this clearly seems to be among its recorded decrees, of which the dispossession of another race from the whole northern border of the Gulf of Mexico, furnishes one of the most unequivocal indications. The history of the colonial settlements in Texas alone is sufficient to show the immense superiority of this hardy race, particularly when improved by the adventurous life and the rugged toils of the New World, as pioneers in the march of civilization, — the only one, of the many which have been attempted, that has prospered and obtained a permanent footing, is that which was led in from the States under Mr. Austin, and which has since drawn its increase and its strength from us. In contrasting the complete success of this with the total failure of the Dolores settlement, composed of a medley of all nations, Mr. Kennedy takes occasion to remark that "the North Americans are the only people who, in defiance of all obstacles, have struck the roots of civilization into the soil of Texas. They are indeed

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the organized conquerors of the wild, uniting in themselves the threefold attributes of husbandmen, lawgivers, and soldiers;" and, we would add, that they alone have seized the true spirit of modern civilization, the spirit of civil and religious liberty, of equal rights, of constant progress, of universally diffused knowledge, of worldly thrift, and of practical utility. It is this which enables them to "go ahead,"

where all other people would be obliged to stop.

Although the result of the battle of San Jacinto has unquestionably secured the independence of this young republic, it did not force from the Mexican government an acquiescence in the claim, but it gave them a sufficiently satisfactory proof that it would be no easy matter to dispute it on Texan soil. Repeated threats of hostility have been sent forth, and some show of preparation for regaining the lost possession has been made by Mexico, during the last five years, and in the meanwhile Texas has been regularly and rapidly advancing in the arts of peace, in physical strength, wealth, population, moral and intellectual cultivation, and in everything which can give stability to her institutions and permanency to her inde-The government of the United States was the first that made a formal recognition of this independence, which was done by a resolution of congress, passed early in 1837, since which time it has been acknowledged by France, Holland, Belgium, and England. In the month of August, of the year just named, Texas made application to be received into the United States' federal union, the unsuccessful result of which being made known, a resolution was introduced into her legislature by Mr. Jones, a representative from Brazoria, to the following effect:

"Whereas the citizens of the Republic of Texas, at their election of President and other officers in the year 1836, expressed an
almost unanimous desire to become annexed to the United States
of North America, in consequence of which expression, a proposition for annexation was made through its minister, resident at the
city of Washington, which proposition, after having been duly considered, has been distinctly and unconditionally refused by that
government and for reasons which it is impossible for time or circumstances to invalidate or alter; and whereas it is believed that
Texas, having interests at variance with a large portion of the
United States, and having also demonstrated her ability for self
government and for successfully resisting the efforts of her imbecile
enemy to subjugate her, and now, trusting, as a wise policy dictates,

to her own strength and resources, no longer desires such annexation; and whereas it is a fact that pending the hopeless negotiation, the recognition of the independence of Texas by England and other powers, so essential to our welfare, is delayed or prevented:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of Texas in congress assembled, that his Excellency the President be authorised and required, so soon as he may think proper, to instruct our minister, resident at Washington, respectfully to inform the government of the United States of North America, that the government of Texas withdraws the proposition for the annexation of Texas to the said United States."

This resolution expressing, as we think, that her wiser policy dictated to her "to trust to her own strength and resources," was approved in the House of Representatives, but lost in the Senate by a majority of one; another similar in import was however afterwards introduced and ratified by a joint resolution of both houses, in January, 1839. far as respects the great interests of our country, there would be much to be said on both sides, were the question of annexation to be reopened; and on the part of Texas, the most valid reasons, it seems to us, are all against it; but as it is probably definitively settled, there is no occasion for any further remarks upon it.

Texas has thus become a nation in name; it remains for us to see if it has the requisites to make it one in reality,—has it territory, population, government, institutions for moral, religious and intellectual improvement, and means of providing

for the wants of the state?

Its Territory, as we have already seen, is extensive, and its soil of superior fertility; it covers more square miles than were included within the original limits of the thirteen United States; and its lands, if duly cultivated, could be made to yield an annual produce of greater value than the highest which as yet has been yielded by our own.

Of its Population, Mr. Kennedy gives the following ac-

count :-

"It is difficult to form a correct estimate of the scattered population of Texas. From the various statements which I have inspected, and certain statistical data, I should fix the average Anglo-American population at two hundred thousand, and at most ten thousand slaves. Should Mexico accept the terms of treaty offered by Texas, an addition of probably one hundred thousand souls will be made to the population of the latter in the valley of the Rio



Grande. I do not hesitate to predict, that the population of Texas will, under an unimpeded system of emigration, amount within seven years to one million of souls." Vol. ii. p. 390.

We believe the above to be an under rather than an overestimate, both of its actual numbers and its future increase. Let the public mind be disabused as to the unfounded reproaches which have been cast upon this country, and duly enlightened as to its real advantages, and a wave of population would roll in upon it, from overstocked and effete and impoverished Europe, that would at once swell its hundreds of thousands to millions, and enliven its beautiful and luxuriant prairies and hill sides with human habitations, and convert its solitary wilds into smiling fields and blooming gardens. The voice of invitation also would not be sounded in vain in our own land, favored as it is; there are many highminded and honorable men among us, whose spirits have been crushed by the changes and disasters of the last few years, who would derive fresh courage from the excitements of a new country like Texas, and the great rewards it holds out to industry and enterprise. Let not such be deterred from changing homes, by their unwillingness to break up old associations and separate from relatives and friends; communities of such might be formed, that would mutually support each other. But we are deviating from our purpose, which was to look at Texas as it is, not as it probably is to be; we proceed therefore to the next subject of inquiry,—

Its GOVERNMENT. This is so similar to our own, that in many respects it is but a copy of it, a copy, however, as Mr. Kennedy seems to imply, essentially improved upon the original.

"The constitution of Texas," he says, "resembles in its general features that of the United States—the main distinction between them being that Texas is an integral, and the United States a federal republic. In this respect the Texans deem themselves more advantageously situated than their neighbors, whose government is one of compromise between conflicting interests. The operation of these interests is seen in the presidential elections, and the policy of the future administration may be easily determined by ascertaining the amount of support the successful candidate may have received in the several states, and the predominant interests in those states, in their relation to the federal government. There is another important particular in which the Texan and American governments differ. The president of the United States is elected for

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four years, and is eligible to re-election; the president of Texas is elected for three years, and is not eligible to re-election until after the lapse of at least one presidential term." Vol. ii. p. 355.

In the Texan government, the executive, including the cabinet, the legislative, judicial, and post-office departments, are organized like our own, and they respectively receive a compensation about half as great as ours, the salary of the president being ten thousand dollars, of the secretaries three thousand five hundred dollars, of the chief justice and of foreign ministers five thousand dollars per annum. Mem-

bers of Congress are paid five dollars per diem.

In the administration of justice, the common law of England, " as far as it is not inconsistent with the constitution and the acts of Congress," has been adopted as the law of the land; but the "acts" are the paramount authority. Great leniency is extended to debtors; unless there is evidence of fraud, imprisonment for debt is not allowed, on the ground that it is both injurious and unjust to place a debtor in a situation in which he can be of no use to himself or his creditors. By an act of January, 1839, fifty acres of land, five hundred dollars in improvements, two hundred dollars in household furniture, fifty dollars in implements of trade, five cows, one yoke of oxen or one horse, twenty hogs, a year's provisions, are exempted from liability for debts. The criminal code of Texas is severe; it is necessary only to cite its general provisions, as stated by Mr. Kennedy, to disprove the common charge against her, of being the asylum of felons and fugitives from justice.

"The criminal laws of Texas are rigorous, in consequence of the influx of persons from the United States, seeking to evade punishment by flying to a foreign jurisdiction. The officers of the republic are vigilant in searching after fugitive delinquents, and returning them to the proper authorities in the United States. In none of the new states of the Union is the law so certain to be carried into effect against a real offender, through the instrumentality of a jury, as in Texas. The general laws and municipal regulations press hard upon the errant corps of 'loafers.' Justices of peace and other civil officers are enjoined to arrest all vagrants and idle persons living within their respective jurisdictions, and where there are no visible means nor proper exertions for a livelihood, they are empowered to send the party to work for the public, thirty days for the first offence, sixty for the second, and one year for the third. There are similar regulations for the correction of drunkenness,

and penalties are exacted from all persons bearing deadly weapons, except the military. Faro, roulette, monte, rouge et noir, and all other games of chance, played by persons holding banks for the purpose of attracting betters, are offences punishable by heavy fines. The severest penalty of the law is attached to duelling." Vol. ii. p. 390.

The provisions with regard to fugitives from our side of the line, should make us blush for the shameful looseness of our laws upon the same subject, and the still more shameful subterfuges often made use of, for refusing to give up offenders of every description, as well against the claims of sister states

as of foreign powers.

The people of Texas have not shown themselves indifferent to their Moral, Religious, and Intellectual improvement, but the institutions for effecting it are as yet necessarily few in number, and limited in their operation. They have established Temperance and Bible Societies, and Sunday schools. In Galveston, Houston, and other towns, there are churches for Christian worship, of various denominations, among whom an uncommon degree of harmony is said to prevail. Large grants of land have been made for the establishment of schools and other institutions for the advancement of knowledge — thirteen thousand acres in each county for primary schools, two hundred and twenty thousand acres for the maintenance of two universities, one in eastern and one in western Texas. An act passed last year provides, in addition to the primary schools, for a central institution in each county, in which classical literature and the higher branches of mathematics are to be taught. In one respect, at least, they prove that they do not change their tastes by changing their sky; they lose none of that fondness for newspapers which characterizes the whole American people, to judge from the number already published among them, there being now no less than twelve, one of which is published daily, and several tri-weekly. The spirit of Internal Improvement has also found its way there. One rail-road of thirtyfive miles in extent, along the coast from Galveston to the Brazos river, is already in operation, and another is proposed between Houston and Austin; and such are the facilities for constructing them throughout the level parts of Texas generally, that they must soon become their principal means of internal communication.

We have yet one great subject of inquiry — have means

been provided for the support of the government, and other public wants — has Texas a permanent and certain Reve-NUE, the life-blood of a state, without which it can have no strength, no vigor, and make no advancement? Of this truth she has not been unmindful, and herein she has learned wisdom from the errors of her parent country, and placed her revenue upon a better and firmer basis than our own. Holding indirect taxation to be anti-republican, because it obtains by delusion what it fears to claim openly, and demoralizing, because it encourages smuggling, a committee of her congress declared "the most just, equal, and cheap mode of obtaining from each citizen his necessary tax or contribution for the support of government, to be a direct tax on all the property of the citizen, of every species and description whatsoever;" and in accordance with this view the direct taxation law of January, 1840, was passed. A temporary financial embarrassment makes it necessary for her at present, however, to levy a duty on imports, which by the tariff of 1840 was fixed at fifteen per cent., and now increased to forty-five per cent. if paid in her depreciated currency; but she does not imitate our Vandalism and our bad taste, by extending it to books and French wines, the introduction of which, to her eternal honor, she makes Free. She also looks forward with confidence "to the approach of that happy day, when, by the development of her agricultural resources, she will be enabled, as her true interest will then dictate and demand, to throw open her ports to all the world, and establish a system of absolute free trade. Another inexhaustible source of revenue is her "public domain, consisting of one hundred and fifty millions of acres of as fine land as any in the world, one hundred millions of which, by climate, soil, and surface, are admirably adapted to the purposes of European cultivation.*

The immense agricultural advantages which Texas enjoys, will, necessarily, make the cultivation of the soil her principal object; but not to the neglect of commerce, for which her geographical position is highly favorable, and which will naturally increase with the increase of her surplus produce. Although her harbors do not generally admit the entrance of ships of large draught, the coast is easy and safe of approach, and,

^{*} See General James Hamilton's letter to Edward Gibbon Wakefield, asking permission to publish his evidence before the select committee of the house of commons, (1836,) on the disposal of lands in the British colonies, which has appeared in a pamphlet form, with the title, "Public Lands A Mine of Wealth."

for a long distance west of the mouth of the Sabine, there is excellent holding-ground in five fathoms of water, where vessels may ride in safety at any season of the year; besides which, numerous bays, inlets, and rivers, offer great facilities for communication with the interior and the transportation of

produce to the place of shipment.

We have not particularly adverted to the work of Mr. Foote, in the foregoing paper, as it is, in a great measure, occupied with earlier historical details than have engaged our attention, and as, also, we wished, rather to present our readers with the impressions which a traveller from abroad had received from a visit to the country, than those which had been made by it upon one of our own citizens, who might, perhaps, be supposed to have a stronger personal interest in speaking favorably of it. We may add, that there is no important discrepancy in the account given by the two writers, so far as they occupy a common ground. The other work at the head of our article, "The Emigrant's Guide," contains much valuable information about Texas, upon the subjects of greatest interest to those for whom it is designed.

We regard the advancement of Texas as a matter of the deepest interest to the cause of humanity; and we rejoice at the evidence that the attention of the world is now called to it, which is furnished by the publication, almost simultaneously, in England, France, and the United States, of works presenting impartial accounts of its history and condition. We hope to see Mr. Kennedy's book reprinted here immediately, feeling confident it will do more to correct the erroneous impressions in regard to Texas, which are still prevailing amongst us, than could be done by any other means. With many thanks to the author, for the instruction we have derived from this work, we take leave of him and of our readers with an extract from his introduction, especially addressed to his countrymen, but equally applicable to many of our own:

"If any of my countrymen, having dozed for the last half century, are, between sleeping and waking, venting their wrath against 'Yankee rebels,' and wondering why our Whig government do not spit them en masse, like cockchafers, I recommend them (after taking a refrigerant) to read what is recorded in the following pages, of a people who have grown up since they retired to 'the pleasant land of drowsy-head'—a people whom their European historiographers call 'Texians,' but upon whom the leader of

- 'hereditary bondsmen,' and those who sail in his wake, have bestowed a variety of appellations more familiar to the readers of the Criminal Calendar than to the admirers of polite literature. After perusing the said pages, the sleepers awakened will infinitely oblige me by revealing their candid opinion of these Texans who, they will perceive, are only off-shoots from the 'Yankees' my own idea being that their growth as a community, their establishment and sustentation of a constitutional government, and their endeavors, by means of that government, to raise in the wilderness the rarest monument of civilization, constitute one of the most remarkable passages in the history of associated man."
- ART. IX.—1. The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York, illustrated by facts. Printed for the information of the Society of Friends, by direction of the Joint Committees, etc. Philadelphia: 1840. pp. 256.
- 2. Appeal to the Christian Community, on the Condition and Prospects of the New York Indians, in Answer to a book entitled, "The Case of the New York Indians," and other publications of the Society of Friends. By NATHANIEL T. STRONG, a Chief of the Seneca Tribe. New York: 1841.
- 3. Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837. Compiled and printed by the direction and under the supervision of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, D. C.: 1837.
- 4. Chief Justice Marshall's Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States. (Cranch's, Wheaton's, Peters's, and Dallas's Reports, bearing on Indian Titles, on Resumption of Grants under imputation of Fraud, and Limit of Executive Discretion, in loco.)

THE fate of the red man in the new world is among the heaviest responsibilities that rest on the white man, coming from the old, who is so rapidly supplanting him. Though the race be destined, as would seem, gradually to melt away in the presence of civilization, still it changes not our duties toward them, as a Christian and responsible nation. We are answerable for our treatment of that fated race, both to God

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and man. We stand before the bar of Christendom as guardians of their temporal and eternal interests. In assuming national independence, the United States assumed also the responsibility of the Indian tribes within their borders. It was the lien upon our land, coming down with the original title, and is therefore to be faithfully paid off by us, as men and Christians. But how? that is the question. Three possible schemes presented themselves. To incorporate them with the European population as citizens, amalgamating the races by intermarriage, was one supposable plan. But this European feelings forbade, and it could not therefore have been even tried by a government dependent on the popular will. The second was, to hold them as an independent people within our borders, to leave them undisturbed in their forests. and thus retain them within the old settlements of the whites This, too, was an impossible rule; for it forpermanently. bade all increase of the white settlements, since the whole of the new states, as well as one half the territorial extent of the old, were thus encumbered, at the period of our independence, by Indian possession. The only remaining scheme was, to hold them in a state of dependent pupilage, to extinguish their possessory title from time to time, through voluntary cession by Indian treaties, and eventually to remove them to new forest homes in the further west, whenever the government, as their guardian, should deem it most expedient for them to remove. On this last and only feasible principle, did the federal government actually recognize them, and from the first has acted toward them, at first by simple cession, but for the last twenty-two years upon an organized system of removal to a tract of country specially appropriated for them, with a liberal provision for their emigration, instruction, and comfortable establishment, uninterfered with by the white man, in their new homes west of the Mississippi. Now that there are no difficulties in this Indian plan, we do not say. On the contrary, we think their whole case one of the hardest problems that any Christian government has ever been called on to solve; but still, under all circumstances, and under the light of all past experience, we think it without question the wisest and the best, however in its details it may have been fraudulently carried out. In saying this, however, we intend to cast no slight upon the Indian treaties of cession or removal, held by our government; for we find in them all reasonable fidelity to the guardianship they have

undertaken, and a sincere desire to find the best means to fulfil it. Our only quarrel with them is, that they have exercised too little authority, instead of too much, over those whom they profess to hold, and hold rightly, in a state of "pupilage." Not that they have consulted the Indian will too little, is our charge, as the Quaker plea puts it, but that they have consulted it too much, is our chief count against them; and in the present case we hold it obviously to be that out of which all the difficulty has arisen. It is the wise choice, and not the voluntary choice, that a guardian is bound to give, above all, to a half-witted pupil. Benevolence towards such is a stern virtue, and such, we deem, is the only true benevolence towards the poor Indian. It is the height of cruelty towards him to leave him unguided in his choice—to him, truly, "summum jus" is "summa injuria." — But to connect these general principles with the case before us.

The scheme thus adopted for the management of the Indian nations, and so far as may be for their civilization, by the government of the United States, has from time to time been carried out by them in their earlier treaties, extinguishing Indian title on parts of the hunting grounds of different tribes, and of later years over the whole, as they became surrounded by the whites, and, as is ever the case, contaminated by the intercourse; and removing thence the remnant of such tribes to wider and safer territorial possessions in the west, with new provisions, as already said, for their benefit. Those not familiar with the subject, or who take their impressions from the Quaker publication before us, will be hardly prepared for the number of such treaties. On turning to the volume of Indian documents in our heading, we find the following-some combined, others single-treaties. We give a list, as exhibiting the settled policy and course of the nation, not only as to the cession of Indian lands to the government, or to other pre-emptive owners, but also of their actual removal by emigration to new homes; both which are here ignorantly charged upon the special treaty before us, as being unheard-of injuries, and as originating but from individual cupidity.

LIST OF INDIAN TREATIES.

Crows,	1	Trade, etc.	Ottoes.	5	Ces. & Emig.
Delawares,		Ces. & Emig.			Cession.
Eel Rivers,		Cos. of Daning.	Penias,		Ces. & Emig.
	•	O		ន	Cer or mails.
Floridas,		Cession.	Piankoshaws,	_	
Foxes,		Ces. & Emig.	Poncarrars,	1	Trade, etc.
Hunkpapas,	1	Trade, etc.	Poncars,	1	"
Illinois,	1	Cession.	Potawatomies,	3 8	Ces. & Emig.
lowas.	5	Ces. & Emig.	Quapaws,	4	"
Kanzas,	3	Cession.	Ricaras,	1	Trade, etc.
Kaskaskias,	6	Ces. & Emig.	Sacs,	12	Cos. & Emig.
Kickapoos,	11	u	Seminoles,	2	"
Mahas,	2	Trade, etc.	Senecas,	12	ee .
Mandans,	1	u'	7 Nations of Canada,	1	Cession.
Menominees,	6	Ces. & Emig.	Shawanees,	14	Ces. & Emig.
Miamis,	10	Cession.	Siounes,	1	Trade, etc.
Minnetarees,	1	Trade, etc.	Sioux,	10	Cession.
Missouris,		Cession.	6 Nations of N. York.	4	"
Mohawks.	1	Ces. & Emig.	Testons,	2	Trade, etc.
Muscogees,	2		Weas,	8	Cession.
Omahaws,	2	Cession.	Winnebagoes,	6	Ces. & Emig.
Oncidas,	ī	Ces. & Emig.		14	u
Osages,		Cession.	Yanctons,	3	Trade, etc.
Ottawas,		Ces. & Emig.		_	

Besides several with minor tribes, the provisions for whom

are included in the larger.

It thus appears, that out of the fifty-five Indian tribes with whom the government have held treaties, there are but thirteen with whom they have not made agreement for the cession of their lands, and but twelve more with whom "emigration," also, from their original homes to the far west, has not been connected with cession; and wherever emigration has not entered into the treaty, it has been simply because the Indian title of occupancy did not, as yet, interfere with those higher interests to which the general government holds the Indian title subservient. On precisely the same principles, therefore, under the same authority, watched over by the same guardianship with the three hundred and fortyfour Indian treaties above enumerated, has the present one under discussion with the Senecas been negotiated, carried on, and perfected, being the twelfth in order with this very tribe, and in no one of them, so far as our examination goes, and as, if leisure serves, we shall show, has such equitable, or rather large payment been made for the Indian title and improvements, and such ample provisions secured for their removal, support, Christian instruction, and permanent home in the west. Such, then, are the general facts, about which there can be no question. But to proceed. A treaty constitutionally made, in accordance with a settled policy of the

general government, on principles uniformly acted upon in Indian treaties, with more than the usual guardianship watching over the Indian interests, and negotiated on terms such as, in the official opinion of that very sworn guardian, were more than equitable; being such, to use his own emphatic words, as would, "if extended to any county in Massachusetts, nearly depopulate it in six months," (Senate Documents, No. 9,) — this, we say, is the treaty now held up to scorn by a numerous and influential body of religionists in our country in the enthusiasm of an ignorant zeal — held up, we say, to the scorn and contempt of the nation, as an unheard-of atrocity among a Christian people — public indignation invoked in bitter terms against the individual citizens whose vested rights are concerned in it; and, although the treaty stands proclaimed by the executive, as a part of the supreme law of the land, yet still, the most unconstitutional means resorted to to defeat its operation. For ourselves, at least, we speak, when we say, that the history of our country affords no instance of more high-handed persecution than this against the rights of individuals, and that, too, preached up under the plea, false, however sincere, of justice and Christian charity. Now, we accuse not so numerous and respectable a body as the Friends of the four quarterly meetings, of a willing injustice; but we do accuse them of that which both law and morals hold to be a high offence in those who take upon themselves the office of public teachers — "crassa ignorantia aut negligentia" — culpable ignorance or carelessness, such as reaches, in point of fact, to all the results of malice, and which the law, therefore, holds punishable. this, we think, they stand condemned; and, though tied to narrow limits in the review of their "Case," can, we think, make it good. Let us see. Supposing a reader of the Quaker "Case" to know nothing of the subject beyond what he there learns, what will be the impression given him by reading it? Evidently this — that the case of the Senecas is a new and peculiar one, both as to the cession of their land to private pre-emptive claimants, and still more as to their emigration to a new home — that it is a case, in short, of persecution and tyranny, not to say of villany and fraud — that the preemptive holders are a characterless band of land speculators, without principle or mercy, who, having entrapped the poor ignorant Indians into an inequitable bargain for the sale of their freehold (!) rights, are now making the general government a party to their fraud, and with grasping haste, driving their unhappy victims, against their will, from their here peaceful home — and further, that this poor persecuted race has no true friend in the community but the Quaker, to whose zealous exertions alone it is due that this present nefarious transaction has been unravelled, and the treaty not yet carried into fatal effect. Now, no reader of the "Case" but will acknowledge this to be the impression given, nor would its authors probably dissent from its being the one intended to be given; and yet, barring the last assertion, namely, of their interference and influence being the cause of the treaty not being consummated, every other point, we fearlessly assert, to be false in fact, or unconstitutional in prin-

ciple.

So far from the Quakers enjoying the monopoly of Christian benevolence towards the poor Indian, that we presume to say, all their boasted labors and expenditures for them do not equal a tithe — nay, not, perhaps, a twentieth of what has been done and is doing daily for them by other men and other Christian denominations, who, unlike the Quakers, are content to do them good without interfering with the settled policy of the general government. The judgments of such, therefore, equally zealous with the Friends, and perhaps more wise in their benevolence, at any rate, equally conscientious, and yet, differing altogether as to the policy of the Indians remaining within the States, are also to be heard in this matter. point, we ourselves speak not without some personal experience. For twenty-four years has it been our duty and pleasure, mixed, we deny not, with many drawbacks, to be connected with a Christian mission among the Oneidas, on part of this same pre-emptive tract, from which, however, they emigrated westward, some ten years since, their missionary and our Christian care accompanying them, and all other things continuing unchanged about them, except the neighborhood of the whites; so that in their case, the means of comparison, as to the efficacy of Christian care in the two conditions, are complete, and we hesitate not to say the conclusion is irresistible in favor of the expediency of removal.

But the fundamental fallacy that runs through the whole of the Quaker plea is, that they argue, either ignorantly or invi-

^{*} As truth is our object, we hesitate not to name the Rev. Solomon Davis, missionary among the Oneidas, at Duck Creek, Wisconsin Territory, under the charge of the Missionary Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

diously, as if the pre-emptioners were the responsible authors of this Indian policy, and not the government. true quarrel is, as we have seen, with the United States - not with the Ogden Land Company. Their censures, (maledictions, we might almost term them,) fall but on the federal constitution, which gives to the government the power of such negotiation with the Indians — on the Supreme Court of the United States, which has repeatedly decided in favor of its exercise - on Chief Justice Marshall, who has ruled it that the Indian nations are "dependent," and "in a state of pupilage," and that the "fee" is not in them, but rather in the pre-emptioners. They fall on Washington, who first negotiated such treaty of cession with the Indians for their removal from the ceded lands; and on every president since, as well as upon every individual senator from the commencement of our government downward, who, on such question, has voted, as two thirds must have voted, in favor of these condemned treaties. These, we say, are the Quakers' real antagonists in their argument against Indian cession and Indian emigration; and with them alone, or at any rate, first, must their battle be fought. When settled with them it will be time enough to bring it before the Ogden Company, who are no more amenable for this policy of government, be it good or bad, than any other citizens. But, it so happens, singularly enough, though the Ogden Company are not to be the first to answer, yet that those who here charge the blame, whether upon the government or the company, are precisely those who should be the last to bring it, since they stultify themselves in thus reasoning. Not only is their own tenure of land the same, in principle, as that against the justice of which they here contend, but, singularly enough, it is part and parcel of this especial title* which they here labor to nullify; namely, the pre-emptive purchase made by Robert Morris from the State of Massachusetts, of which this Seneca treaty tract is the remnant. If then the pre-emptioners' claim to purchase the remainder from the Indians is bad, equally so was that from them of preceding portions. If the treaty of 1837 is invalid, under which the Ogden Company claim their land, no stronger is that of 1797, under which the remonstrants claim; if rum and bribery, or personal presents to the chiefs, are to defeat the constitutionality of the one treaty, they are equally conclusive against the

^{*} The Quaker plea and address is dated, "Farmington," in western New York.

other; for, without such aids, neither that, nor any other Indian treaty, in this country, ever was carried, from the time of Penn, downwards, who, we know, made express provision by law, in the face of a general statute, that such means of persuasion might, on such occasions, be used. Such, then, is the suicidal position of the remonstrants; nor can they be relieved from it but by one of two choices—abandon their argument or abandon their farms—learn common sense, or

pay for the want of it.

Touching the Ogden Company, too, their language is as indecorous as it is misapplied. Instead of being, as by them charged or insinuated, a chance-association of rapacious land speculators, urging, with unworthy haste, a title but of yesterday, the reader of the Quaker pamphlet will be surprised to learn, that this contemned company are, as already hinted, co-partners with the remonstrants themselves, in one common title to their lands, purchased, as before said, by Robert Morris, of the State of Massachusetts, in the year 1797. That under such pre-emptive title, nine tenths of the Seneca tribe have actually been born and grown up, familiar, therefore, with it from their youth, and anticipating this result; and that, so far from any hot-haste having been shown to enter into possession, it has lain in abeyance for fortyfour years, until the very generation has passed, both of those by whom the purchase was made, and those for whom the reservations were originally withheld. If this be rapacious haste, what shall be said of those who, under the same title, within one year after the original purchase, entered into their possession under this same right of buying out and removing the Indians? But this is not a question of recrimination, and we forbear. We speak to higher points.

The Quaker plea, we hold, then, to be a high offence against the federal constitution. It is an attempt to overrule, by popular influence, the supreme law of the land—to break down the constitutional action of the general government in the management of the Indian tribes—to violate the treaty-making power in the constitution, by soliciting the interference of the house of representatives to defeat the provisions of a treaty constitutionally made, and, now finally proclaimed, and, by public outcry, to drive even the executive from the fulfilment of his duty under it. We can only wonder, we say, that men of peace should thus mistake their vocation, and labor to inflict on their country a deadlier wound

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than any which arms or war could bring upon it, against which they so raise their hands in horror.

And under what plea do the friends of union thus preach up "nullification?" This, verily—that the signatures of several drunken Indian chiefs were obtained through bribery, or given under intoxication. On the strength and goodness of this plea, they are willing to put at hazard the federal constitution, on which the safety of sixteen millions of whites depends. Now we surely are no advocates for either drunkenness or bribery; but neither are we for spurious benevolence, and still less for unconstitutional means of attaining it. In this matter, therefore, our first question must be a preliminary one — as to the right of the "Friends," or any other body, civil or religious, to interfere in the matter of Indian treaties under government negotiation. Congress, we thought, had provided fully for them by law, and in this case, certainly, by very special legislation, exhibiting a most careful guardianship over Indian interests. The president, too, their "great father," as the Indians rightly call him, — for he is by law to them "in loco parentis," - is always there present in the person of a high commissioner. Now, such guardianship the constitution and the law—that is, the American people -have deemed sufficient, whatever over-zealous philanthropists may think about it. Nor in the case of the Senecas was this their only security. A special Indian guardian was there present, in the Senecas' original sovereign, the state of Massachusetts, whose commissioner presided over that treaty, solely to watch for their interests, having no other thought or business there but to see full justice done to that state's "red children." And further, to satisfy all scruple, was this treaty made to pass through a third ordeal, that of an Indian council, held under the personal superintendence of the secretary of war, himself the official head of the Indian department, only after whose conclusive report in its favor was the treaty ratified by the senate, and its conditions being adjudged fulfilled by the executive, as such finally proclaimed by him, April 4th, 1840. Now, under these multiplied official guarantees, we deem there was neither need nor room for any such volunteer guardianship as is here claimed, nor can the law, nor will the nation, listen to the "dictum" of such unauthorized judges; and but by the culpable negligence of government, we think, could any such intermeddling have

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taken place. It is an unheard-of anomaly in treaty negotiations, for any other than the parties to be present or cognizant of either proceedings or conditions. As in other executive business, treaty-making is to proceed with closed doors, and we cannot but deem such interlopers on the treaty-ground to have been as much out of place there, as eavesdroppers would be, listening to the secret debates of the senate. Whether we like it or not, we are bound as citizens to leave the treatymaking power where the constitution has left it; and that is, beyond the interference, whether of individuals or irresponsible bodies, however zealous or well-meaning. As American citizens, therefore, we protest against all such interference with the high constitutional trusts of our country. PROTEST against all such organized opposition to the carrying out of its settled and wise policy. We PROTEST against a breach of the public faith thus solemnly pledged, and deny, therefore, "in toto," the right of the "Case" even to receive an answer. But under this protest are we still willing, as a matter of argument, to look into this treaty, and weigh the Quakers' objection to it.

They charge, then, upon its management, drunkenness and bribery—rum allowed, and personal inducements offered to persuade individual chiefs to sign. Now we think this likely, as we have never known an Indian treaty carried without them, even by the Quakers themselves. But they charge further upon it an amount of drunkenness and bribery going beyond all former precedent. We deem this, too, far from improbable, and think the causes of it are obvious, but the blame to lie any where rather than on the pre-emption party to this treaty. Two sources of extra corruption are visible. First—the wider depravity of the tribe, both as to manners and intemperate habits, acknowledgedly beyond those more removed from association with the whites; with such, "rum" and "presents" pass necessarily into their grossest forms of drunkenness and corruption. We deny not

[•] More than four months subsequent (15th August) to the proclamation of the treaty, the secretary of war thus writes to the purchasing party, in answer to these very Indian complaints now paraded before the nation: "The Seneca nation had then," (at the time of the treaty,) "the right, by its acknowledged authorities and them alone, to cede the land; and the question is narrowed down to this—have they ceded it? Of that no doubt exists; nor can the inquiry be permitted after a treaty has been made with the nation, and received the constitutional sanction of the president and senate." If words can bind, where, we ask, shall clearer ones be found?

the evil; but upon whom, we ask, does the responsibility rest? Least of all, surely, on those who for years have been crying out against these demoralizing influences of Indian contiguity to towns and villages, and urging upon the government their only remedy - EMIGRATION. But there was a second and more special cause — the neglect on the part of government, as already stated, to exclude authoritatively all interference of those not parties to the treaty. neglect it was which made the Seneca treaty-ground an arena of more than usual controversy — a contest, in fact, for the mastery over the helpless minds of these poor, imbecile, degraded Indians. In this matter was the government, we think, most culpably negligent, and forgot for the moment both its duties as Indian guardian, and its obligation to watch over the interests of the citizen. Nor only so, but its own accustomed wisdom, too; for such has ever been its practice, to exclude by a military guard all out-door interference, by whatever motive prompted. And this, we conclude, would not have been here wanting, had the pre-emption title been in the government. We should then have had quite another story of the merit of intermeddlers. But as a matter of evenhanded justice, what difference did it make where lay the title, save to throw a heavier responsibility upon government when in the hands of individuals? What they would have done for themselves, they were doubly bound to do for the protection of the helpless citizen, whose hands were tied as to his rights. To this negligence, then, we mainly attribute the unquestioned fact, that assent to the treaty was a contest for the control of the Indian mind, between those who wished their stay, and those who wished their removal.

But there is a more specific charge brought against the treaty—that of an actual deficiency in the required majority of subscribing chiefs. But this flies in the face of the official report, and throws us upon the question of comparative weight of testimony. On the one side we have Indian certificates, swearing that the deponent was very drunk at the time of signature, as "John General, his † mark," (p. 227); or half drunk, as "Morris Halftown, his † mark," (p. 207); or got

[•] It were ludicrous, if it were not awful, to read such affidavit. "This deponent," is its language, "now sober, not having drunk any liquor for three days past, solemnly declares that he never so affixed his name to the assent, unless it was when he was so drunk that he did not know it, and has never since remembered it," etc.

ten dollars for his signature, as "Sky Carrier, his † mark," (p. 209); or wisely signed on both sides, as "Long John," "Major Jack Berry," "John Tall Chief;" ten in all, with each his mark, (p. 138.) On the other side we have the official reports of men of high and unblemished character, - the two high commissioners of the general and state governments, who both concur in certifying to the FACT, under the responsibility of their official signature, that a majority of the chiefs did give their assent to the treaty, and in their presence subscribe it; and that such signature was received by them with all due caution. "In every instance," is the language of the United States commissioner, "where a signature was received, either General Dearborn or I distinctly inquired of the person offering to sign, whether he fully understood the subject, and whether he freely and voluntarily signed the assent. each case a distinct affirmative answer was given." (Senate Documents.) And with this concurs the separate report of the secretary of war, the head of the Indian department.

. Now what shall be thought, independent of its unconstitutionality, of the folly and absurdity of such admeasurement of evidence, — the Indian against the white man; the drunk against the sober; depravity against honor; irresponsible against the highest official testimony? For ourselves we can only again say, that we wonder how men, too scrupulous themselves to take an oath, can so readily tamper with its solemnity in the case of others, and be so unscrupulous, at least with other men's consciences, as to be willing to administer it to such as, by their own showing, understood its nature so little, or esteemed its obligation so lightly. We certainly envy not the task of those who undertake to procure such Indian affidavits: it savors too little, in a religious view, of reverence for the GREAT NAME invoked; it borders too closely, in a legal one, on subornation of perjury. But, passing by so invidious a question, let us look at the conditions of and assent to this treaty, as common sense teaches us to look at them; that is, comparatively with former ones. We take one of the earliest for a sample.

In the year 1795, by one treaty, was extinguished the Indian title over more than eleven millions of acres, involving, of course, the removal of the occupants, whether willing or not; the treaty being made with fourteen different tribes, signed with ninety signatures; in three several instances such assent given but by a single chief for his tribe!! and in

no case by more than eighteen; the greatest, therefore, being less than one half of the acknowledged number to this present Seneca treaty, and the price paid for the Indian title, two cents per acre!!! less than one sixtieth of what is here paid; and all this under the direction and approval of one whose justice and benevolence even the remonstrants, we presume, will admit to stand without impeachment before the nation,— Washington, the father of his country. From that time downward scarce a year has passed without similar purchases from the Indians, equally just or equally fraudulent, the annual amounts varying from one million of acres up to eightyfive millions!! (1825) the price paid for possession varying from one dollar per acre down to less than one mill!! the whole amount, in forty-three years, being four hundred and twenty millions of acres, at an average of about eighteen cents in price, and these treaties subscribed in no single instance, so far as we can ascertain, by a majority of the chiefs of such tribe, but, as is evident, by a very small minority. But to try this hinging question a little closer, confining our examination to the twelve treaties preceding the one in dispute, all made with this same tribe of Senecas, our facts being derived from examination of the treaties themselves.

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Commissioners.
J. Wadsworth,
                                Held at.
                                                                                          No. of Sen. Chiefs signing.
 1. 1797, Sept. 15,
2. 1802, June 30,
3. "
                              Genesee,
Buffalo Creek,
                                                                                            52 out of probably 200.
                                                         John Tayler,
Charles Carroll.
                                                                                            12
28
 4. 1814, July 22,
5. 1815, Sept. 8,
                               Greenville.
                                                                                            13
                                                         Harrison and Cass,
                                                        Harrison, McArthur, and Graham,
                              Spring Wells,
 6. 1817, "
7. 1818, "
8. 1823. "
                     29,
                               Miami of L. Erie, Cass and McArthur,
 7. 1818, " 17,
8. 1823, " 3,
9. 1831, Feb. 28,
10. " July 20,
                               St. Mary's,
Moscow, N. Y.,
Washington,
                                                          Charles Carroll.
                                                                                             19
                                                          James B, Gardiner,
                                                        Gardiner and mcLarer Blisworth and Scher-
                                                          Gardiner and McElvaine, 13
11. 1832, Dec. 29,
                               Coroskin river,
                                                                 merhorn,
12. 1835, Aug. 24,
                               Camp Holmes,
                                                         Stokes and Arbuckle,
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Thus, then, stands the comparison; the present treaty having, even by the "Case's" own showing, a larger actual number of signatures (thirty-six) than eleven out of the twelve treaties previously made with this same tribe, and far greater than the greatest, when compared with total numbers. If, then, a majority of signatures of chiefs be necessary to give validity to a Seneca treaty, no treaty with them, save the present, is valid, for all others were signed but by a minority—this, alone, by a majority, so, at least, officially reported. In such dilemma, again, does an unconstitutional argument place the remonstrants. We have but to follow out their own

principle, and it leads at once to absurdity. But we make out another tabular statement for their satisfaction, or rather, we should say, for their instruction, showing that emigration is by no means such a novelty as they would lead us to believe. Twenty-five tribes!!! (all, we believe, save the Senecas and the fighting Seminoles) are now in the progress of removal, under similar treaties, to their new homes west of the Mississippi. Actual emigration thither began as far back as 1828, and has, since that, thus proceeded up, at least to 1838, since which we have no returns at hand:

In 1828,	7422 removed.	In 1835,	2330	removed.
1831,	5407	1836,	15,948	
1832,		1837,	9688	
1833,	5462	1838,	25,139	
1834,	4386	·		
Tota	l number removed	81,282		

But there is a last quarrel we have with such ignorant zeal. It is that of driving, by the weight of the unthinking benevolence awakened in its favor, in congress and out of congress, even the highest officers of our government, even the President of the United States, into a course of unconstitutional action touching a treaty legally made, constitutionally approved, and at length, definitively proclaimed. Now, this is a great evil, for it is striking a fatal blow at the constitution itself—leading the executive to tamper with the inviolability of the public faith, as well as to trample upon the sacredness of individual rights; this, indeed, were an enormity for peaceful men to be guilty of; yet, so it is, "since such act of annulling," to use the words of Marshall, "if legitimate, is rendered so by a power applicable to the case of every individual in the community." This treaty, from the moment of its proclamation, became supreme law; and, so far as rights were vested under it, as here, doubtless, beyond executive discretion to withhold, above the power of congress to rescind, and interpretable but by the Supreme Court of the Union - right or wrong, corrupt or uncorrupt, alters not the fact - "fieri non debet," it may be, " sed factum

Now, this is ruled law, whether the remonstrants ot; and to turn public attention to this unthoughtnary character of all such attempts, however ignevolent, to overthrow a ratified treaty, has led us to placing at the head of our article Marshall's constitu-

tional decisions bearing on these points.

The very first constitutional case that great judge was called on to decide, was one directly in point, going to limit the arbitrary exercise of executive discretion in withholding, to individual wrong, the completion of an act constitutionally perfected. We allude to the case, "William Marbury vs. James Madison," February term, 1803, (Cranch's Reports, 137-180.) The suit was for a commission withheld by President Jefferson, under executive discretion, after being officially signed and sealed, but not delivered. Substitute "treaty" for "commission," and the whole argument is equally demonstrative against its present arbitrary extension. "The last act," is its language, "to be done by the president is the signature of the commission; he has then acted on the advice and consent of the senate to his own nomination. The time for deliberation has then passed. He has deci-What follows is prescribed by law, and not to be guided by the will of the president."

The second case we refer to denies even to a supreme legislature the power to re-open a contract, (in this case, too, an Indian treaty,) where private rights had vested, under any plea, even that of uncontradicted fraud in its negotiation. We allude to "Fletcher vs. Peck," February term, 1810, (6 Cranch's Reports, 87-148,) where an Indian grant by the state of Georgia, charged with bribery in its passage, a succeeding legislature on that specific ground annulled. supreme court decided such annulment to be unconstitutional, and the grant to stand good. We again quote the words of Marshall: "If an act be done under a law, a succeeding legislature cannot undo it. The past cannot be recalled by the most absolute power. When, then, a law is in its nature a contract, when absolute rights have vested under that contract, a repeal of the law cannot divest those rights." What then, we argue, the whole legislature cannot do, still less can a part of it. The other decisions we refer to go to settle the law as to the nature of Indian occupancy, putting the preemptive title to such land explicitly on the very ground that the Quaker plea, in its ignorance of law, denounces as fraudulent, namely, that such title stands independent of Indian will — that the fee is not in the Indian occupant — that he is in a state of pupilage, and cannot convey — and that the preemptioner's rights over the land, whether in the hands of

government or individuals, come not from purchase or treaty with the red man, but are identical with that original power or right—call it whichever men may—of civilized humanity over the savage race—the right by which the European was justified in first setting foot on American shores, and European sovereigns justified in giving grants of lands within it. "Even be it conquest," says Marshall, "it is not for the courts of this country to question the validity of this title, or to sustain one which is incompatible with it." See "Johnson and Graham's Lessee vs. McIntosh," February term, 1823, (8 Wheaton's Reports, 543-605.) See also, "The Cherokee Nation vs. State of Georgia," January term, 1831, (5 Peters's Reports, 1-80.) Also, "Worcester vs. State of Georgia," January term, 1832, (6 Peters's Reports, 515-597.)

Now the study of these ruled cases we commend to the authors of this unruled "case" before us, in order that henceforth their zeal may be, as St. Paul recommends, "coupled with knowledge;" and that the good and Christian women,* doubtless, whose names stand first in the address to the Seneca nation, and who, by sub-committee, go on to instruct the president of the United States, "the house of representatives, and the governors of the states of New York and Massachusetts," as to their duty under this proclaimed treaty, may at least thus become somewhat better fitted for their task; and if they will not "keep silence" in halls of teaching, as their best friend recommends to them, at any rate that they may speak "discreetly," and not lay down the law in open contradiction to one whom the public have, hitherto, at least, distinguished as THE EXPOUNDER OF THE CONSTITUTION -CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

In this light, then, do we find ourselves compelled, as faithful reviewers, to hold up to public condemnation the Quaker "case" before us — as a plan of Indian benevolence, ill-judged, contrary to all experience, and as such condemned over and over again by the nation for these thirty years past

[•] Their "Address," dated, "Farmington, New York, 6th month 19th, 1840," thus concludes: "We have at this time concluded to address the governor of Massachusetts, the governor of New York, and the house of representatives of the United States, on your behalf, etc.

(Signed,) Rachel Hicks, jr., etc. etc.

Rachel Hicks, jr., etc. etc. Maria Farrington, Dorothy Golden, Deborah Wharton."

[&]quot;His proudest epitaph may be written in a line: — Here lies the expounder of the constitution of the United States." — Story's Discourse.

— as a question of law, unconstitutional in the last degree—as a measure of public policy, utterly revolutionary—and lastly, as a specimen of reasoning, unsound from the foundation, in substituting, whether ignorantly or wilfully, the "Ogden Company," as those with whom they are contending in the question of Indian emigration, instead of their real antagonist, whom they have hitherto found too strong for them—THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; and in this position, a false one, surely, for candid men and peaceful citizens, we cannot but leave them.

ART. X.— Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens, Author of "Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land." Illustrated by numerous engravings. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo.*

"Being intrusted by the president with a special confidential mission to Central America, on Wednesday, the third of October, 1839, I embarked on board the British brig Mary Ann, Hampton, master, for the Bay of Honduras;" such is the concise account given by Mr. Stephens of the time and circumstances of his departure on the tour of which the work now before us is the result. What this "special confidential mission," with which he was intrusted, may have been, is of no moment, so far as respects his work; but that the author was invested with an official character, is a most important circumstance, since without it he would have been stopped in the very beginning of his enterprise, and the public would have been deprived of a great amount of most valuable information, long needed by all who take any interest in the aboriginal history of our vast continent. As the author remarks, "volumes without number have been written to account for the first peopling of America," but very few descriptive works, deserving full credit, have as yet been published, and of these the best are too costly to be much known in our country; nor, in fact, does any one exist to be compared to this of Mr. Stephens, which unites both literary and scientific

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^{*} The appearance of this work but a few days only before the publication of the Review, must be our apology for not devoting more of our pages to an account of its most interesting contents.

merit of a higher order. From the preface we learn that it "embraces a journey of nearly three thousand miles in the interior of Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan, including visits to eight ruined cities, with full illustrations, taken from

drawings on the spot by Mr. Catherwood."

But Mr. Stephens does not content himself with giving us descriptions of those wonderful remains of a past civilization; he does not merely place a panoramic view of them before our eyes; he takes us by the hand, and leads us into the midst of the ruins themselves, through a country whose actual condition does not less excite our curiosity, by the splendor of nature, and the bounties she has lavished upon it, and the ignorance and misery of its inhabitants, than by the mysterious cloud which is drawn over the origin of its ancient cities and the constructers of their mighty edifices.

In his character of author, Mr. Stephens is well known by his former works as a delightful travelling companion; he possesses in an extraordinary degree the power of imparting to his reader that charm of his own disposition which enables him to make every occurrence a pleasant one. Unlike most travellers in the tropical regions, whose spirits sink under privation of comforts beneath a vertical sun, and from the contrast, perhaps, which is ever before them, of the grandeur of nature with the wretchedness of man, of the vigor of plants with the languor of animals, Mr. Stephens is never disheartened, nor ever out of humor - whatever may be the désagremens, when once over, they are remembered only to be laughed at. Preserving that happy temper of mind which characterizes the school-boy age, and which finds a bright side in every adventure, however adverse, he reminds us of Beranger's "le petit homme gris," who, happen what may, is always singing his refrain: -

> "Et dit, moi je m'en Et dit, moi je m'en Ma foi; moi je m'en ris."

In the same good humor, Mr. Stephens takes us along, now, in his British brig, to Balize, and thence towards Copan; now, in a steamer, along a coast covered with a dense forest to the water's edge, and up the "Rio Dolce," which, as its name imports, was a Rio dolce—a fairy scene of Titan land; and now, on a mule, over mountains and through streams—to him, a journey all fatigue and danger—to his readers, one

all beauty and delight; the hardships and wants which he suffered are told in a manner that denotes an unwillingness even to appeal to our compassion, while we are admitted to a full share of his pleasures and enjoyments. When a respect is paid to him, he assumes nothing for himself, personally, but puts it all to the account of his official station; thus, in speaking of a salute, fired at the time of his departure from Balize, he says, "The reader will perhaps ask how I bore all these honors. I had visited many cities, but it was the first time that flags and cannon announced to the world that I was going away. I was a novice, but I endeavored to behave as if I had been brought up to it, and, to tell the truth, my heart beat and I felt proud; for these were honors paid to my country and not to me."

But we cannot follow Mr. Stephens and his companion through all their "Incidents of Travel;" we must hasten to the examination of those subjects of his book, of which its title gives no promise, but, on account of which, our most anxious wishes accompanied him through his tour. surmounting numerous difficulties, the travellers arrived at the ruins of Copan, near which there is now a village of the same name, consisting of half a dozen miserable "huts thatched with corn;" the existence of these ruins, and scarcely any thing more than that, was known before the publication of these volumes. In the "Atlas Ethnographique du Globe," mention is made of several of these antiquities. The great circus is described as a circular enclosure, surrounded by stone pyramids beautifully fluted, having at their feet figures of men and women of a colossal size, perfectly chiselled and dressed in the Castilian fashion. These descriptions, which seem to have been furnished by native writers, do not exactly agree with the beautiful engravings published from Mr. Catherwood's drawings, in the first volume of Mr. Stephens's book; the reason of it may be, that since they were described, the ruins themselves have fallen into a further state of ruin. Mr. Stephens enters into no speculations about the when, and how, and by whom this city was either built or destroyed; but he furnishes his readers with all the historical and antiquarian data which he could collect; among the latter are a plan of the ruins, and some twenty-four excellent engravings, which the author assures us are accurate and faithful representations, and so we believe them to be.

It might naturally be expected, that grand and solemn

thoughts must have arisen in the mind of our traveller at the first view of these mysterious ruins; and we have only to introduce a short passage from his book, describing the impressions they made upon him, to show that they were so in reality:

"There were," says he, "no associations connected with the place; none of those stirring recollections which hallow Rome, Athens, and

'The world's great mistress on the Egyptian plains,'

But architecture, sculpture, and painting—all the arts which embellish life, had flourished in this overgrown forest; orators, warriors, and statesmen - beauty, ambition, and glory had lived and passed away; and none knew that such things had been, or could tell of their past existence. Books, the records of knowledge, are silent on this theme. The city was desolate. No remnant of this race hangs round the ruins, with traditions handed down from father to son, and from generation to generation. It lay before us like a shattered bark in the midst of the ocean; her masts gone, her name effaced, her crew perished, and none to tell whence she came, to whom she belonged, how long on her voyage, or what caused her destruction — her lost people to be traced only by some fancied resemblance in the construction of the vessel, and, perhaps, never to be known at all. The place where we sat, was it a citadel from which an unknown people had sounded the trumpet of war ! or a temple for the worship of the God of peace? or, did the inhabitants worship the idols made with their own hands, and offer sacrifices on the stones before them? All was mystery—dark, impenetrable mystery, and every circumstance increased it. In Egypt, the colossal skeletons of gigantic temples stand, in the unwatered sands, in all the nakedness of desolation; here, an immense forest shrouded the ruins, hiding them from sight, heightening the impression and moral effect, and giving an intensity and almost wildness to the interest."—Vol. i. p. 104.

As the antiquities of Copan are less known than most others in Central America, it may not here be out of place to give a short account of them. The ruins extend along the river Copan more than two miles. The plan which represents that part of the ruins surveyed by Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood, exhibits a principal edifice, which we must call a block, composed of various parts, which seem to have been connected together, and surrounded by walls on three sides, with the river on the other. On the north and east sides the block is limited by straight lines, and the outer walls run

parallel to it. On the south side it runs also from east to west, in a straight line, about three hundred feet; here it turns at right angles, and runs about two hundred and fifty feet from north to south, when, turning again at right angles, it runs about four hundred feet from east to west, nearly up to the river, where it turns at right angles toward the north, and falls in with the bank of the river, which borders the west Whatever this part of the city may have been, it is evident that it was built upon a previously constructed plan, as well as the walls which surround it at a short distance on three sides. In the external angle of the south side, there are three altars, with statues near. On the same side, but unconnected with the foregoing part, there are nine similar altars, also with statues. Only one similar work of art is found in the interior of the principal block, but there are other not less curious sculptures. There are several pyramidal structures in the interior of the outer walls, some of which are in the principal block. They do not seem to be built with any regard to the cardinal points; a circumstance which deserves to be noticed, since this direction has always been considered as one of great importance. The principal building in the block Mr. Stephens calls "the temple," and thus describes:-

"This temple is an oblong inclosure. The front or river wall extends on a right line, north and south, six hundred and twenty-four feet, and it is from sixty to ninety feet in height. It is made of cut stones, from three to six feet in length, and a foot and a half in breadth. The other three sides consist of ranges of steps and pyramidal structures, rising from thirty to one hundred and forty feet in height on the slope. The whole line of survey is two thousand eight hundred and sixty feet, which, though gigantic and extraordinary for a ruined structure of the aborigines, that the reader's imagination may not mislead him, I consider it necessary to say, is not so large as the base of the great pyramid of Ghizeh."—Vol. i. p. 133.

The part of the ruins of which the author here speaks, is that which we have called the principal block. It would be vain to attempt to give an idea of the sculptures upon it by verbal descriptions. Mr. Catherwood's drawings are so distinct, so perfect in all the proportions of their parts, such exact likenesses of the original objects they represent, that even Mr. Stephens thinks it useless to add to them any explana-

tions. As we do not doubt that this book, both on account of its doubly national character and its undoubted superior merit, will find its way into the libraries of all persons who ever read any thing else than a novel, we the less regret the impossibility of laying before our readers a distinct description of these admirable works of art which are portrayed in it. That they are admirable we may certainly say, and worthy of being compared with some of the most delicate sculptured works in Gothic monuments. One of their characteristics consists in the elegant draperies which cover, in a most graceful manner, the backs of some of the columnar monuments, whose front side is occupied by some human figure. On one of these monuments in particular, this kind of sculptured decoration is most beautiful.

On every one of these columnar monuments, which vary in size, the largest being thirteen feet high, the figures are different, as well as the ornaments which surround them, and cover the back and the sides of the column. Some of these ornaments may be hieroglyphics, but for the most part they are certainly mere ornaments. The figures, as well as several of the human faces on these monuments, all present front views, which character distinguishes them from the basreliefs on the altars, which are profiles. These latter sculptures have some resemblance to those that cover the interior of the palace at Palenque, and which are generally known, at least as far as their most striking character is concerned. As we shall not be able to return again to this subject, we may add here, that this work contains accurate representations, by Mr. Catherwood, of all the remains of Palenque described by former travellers, and, moreover, some which are not contained in the expensive works published in England and in France about these ruins; so that for the antiquarian, no work as valuable as that of our countryman has as yet been published.

In order to prosecute his researches at Copan, Mr. Stephens bought the whole city from one of the inhabitants of the village.

"The reader," he says, "is perhaps curious to know how old cities sell in Central America. Like other articles of trade, they are regulated by the quantity in market, and the demand; but not being staple articles, like cotton and indigo, they were held at fancy prices, and at that time were dull of sale. I paid fifty dol-

lars for Copan. There was never any difficulty about price. I offered the sum, for which Don Jose Maria thought me only a fool; if I had offered more, he would probably have considered me something worse."—Vol. i. p. 128.

Mr. Stephens has a decided taste for old cities. Not only did he visit most of those which are known in the old world and the new, but in the latter he buys them for his own account. Of Copan he is actually the owner, unless the government of Guatimala interferes; Palenque he would have bought, but for an unfortunate law, prohibiting foreigners from buying lands in the country, unless they marry a "hica del pais," a daughter of the land. And even this circumstance would scarcely have prevented him from becoming the owner of the ruined palace whose inmate he had been for several weeks, had Palenque presented the means of complying with the law. About this he remarks:—

"This, by the way, is a grand stroke of policy, holding up the . most powerful attraction of the country to seduce men from their natural allegiance, and radicate them in the soil; and it is taking them where weak and vulnerable; for when wandering in strange countries, alone and friendless, buffeted and battered, with no one to care for him, there are moments when a lovely woman might root the stranger to any spot on earth. On principle I always resisted such tendencies, but I never before found my interest to give way. The ruined city of Palenque was a most desirable "The case was embarrassing piece of property." Society in Palenque was small; the oldest and complicated. young lady was not more than fourteen, and the prettiest woman, who already had contributed most to our happiness, (she made our cigars,) was already married."-Vol. ii. p. 363.

As our limits do not now allow us to devote that attention to the antiquities described in this work which their importance demands, and for the proper examination of which a special article would be requisite, we leave that part of the subject for the present, and return to its general descriptions.

Mr. Stephens departed from the ruins and continued his road towards Guatimala, leaving Mr. Catherwood behind him to complete his drawings. In this part of his journey he fared better than in the preceding one, being received most kindly by the curas that he met on his road, and whom he describes as educated men, devoted to their holy mission

and to the Indians of their flock. On leaving San Jacinto, he remarks: "I could but think, what afterwards impressed itself upon me more and more in every step of my journey in that country, blessed is the village that has a padre!"

Two days afterwards he arrived at Guatimala. Here his narrative acquires a new interest. If in Copan we found occasion to look with wonder upon the works of sculpture and architecture of unknown artists, of unknown times, we now listen with equal surprise to the description of the actual state of the modern inhabitants of the capital of Chiapas. Through an almost impassable country, over wretched roads, across unbridged rivers, and through villages without inns, we arrive at a large, splendid city, inferior to few in the new world. We may expect now to be relieved from that sadness of heart which one always feels in a wilderness, amongst rough, uncivilized strangers. But not so; that large city, with a wealthy community, with all the signs of civilization, is in a most barbarous state; Carrera, the bandit, is in her walls, with his undisciplined Indian multitude, to whom the safety and lives of the citizens are entrusted. There is no feeling of security, except in the interior of the houses which, having been built with a view to resist the violence of earthquakes, may be able also to resist the attacks of Carrera's lawless soldiers.

There are three cities of the name of Guatimala, at no very considerable distance from each other: Guatimala la Vieja, Guatimala la Antigua, and Guatimala la Nueva; the first, which is also called Ciudad Vieja, was destroyed in 1741 by the Volcan del'Agua. Guatimala la Antigua, after having suffered a number of times from pestilence and earthquakes, was finally destroyed by the latter in 1774. seat of government was then transferred to the place where Guatimala la Nueva now stands. Here, then, are ruins of a large and beautiful city, whose foundations were laid by the successors of Alvarado, one of the Conquistadores, who, with Cortes, had conquered the magnificent city of Mexico, and subdued the powerful Montezuma. In beholding the ruins of modern and ancient cities, in this part of the world, where nature seems to delight in destroying the proudest works of art, and man has to struggle against the irresistible power of volcanic eruptions, both igneous and aqueous, as well as of earthquakes, our feelings are divided between admiration of human perseverance, and pity for human blind-

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ness. Guatimala la Nueva was not founded before 1774. This beautiful city, which Mr. Stephens compares to the finest in Italy, is situate in a climate of eternal spring, and surrounded with the most splendid beauties of nature, and built, moreover, with taste, and with careful regard to architectural effect and comfort and salubrity. Small brooks run through the midst of the streets, and the houses are provided with gardens and fountains, receiving the pure water of the mountains through an aqueduct. Who would not expect to find in such a place all the tranquillity, comforts, and enjoyment of a civilized capital? Earthquakes have not thrown down its walls, but they stand, and seem to be safe against concus-But social agitations here keep alive the sions of nature. fears of the inhabitants, as earthquakes formerly did in Guatimala Antigua — Carrera and Morazan play the parts which heretofore were played by the two volcanoes of water and fire.

Notwithstanding the disorganized state of the country and its capital, the latter presents a rich field for the pencil of an essentially descriptive writer, like Mr. Stephens. There is still one strong tie which, being attached to the very heart, alike of poor and rich, of aristocrats and democrats, of soldiers and civilians, still makes the population one, whatever causes of discord there may be on other accounts. is religion, or superstition, as some men call it. While, in government matters, parties stand against parties, Indians against whites, Carrera against Morazan, and persecute each other with all the fury of a civil war, let the church bells ring for a fête in the temple, or a procession in the streets, at once all the inhabitants without fear mingle with each other, kneel upon the floor with the same humility and devotion, decorate the streets with bunches of green leaves and flowers, and strew the pavement with pine leaves wherever the procession is to pass. The ragged soldiers of the Indian chief lay down their arms, and forget, in the solemnity of the organ and the fragrance of the incense, that they are amid people whom they are wont to look upon as enemies. not this prove that the only spring, or at least the most powerful that can as yet command the movements of this automatic mass, is religion? We must therefore object to the sentiment of the following passage: "The central party consisted of a few leading families, which, by reason of certain privileges of monopoly for importations under the old Spanish NO. XVII. - VOL. IX.

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government, assumed the tone of nobles, sustained by the priests and friars, and the religious feeling of the country. The latter was composed of men of intellect and energy, who threw off the yoke of the Romish Church, and, in the first enthusiasm of emancipated minds, tore away at once the black mantle of superstition, thrown, like a funeral pall, over the genius of the people"—as if any man had it in his power to perform such wonders. Even if that man were Martin Luther, the task would be too difficult for his powers, if the time had not come. If we look at the history of the religious wars of Germany, of the thirty year's war, which is amongst the most cruel that ever disgraced humanity, we see how little, even in those times, the masses, in the very country where Luther was born, were prepared for the Reformation, fighting as they did, now, for the cause of the pope and the emperor, and the next day for Luther, in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Every thing has its time. In childhood, a cake or a lump of sugar held before our eyes is an argument which we understand and listen to most readily; in youth, the heart is more easily moved than the intellect; and as we advance, the last takes a greater and greater share in the government of our actions. So it is with nations in their different stages To give a democratic government to a half of civilization. civilized nation would be as much out of place as to begin a new settlement in the west, where subsistence depends upon. individual exertion, by laying out a flower-garden. Taking all the foundations of our reasonings in Mr. Stephens's book, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that whatever may be the name of the government in Central America, it is only in the co-operation of the priests that it can find strength. The single circumstance that the ignorant and uneducated Carrera was exercising his power in safety in the city, where the number of liberals is larger than any where else, would be a sufficient proof of this; the more so if we contrast it with the misfortunes which befell his competitor Morazan, of whom Mr. Stephens speaks in terms of unusual admiration, and whose portrait he finishes with the words, "I verily believe they (his countrymen) have driven away the best man in Central America."

Guatimala, with her political troubles and numerous religious fêtes — with her bull and cock fights, theatres and social amusements — with her own history and that of the two cities that preceded her, presents abundant materials for the

pen of an intelligent traveller; and none could have made a better use of them than Mr. Stephens has done. Perhaps no part of the whole work will be found more full of interest. It is, moreover, here that he was to exercise his diplomatic talents, so, at least, he had supposed before he left the United States. But, unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, for his actual tranquillity, when he arrived at Guatimala, the central government he expected to find there, was gone, nobody knew whither. Whatever may have been his mission as a diplomatist, his mission as a traveller for public instruction he fulfilled in Guatimala with the same success as at Copan, and afterwards at Palenque, and other places. He is a real amateur in the art of travelling; going hundreds of miles to hear the murmuring waves of the Pacific Ocean, as they undulate on the western coast of our continent, or climbing half a day alone, or in the company of some ignorant Indian, to see the interior of a volcano; and yet, every where, he is a true American. We have seen him buying cities and planning their transportation to New York, and the following passage shows that this peculiar spirit never abandons him:

"Hanging midway, (in the crater of the volcano of Masaya,) impressed with the solitude and the extraordinary features of a scene upon which so few human eyes have ever rested, and the power of the great architect who has scattered his wonderful works over the whole face of the earth, I could not but reflect, what a waste of the bounties of Providence in this favored, but miserable land! At home, this volcano would be a fortune; with a good hotel on top, a railing round, to keep children from falling in, a zigzag staircase down the sides, and a glass of iced lemonade at the bottom. Cataracts are good property with people who know how to turn them to account. Niagara and Trenton Falls pay well; and the owners of volcanoes in Central America, might make money out of them, by furnishing facilities to travellers."—Vol. ii. p. 13.

But we must leave Guatimala, and pass hastily to Santa Cruz del Quichè. Here we find a ruined city of a new kind. Copan and Palenque were built by a lost, or, at least, not yet discovered, people. The ruins of Guatimala la Antigua are the remains of the splendid buildings erected in the most glorious times of the Spanish dominion; at Santa Cruz del Quichè, or rather at Utatlan, we find some of the fossil bones of a nation, in its full strength at the time of the Spanish invasion; but it would be impossible, by an examination of

the ruins, to form an idea of what the city was before its destruction. Fuentes tells us, that besides the palace of the king and the houses of the nobility, it contained "many sumptuous edifices, the most superb of which was a seminary, where between five and six thousand children were educated

at the charge of the royal treasury."

Here, the travellers, Messrs. Stephens and Catherwood, who had again joined company, met with a cura, whom the writer introduces under the name of "a clerical oddity." This padre was, himself, one of the greatest discoveries which are mentioned in the book, if all he told is true. About Utatlan he furnishes details confirming the account given by Fuentes. He had known the ruins for thirty years. When he saw them first, "the palace was entire to the garden. He was then fresh from the palaces of Spain, and it seemed as if he was again among them." No one knows more about the ruins of Central America than this padre. But he knows, besides, "on the other side of the Sierra, of a living city, large and populous, occupied by Indians, precisely in the same state as before the discovery of America. When he first heard of it, he was young, and with much toil climbed to the naked summit of the Sierra, from which, at a height of ten or twelve thousand feet, he looked over an immense plain, extending to Yucatan and the Gulf of Mexico, and saw, at a great distance, a large city, spread over a great space, and with turrets white and glittering in the sun." There is a field for the imagination which may compensate a little for the one which Mr. Stephens narrowed so much by his accurate descriptions and plans of Palenque. A living city, comparable to the Mexico described by Cortez, with a further civilization of almost three centuries and a half. There, perhaps, are the keys to all these mysteries. Who will go and lay them open?

We are next to join our travellers at Uxmal, that being the great object of their journey to Yucatan. This peninsula, as it seems, by all accounts of the oldest historians of Central America, had arrived at a very high stage of civilization at the time of the discovery. It was even pointed out by some as the place where the first civilized men landed—those who first introduced into America the arts, of which so many remains are found over the whole isthmus of land which connects the two continents. In a work entitled "Nieuwe Wereld, printed in 1625," mention is made of an Indian tradition of the above purport. But, whatever may have been

our expectations from historical accounts, they fall very much below the impressions made upon us by an inspection of the

ruins which are found in this interesting country.

Mr. Waldeck was the first traveller who, to our knowledge, visited this country with an intention of making historical and antiquarian researches upon it. Before his time, but little was known about the magnificent ruins it contains. Balbi, who shows a strong desire to describe the ruins of the different parts of America, thus speaks of those of Yucatan: "In the east part of this state, and especially south of Merida, there are found several stone buildings; one of these edifices, which the Indians call Oxmutal, is still in a good state; Father Thomas de Sora, who visited it in the second part of the eighteenth century, says, that it is six hundred feet square; the apartments, the exterior corridors, and the pillars, are ornamented with figures, in mezzo-relievo, of serpents, lizards, etc., in stucco. There are statues, representing men with palms in their hands, in the attitudes of people dancing and beating on the tambourine; they resemble, in all points, those which were found in the ruins of Palenque." The ruins alluded to here seem to be those which Mr. Stephens visited at Uxmal. They are, by our traveller's accounts, by far the most interesting he saw, in all his travels; "forming a new order, I do not say equalling, but not unworthy to stand side by side with the remains of Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman art." Owing to a dry country, and a very dry soil, a total want of water, and a less vigorous vegetation than at Palenque, the ruins of Uxmal are in a state of preservation superior to those at Copan and Palenque. the Casa del Gobernador, Mr. Stephens remarks: "Throughout, the roof was tight, the apartments were dry, and, to speak understandingly, a few thousand dollars expended in repairs, would have restored it, and made it fit for the re-occupation of its royal owners."

As the antiquity of these ruins is one of the most important points in their history, every circumstance which may aid us in judging of it is most valuable. For that reason we

add the following passage from our author: -

[&]quot;I have mentioned that at Ocozingo we saw a wooden beam, and at Palenque the fragment of a wooden pole; at this place all the lintels had been of wood, and throughout the ruins most of them were still in their places over the doors. The lintels were heavy beams, eight

or nine feet long, eighteen or twenty inches wide, and twelve or fourteen thick. The wood, like that of Ocozingo, was very hard, and rang under the blow of the machete."—Vol. ii. p. 430.

On one of these beams of wood there were carved hiero-

glyphics "similar to those of Copan and Palenque."

From the description given by Padre Thomas, it might have been expected that there would be found numerous statues at Uxmal. But Mr. Stephens distinctly affirms, that "there are at Uxmal no 'idols,' as at Copan; not a single stuccoed figure or carved tablet, as at Palenque."

Another distinctive character of the ruins of Uxmal may

be learned from the following description:-

"At the south-east corner of this platform is a row of round pillars, eighteen inches in diameter, and three or four feet high, extending about one hundred feet along the platform; and these were the nearest approach to pillars or columns that we saw in all our explorations of the ruins of that country."—Vol. ii. p. 420.

These pillars stood in two parallel rows, on one of the terraces on which the palace was erected. What their object may have been it is not possible to discover, in Mr. Stephens's account. If they were but three or four feet high, we cannot conceive their use. But if it could be made out that they were much higher, their situation on the terrace would induce us to believe that they were part of some light building, probably open on the sides, having only a roof, which

they supported.

At Uxmal sickness prevented Mr. Catherwood from making drawings of the several buildings and their curious details. This is the more to be regretted, as from the plan of the principal buildings, a drawing of part of its outer wall, and a view of the ruins, which he took during the only day he was able to spend among them, we are satisfied that there his accurate pencil would have found full as rich and interesting materials as it found any where. No where do the buildings show a higher character of taste and of art; even the columnar "idols" at Copan, and the stuccoed bas-reliefs at Palenque, seem inferior in this point of view. In the former of these places, our imagination is excited by the originality of the sculptures; in the latter, by the mystery which surrounds those well-drawn human figures, with human faces so different from any of living nations. No feature in the

ruins of Central America has perhaps so much contributed to the generally adopted ideas about lost generations of men, highly civilized, and altogether different from the actual American aborigines, as the conical heads of the sculptures at Palenque. But though the remains of Uxmal have nothing marvellous about them, they cannot but excite to the utmost the curiosity of every one who casts a look on the plan of the "casa del gobernador," and beholds those tasteful sculptures on the outer walls of the palace. Nor is it less extraordinary, that in so small a part of our continent, at so short distances from each other, there have been so many cities, bearing each of them a stamp of originality, while in all there

is, however, some feature connecting them. As so many theories have been published on the subject of the origin of the builders of the different ruined structures in Central America and the adjoining countries, varying according as their inventor's imagination was struck first by the pyramidal structures, or by the indications of astronomical knowledge, or by the shape of some animal, the reader may be anxious to know what impression the antiquities of our continent made upon Mr. Stephens, who may be considered as prepared, by his former travels, to compare the works of the ancient inhabitants of the new world with those of the old. Mr. Stephens is not one of those travellers who would sit down on the ruins, fall asleep, be visited, like Volrney, by the spiritus loci, and receive from him the gift of second sight. That is doubtless a misfortune for those readers who wish to be surprised, and expect that the traveller will find means to open this tomb of a nation, and revive a gone-by society. But for those who wish to judge for themselves, and to arrive at truth, Mr. Stephens's opinions, or rather his impressions, will have great value, being the result of attentive examination and almost unconscious comparison, of numerous objects, visited, not with a view to prove any pre-conceived theory, but from a taste for travelling through countries little known, and giving a faithful description of the "incidents" on the road. These opinions may be gathered from the following passages:

[&]quot;There is, then, no resemblance in these remains to those of the Egyptians; and failing here, we look elsewhere in vain. They are different from the works of any other known people, of a new order, and entirely and absolutely anomalous; they stand alone. . . .

"I am inclined to think that there are not sufficient grounds for the belief in the great antiquity that has been ascribed to these ruins; that they are not the works of people who have passed away, and whose history has become unknown; but opposed, as in my idea, to all previous speculations, that they were constructed by the races who occupied the country at the time of the invasion by the Spaniards, or of some not very distant progenitors."...

"And this opinion is founded, first, upon the appearance and condition of the remains themselves. The climate and rank luxuriance of the soil are most destructive to all perishable materials. For six months every year exposed to the deluge of tropical rains, and with trees growing through the doorways of buildings and on the tops, it seems impossible that, after a lapse of two or three

thousand years, a single edifice could now be standing.

"The existence of wooden beams, and, at Uxmal, in a perfect state of preservation, confirms this opinion. The durability of wood will depend upon its quality and exposure. In Egypt, it is true, wood has been discovered sound and perfect, and certainly three thousand years old; but even in that dry climate none has ever been found in a situation at all exposed. It occurs only in coffins in the tombs and mummy pits of Thebes, and in wooden clamps connecting two stones together, completely shut in and excluded from the air."—Vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

The author then gives extracts from various historians, purporting to establish that in Yucatan and Mexico there

were flourishing cities.

Though we do not exactly agree with the author about the durability of stone buildings, in tropical countries, unacquainted as we are with the nature of the material, we are more than ever convinced that no higher civilization had ever existed in Central America, Mexico and Peru, than that which the first Spaniards found there. To the reasons quoted above from our author, we add, that notwithstanding the differences in the details of the ruins, both of cities anterior to history and those of which it makes mention, there is a general character of resemblance which unites them most closely, and indicates the same degree of civilization, or at least a similar social organization. At Copan, at Palenque, at Santa

^{*}With regard to this opinion of the author, we think it proper to state that in a former article we tried to prove that the works which the Mexicans were building at the time of the arrival of the Conquistadores, were by no means inferior to those which were found in a ruined state afterwards, and that therewas no reason to believe that the actual inhabitants of that part of the continent are not the descendants of the inhabitants of the ruined cities.— N. Y. Review, vol. v. p. 204.

Cruz del Quiché and all other ruined places, there are found a few buildings, which are considered as temples and palaces, sometimes citadels, but never any remains of private dwell-And such would be most likely now the ruins of Mexico, as described by Cortes, if the Spaniards had not accomplished in a few days what nature would have done in many centuries, if after the conquest of the city this had been abandoned by Indians and Spaniards. We find another proof against the high state of civilization attributed by some to former generations, and against all speculations in favor of an immigration from a civilized part of the old world, as deduced from the inspection of their remains in the great variety in architectural and sculptural works, in their local characters; this seems to indicate the arts had not yet become a science in Central America, as they evidently have in the old world. The strongest objection against our opinion would be, the constant appearance of the pyramidal form. But this we do not consider as of any value, the pyramidal being the most natural form for any elevated structure, and certainly the one which requires less architectural knowledge and mechanical apparatus. Perhaps it was adopted in imitation of the volcanoes so numerous in that part of the continent. The pyramidal structure at Uxmal is rather a conical mountain with an oval base. Perhaps the sacrifices on the top of these pyramids were made with an intention to appease the volcanoes and prevent the earthquakes. In some parts of the country they actually threw "maidens" into the waters, in order to appease the internal fire, if the legend be true.

In support of his views, Mr. Stephens compares a sculptured square tablet from Copan, with a copy from a hieroglyphical manuscript published in Humboldt's work. There is most evident resemblance between the two engravings, as well with regard to the general character, as to some of the details; there cannot be any doubt that both belong to a similar system of writing, and are as nearly related as the Gothic and Latin characters.

But the question, "whence came the first inhabitants of Central America?" and on which so many volumes have been written, still remains. To this we give the very excellent answer which the Indians gave to Mr. Stephens, when at Copan he inquired about the builders of the city: "Quien sabe?"

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In conclusion, though from the preceding pages the reader may derive an approximate idea of these "Incidents of Travel," we think it necessary to add a few remarks upon the general character of the work. Mr. Stephens, as already mentioned, is an uncommonly pleasant writer. He describes the most insignificant "incidents," as well as the most important, but with so much spirit that he never tires the reader, and always compensates for the want of interest in the subject by his manner of presenting it. He avows that he does not attempt to solve the great question of the history of Central America, but merely to furnish the as yet inexplicable and unexplained pages of that history; this task, we think, he has fulfilled more faithfully than any of his predecessors, aided, as he was, by the practised eye and the obedient pencil of Mr. Catherwood. The process followed by Mr. Catherwood is a guarantee of the exactness of his drawings. Making use of the camera lucida, he really copied the monuments and the sculptures, instead of copying the more or less accurate impressions made upon his imagination by these objects, as certainly most of the former travellers did. Our impression is, that all the drawings are faithful representations of the objects.

We should have had several questions to propose to Mr. Stephens, about things we think he should have observed, and of which he does not seem to have thought; but when we consider, that in less than twenty months be performed his whole journey, clearing the ruins where it was necessary; wrote and published a work of this extent, containing about seventy excellent engravings, we feel as if our questions were already answered. The style in which the work appears does honor to the publishers, and we are glad to see a specimen of typography from their press in all re-

spects so highly creditable to them.

18417.

ART. XI.— Primitiæ et Reliquiæ. Londini: MDCCCXL. Typis Gulielmi Nicol. 8vo.

WE devote a few pages to this elegant little volume, not so much on account of the high rank of its illustrious author, the Marquess Wellesley, as because it furnishes a memorable instance of the enduring influence of a classical education upon the mind and taste. It is not published, but printed for private distribution only, and we are indebted for our copy to the kindness of a friend, into whose hands it chanced to come; the author's name does not appear on its title page, but we find it afterwards, affixed to a very beautifus dedication in Latin to his friend Lord Brougham. the exception of a Greek piece or two, the volume is filled with short Latin poems, a few of which are translated; they are classed under the heads of "Primitiæ," including those written at Eton and Oxford between the years 1776 and 1781, and of "Reliquiæ," which were written after he left college. Of these, one, and as we think, the most beautiful of all, is dated August, 1839, when its author was nearly eighty years of That a man of Lord Wellesley's rank and character, whose whole life, and that a very long one, has been spent in his country's service, and so spent as to call forth from the present premier a declaration in the house of lords, that "never were services rendered by subject to sovereign in any state equal to those of the Marquess Wellesley; that such a man should have preserved not only his fondness for the studies of his youth, but also his attainments in them undiminished to fourscore, is no inconsiderable proof, we think, both of the excellence of the system of instruction in the great public schools of England, in one of which he was educated, and of the pre-eminent adaptation of the studies themselves to create and fix in the mind a love for letters. A glance at the public career of the Marquess will serve to show that he could have enjoyed few opportunities for the quiet cultivation of the muses, and increase our astonishment at the success with which he has so long continued to invoke them. Immediately after leaving the university, in 1781, he took his seat in the Irish house of peers; in 1797, he was raised to the British peerage, and at the same time made governor general of India; from 1797 to 1805, he remained in India

and conducted his administration there, most prosperously for the company and crown; in 1809, he went ambassador to Spain, and returned at the close of the same year to take the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs, which he held until 1812; from 1821 to 1828, and again, from 1833 to 1834, he was entrusted with the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, and we have already seen with what ability and fidelity he must have discharged the duties of these and other posts of honor and trust, to have deserved the character which was given of him. In all these situations, we doubt not, he may have found leisure enough for reading and study, still it is none the less extraordinary, that amidst so many and so various cares, he should have adhered so faithfully to his Latin; it proves at least that it has a charm for some minds which nothing can dissolve. We like to come upon such a case in this utilitarian age, and hold up such an example, particularly to the educated men of our own country, who generally take leave of their classics, when they take leave of their alma-mater, either from an idea that no further benefit is to be drawn from them, or that they are dangerous associates to those who hope for fortune or professional reputation; an idea derived, as it seems to us, in a great measure, from the language we use in relation to them—we speak of fitting for college, of getting so many pages of Homer and Demosthenes, of Virgil and Cicero, rarely, if ever, of becoming scholars, and making these companions of our youth, the delight of our maturer manhood, and the solace of our declining years. We still use them as a part of the course of early instruction, because we need their aid in the development and discipline of mind; but their æsthetic value we do not as yet understand. England they adopt a very different standard of estimate; a knowledge of classical literature is there considered as much a necessary accomplishment for the well-educated gentleman, as it is a test-mark of the finished scholar; and certainly no small part of the celebrity of her most distinguished orators and statesmen for the last two centuries may justly be attributed to their careful cultivation of it—proof enough this, that practical men, as well as scholars, acknowledge its importance, and feel its influence; and it remains to be seen, if men will become more practical by any substitution which may be made for Greek and Latin in the studies of their youth.

We trust it will cast no suspicions upon our sincerity, pro-

fessing, as we do, to be staunch republicans, to acknowledge a high admiration for the character and scholarship of the distinguished British nobleman, whose classic taste has afforded occasion for the foregoing remarks; as Americans, we have a right to take an especial interest in his reputation, for he is also ours by matrimonial alliance. We do not respect him the more nor the less for his rank, but we do respect him the more for the desire he has shown to add to the splendor of rank and station, the more ennobling and the more valuable distinctions of learning. Having claimed so much for him as a classical scholar, and not being able to refer our readers to his printed volume, to enable them to judge of the correctness of our estimate, as it is not to be had in this country, we must supply the want as far as possible by the greater copiousness of our extracts. We shall make the selections with reference to their dates, that a comparison may be formed between the task-exercises of Eton and Oxford, and the voluntary effusions poured forth at different intervals, in after life, during a period of sixty-four years. We begin with the first in the book, a Sapphic, written at Eton, in 1776, at the age of sixteen, which, if it be not Horatian, is certainly one in a high degree creditable to the modern Latin muse. It is addressed

AD GENIUM LOCI.

"O Levis Fauni et Dryadum sodalis Finium tutela vigil meorum! Qui meos colles et aprica lætus Prata, nemusque

Mobili lustras pede, nunc susurros Arborum captans, modo murmurantis Fluminis servans vitreos reductà in Valle meatus!

Dic ubi attollat melius superbum Verticem pinus, rigidosque quercus Implicans ramos nimis æstuosam Leniat horam?

Namque Tu saltu tibi destinato Excubas custos operosus, almæ Fertilem sylvæ, sterilemque doctus Noscere terram: 246

Dum malum noctis piceæ tenello Leniter verris folio vaporem, et Sedulus virgulta foves, futuræ Providus umbræ.

Lauream sed campus Apollinarem Parturit, myrtosque vigentiores, Omnis et te luxuriat renascens Auspice tellus:

Te, Rosa pulchrum caput impedita, Candidi conjux facilis Favoni Ambit, ut vernos tuearis æquo Numine flores.

Lætus O! faustusque adeas precamur; Nil mei prosunt sine te labores; Nil valet, cultum nisi tu secundes, Rustica cura."

There is great beauty of language in the following elegiac stanzas, written at Oxford, in 1780 or 1781. The subject is a comparison between

DEATH IN BATTLE, AND IN A SICK BED.

"Si miseranda venit quæ sævo in Marte cadentes Præcipiti sternit Mors inopina manu, Clamor ubi bellantum et pectoris incita virtus Et stimulat clare vox animosa tube; Respice quam gravior, lentis quæ passibus instans Imminet insomni desuper ægra toro! Sensim ubi se insinuat morbi penetrabile virus, Intimaque occultus permeat ossa dolor; Et languent artus tremuli, et vix impete raro Deficiens hebeti sanguine vena cadit: Jamque et nox oculos pigrà caligine obumbrat, Et vix ora gravem spiritum anhela trahunt; Tum circumfusi trepida formidine amici Mussare, et dubia spargere voce metum; Adde etiam lacrymasque domûs, planctusque suorum, Adde, quibus conjux deflet amata virum: Hæc angunt morientem - Hinc mortis amarior hora est Quo magis ante oculos quæ tibi demat habes."

We make the next selection not so much on account of the superiority of the piece, as for its subject, and for the magnanimous tribute it offers to the hero whose fate it laments. It was written not many years since:

IMITATION OF A GREEK EPITAPH ON BONAPARTE'S TOMB AT ST. HELENA.

"Fulmen Alexandri, et victricia Cæsaris arma
Alpinumque Afri Qui superavit iter,
Quem super Europam rapido Victoria curru
Vexit, et alatis Gloria duxit equis,
Rupe sub hac ejectum, inopem, bustoque carentem,
Fortunæ verso numine, condit humus.
Ira Tyrannorum, et vesana superbia Regum
Sæviat in cineres insatiata Tuos!
At non victrices aquilas famæque per orbem
Immortale decus deleat ulla dies.
Illa Tui memor usque, Tuisque superba triumphis
Gallia, jurata stat Tibi firma fide,
Te desideriis, alto Te pectore servat—
Hæc sola, Hæc Tanto digna sepulcra Viro."

The piece which we think most beautiful, language and sentiment both considered, is that upon the "Salix Babylonica," written in August, 1839, when his lordship was nearly eighty years of age. There are lines in it of as deep pathos as any in Ovid's Tristia, particularly those in which allusion is made to Sion, and those in which he recalls the happy days of his boyhood, at Eton; there are some, too, of scarcely inferior elegance for their Latinity; but it needs no comment, all who read it will feel its beauties:

SALIX BABYLONICA.

THE WEEPING WILLOW.

"The first of this race of Willow was introduced into England in the last century: it was brought from the banks of the Euphrates, near the ruins of Babylon, where this willow abounds. This is the willow on which the Israelites 'hanged their harps,' according to the Psalm 137,—'Super flumina Babylonis.'—'How shall I sing the Lord's song in the land of a stranger?'

"Passis mœsta comis, formosa doloris imago,
Quæ, flenti similis, pendet in amne Salix,
Euphratis nata in ripà Babylone sub altà
Dicitur Hebræas sustinuisse lyras;
Cùm, terrà ignotà, Proles Solymæa refugit
Divinum Patriæ, jussa movere melos;
Suspensisque lyris, et luctu muta, sedebat,
In lacrymis memorans Te, veneranda Sion

Te, dilecta Sion! frustrà sacrata Jehovæ, Te, præsenti Ædes irradiata Deo! Nunc pede barbarico, et manibus temerata profanis, Nunc orbata Tuis, et taciturna Domus! At Tu, pulchra Salix, Thamesini littoris hospes, Sis sacra, et nobis pignora sacra feras; Quà cecidit Judæ, mones, captiva sub ira, Victricem stravit Quæ Babylona manus; Inde, doces, sacra et ritus servare Parentum, Juraque, et antiqua vi stabilire Fidem. Me quoties curas suadent lenire seniles Umbra Tua, et viridi ripa beata toro, Sit mihi, primitiasque meas, tenuesque triumphos, Sit, revocare tuos, dulcis Etona! dies Auspice Te, summæ mirari culmina famæ, Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar Edidici Puer, et, jam primo in limine vitæ, Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias: O juncta Aonidum lauro præcepta Salutis Æternæ! et Musis consociata Fides! O felix Doctrina! et divina insita luce! Quæ tuleras animo lumina fausta meo; Incorrupta, precor, maneas, atque integra, neu te Aura regat populi, neu novitatis amor: Stet quoque prisca Domus; (neque enim manus impia tangat) Floreat in mediis intemerata minis; Det Patribus Patres, Populoque det inclyta Cives, Eloquiumque Foro, Judiciisque decus, Conciliisque animos, magnæque det ordine Genti Immortalem altà cum pietate Fidem; Floreat, intactà per postera secula famà, Cura diù Patriæ, Cura paterna Dei."

A reform at Eton College, on the principles of the New System of Education, has been menaced by high authority.

ART. XII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children. By James Stewart, M. D. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam. 8vo. pp. 547.

Among the contributions to American science and literature, which we deem it our duty to read, we shall always hail with especial regard, those elementary books which have recently become common among us. Nothing so effectually banishes from us that overweening attachment to the institutions of Europe, as the popularity of text books of native growth, to the exclusion of works of foreign manufacture, in which justice is seldom done to American writers or American genius. The excellent Surgical Dictionary of Samuel Cooper, the most comprehensive and valuable compendium of surgical science, probably, in any language - rich in references to continental and British authorities, was long silent as to the achievements of transatlantic ability. A tardy justice has at length been rendered by its able author, and we now have the satisfaction of knowing, that in that widely circulated work, owing to the public zeal and talents of its American editor, Dr. Reese, the operations of Dr. Mott, and the skill of Dr. Physic, are made known to thousands who never before heard of their vast services in this field of professional responsibility.

We have been led to give to the volume now before us a careful perusal, and somewhat of a critical examination; and we have heard the reports of some of our most experienced clinical practitioners on its peculiar merits. The whole has strengthened the opinion we arrived at from an impartial comparison of Dr. Stewart's labors with those who have preceded him in similar undertakings, that this treatise is destined to supersede even the most popular of the elementary works now in use, as a guide to the student and young practitioner, in the management of that large and intricate class of

disorders to which children are liable.

The preliminary observations of Dr. Stewart must impress the reader favorably as to the originality and extent of the views with which the author regards disordered action, as associated with organized structure at the earlier periods of life, the great dependence of disease on peculiarity of constitution, and the mutual dependence which obtains in all cases between structure, at different periods of the development of parts; or the greater preponderance of this or that system of vessels in the ultimate building up of the human frame. On this broad basis is the physician to examine the

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semeiology of disease, as the index of a sound pathology, and consequently of a safer rule of therapeutical indication. This interesting feature of Dr. Stewart's work is preserved throughout the entire treatise; and the systematic disposition of his materials, while it gives additional practical value to his labors, enables him, by his judicious notice of structure, physiological peculiarities, and signs of disease, to enter, with the greater benefit to the reader, upon the leading characteristics of morbid action, and thence unfold individual disorder, and urge the appropriate means of relief and cure. We think we do not err when we affirm, that Dr. Stewart's work, in these respects, may fairly lay claim to merits at once novel and

practical in a book on the diseases of children.

Dr. Stewart has classified his subjects, first under the head of vital functions, and having treated of the respiratory functions, treats of the diseases of the respiratory organs and of the circulatory system. Under the second division, natural functions, we have the digestive system and the affections to which it is subjected, including those of the excernent system, and its derangements; and thirdly, the animal system, which embraces the peculiarities of the nervous system and its disturbances, concluding with a short enumeration of the motor system and its disordered state. By this method the author has been able to embody within his pages many diseases not usually found noticed in similar performances, and to condense within the compass of a compact volume, a body of practical knowledge which might otherwise have been scattered through

fourfold the number of pages.

There is another circumstance in the work now under notice. All versed in a knowledge of the medical literature of the present age, will best appreciate Dr. Stewart's pretensions to a minute acquaintance with the facts and reasonings which many of the most important diseases he has described have lately given origin to, in order the better to establish the substantial improvements in therapeutics which the labors of modern pathologists and physicians have brought to bear on the management of this intricate and embarrassing class of disorders. Richly informed of the scientific and practical details which European investigation has brought to light, Dr. Stewart, while availing himself of these essential results, has not overlooked the contributions which American genius and study have made, in elucidation of the pathology and treatment of the diseases of children; and hence we find that a large portion of his pages is occupied in setting forth the practical suggestions and clinical expositions which the prominent writers of our country have at different times published. It was long due to the merits of Rush and Chapman, of Jackson and Bayley, of Miller and Hosack, and a host of others, that their labors, scattered through many volumes, should be analyzed, and find their appropriate place in a systematic treatise. Dr. Stewart has exercised the office of an eclectic philosopher; and while the tribute of becoming regard is bestowed by

him with due discrimination on his predecessors, he has, from the stores of his own experience and erudition, seen fit to assume the right of judging for himself of the safest and most available means of relief, and urging with candor and impartiality the curative measures best entitled to consideration in the hour of trial and responsibility. Were our pages not otherwise disposed of, we might cite many examples of this decision in choice resting with Dr. Stewart. He every where proves himself a practitioner, willing to suggest with caution where caution is requisite, and supplied with resources promptly at hand to encounter the conflict with disease; such resources as are the legitimate agents which a rich and noble science furnishes. We know not what the sporadic disciples of a modern system of medicine may think of works inculcating the theoretical doctrines and clinical practice here given for the student's and the practitioner's guide. It is certain that the speculations of Hahneman find no favor in the eyes of our author; he is too deeply imbued with ancient science, and too well armed with the triumphant weapons of modern physiology and pathology, to give, with his energetic mind, even a partial recognition to the tardy infinitesimal theory, as adequate to the destruction of the active many-headed enemy, disease; and as such scepticism seems not incompatible with a sanative belief, we like him the more for the election he has made.

From the excellence of its style and the richness of its matter, we argue for Dr. Stewart's work a widely extended popularity, and a conspicuous place in the catalogue of approved medical writers,

2. The Looking-Glass for the Mind.

The Settlers at Home. By HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Early Friendships. By Mrs. Copley.

Family Secrets; or, Hints to those who would make Home Happy. By Mrs. Ellis.

Masterman Ready; or, The Wreck of the Pacific. By Capt. Marryatt. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

Since the appearance of our April number, the above-named little books have been added to the series of "Tales for the People and their Children," which this enterprising house are now publishing, in a neat and beautiful style, and we have great pleasure in adding, of a character fully justifying their assertion, that "the greatest care is taken in selecting the works of which the collection is composed, so that nothing mediocre in talent, or immoral in tendency, is admitted." Without being equal in merit, those of which we are now speaking are all well adapted to the purpose for which

they are intended. The "Looking-Glass for the Mind" has long had an established reputation, and needs no commendation from any one. "Family Secrets," by Mrs. Ellis, is a new tale, and a very good one. "The Settlers at Home," by Miss Martineau, and "Early Friendships," by Mrs. Copley, are less to our taste. We pass over these with a single word of comment, that we may have room for a more particular account of Marryat's "Masterman Ready," which, as the author informs us in his preface, is the commencement of a series that he intends to publish, if approved by children: and as the continuation depends on such opinion, we hope they will read, inasmuch as their demand for the volume is to be the sole criterion of its merit. Although Captain Marryat candidly avows independence of adult criticism, he will not surely cavil at those who commend the perusal of his little book to their youthful acquaintance. It neither claims nor possesses originality of incident, (Sir H. Seaward's narrative, edited by Miss J. Porter, relates a similar casualty, and we believe identical expedients for relief, etc.;) but it comprises lessons of instruction, incentives to reflection, and profitable amusement, pleasingly and comprehensibly imparted. Good old Ready is the very impersonation of practical kindness and usefulness; exhibiting in his "life and doctrine," a firm reliance and implicit trust in the providential care of Him who ordereth all things right; a renunciation of self, and consequent consideration of others' weal, too rarely apparent in our daily walk. We think Captain Marryatt has erred in his delineation of female character; experience has proved woman, and found her "not wanting" in time of trial and danger; for her infallibility we would not contend; the majority, no doubt, is composed of the like kind as Mrs. Seagrave; but in the creation of examples, as models for the guidance of youth, our judgment would most especially recommend the elevation of female character; not only because her influence is most productive of good or evil in childhood, but because we think boys (some of them over-grown) in general very apt to depreciate her.

The author of this volume is, of modern chemists, the one who, by his labors, has most contributed to advance organic chemistry. A very simple, but most ingenious apparatus, invented by him, and now universally used in analyses of organic substances, enabled him to make known the composition of a great number of

^{3.} Organic Chemistry, in its applications to Agriculture and Physiology. By Justus Liebig, M. D., etc. With an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix. By J. W. Webster, M. D. Cambridge: 1841. J. Owen.

products of vegetation and of animal life, with an accuracy unequalled until then. His superiority over most modern savans who cultivate the same field of discovery as himself, was, to a certain point, proclaimed by the great scientific tribunal of the British association for the advancement of sciences, when, in 1838, this learned body entrusted to the German professor the task of preparing a report on the actual state of chemistry, in its association with animal and vegetable physiology. The present volume contains, in substance, the report presented to the British association, and was published, at its request, in England; at the same time, the author issued an edition of the work, both in France and Germany, as an introduction to a treatise of organic chemistry, which was then in course of publication, and of which one volume* had appeared, but it is not yet completed. While this honorable distinction conferred on Mr. Liebig proves his reputation in the European scientific world, it may be considered as a sufficient guarantee of the merits of his book; at least, we may infer from it, that if this is not altogether beyond the reach of criticism, it is, probably, the best which could be written in the present state of the natural sciences. Whoever takes the trouble of reading a few of its interesting chapters, will feel convinced that the choice of the British philosophers could not have fallen on one more worthy of the honor.

This book has been much praised, and for very different reasons. Our public prints have mentioned, specially, the benefits to be derived from its study by farmers and planters. And, no doubt, an intelligent agriculturist would find in it many excellent ideas—the key to many a phenomenon which must have struck him and seemed inexplicable. It would explain to him the reason of the abundance of his crops in rich soils and of the reverse in those of an inferior quality. It would show him the great importance of the rotation in crops, and why, after a few years of repose, land again becomes fit for certain crops, which it would no longer produce before it had lain fallow—why certain species of plants grow vigorously, when together, while others seem to dislike each other—why, after the destruction, by fire, of a pine forest, trees, with deciduous leaves, will spring up, and oaks and beeches take the place of evergreens.

Liebig considers those lands only as good which contain clay or, in general, aluminous minerals in sufficient quantity; because these substances contain both potash and silica, two essential elements of vegetables, contributing generally to the solid part of all plants, but especially, of gramineous ones. If one of these plants which require a great quantity of silicate of potash, is cultivated for a certain time in the same field, it will exhaust it; and it will be necessary to let the soil repose for some time before any new crops of

• Traité de chimie organique par Justus Liebig, professeur à l'université de Giessen. Paris, 1840.

the same nature can be expected. During this fallow time a new quantity of the mineral will be decomposed, and a new quantity of

the lost element produced.

This explanation, like all others given by the author, of the circumstances which are favorable or opposed to the abundance of crops, is altogether founded on accurate analyses of the different plants generally cultivated, and on a complete knowledge of the chemical composition of the different soils. In a scientific point of view, they are most satisfactory, while, at the same time, to the practical man, they must furnish many excellent ideas.

We think, however, that the scientific value of the book is much superior to its practical one. For, although it cannot be denied, that it makes us acquainted with the soil which best suits each family of plants, or the means of making each given soil best adapted to each given crop; this, it will be remembered, is less important, in our country at least, where good lands, adapted to each kind of produce, are in abundance, and where labor is comparatively high, and consequently the application of the principles can more rarely be made, it being thought preferable to invest capital in new lands, to expending it in the improvement of others, except in some special and very limited cases.

It was by no means the intention of the author to write a treatise upon agriculture. He has merely considered this noble art as far as it can derive benefits from organic chemistry. For which reason he scarcely mentions the physical and geological characters of the soil, though these, with the climate, have even a greater importance than its mineral composition. In looking over an immense extent of flat country, we see, that with the same atmospheric circumstances, and the same exposure, as respects the sun, the crops rarely vary, although growing in soils whose composition is very different; on the other hand, in a very limited extent of broken country, the greatest differences may be seen, though the mineral composition of the soil is the same. So we find, for instance, that on the Neckar, on the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Saar, the growth of the grape vine is exclusively limited to the valleys of these rivers, or rather, to the slopes of the mountains which border them on both sides; so it is, also, in Champagne, where the sloping borders of the Marne present the most cheerful aspect, while, on the contrary, the plains which extend to an immense distance on both sides of this river, though composed of the same calcareous soil, are of a most monotonous character.

The geological character of the soil is not of less importance. So, for instance, a shady soil will show very different qualities, according as it is on the slope of a hill, or on its top, or at its base according as it is more or less deep, and resting upon a stratum permeable or impermeable to water.

This work, we repeat, is not at all to be considered as a treatise on agriculture. It is a volume of interpretations of some of those marvellous pages which compose the book of nature. Besides its contents on agriculture, there are in it some chapters on the decay of organic beings, and, in general, on the modifications which vegetable matters are subjected to. Alcoholic fermentation, or formation of wines; acid fermentation, or formation of vinegar; (in the vegetable kingdom;) and the formation of nitric acid and nitre, by the decomposition of animal matters, is treated with great skill.

It is not a book to be recommended exclusively to any one class Whoever feels any curiosity about the wonderful means by which the surface of our globe, as well with regard to its living beings as to its mineral composition and shape, is constantly changing, by which death and destruction are followed by new creation and life; whoever has been enabled to understand one of the thousand voices which so harmoniously sound from every shapeless stone, from every drop of water, from each leaf and humble flower, will find in this book a new source of enjoyment. Some have an idea that the only object of science is the discovery of steam engines, and apparatus needed in the useful arts; while, on the contrary, her true votaries worship the divinity for her own sake - for the intellectual enjoyment she procures them; and, strange as it may seem, all the discoveries, most important even for their usefulness, have been made by the latter class. To those who interrogate science in this manner, we have no doubt Liebig's ideas on life and decomposition will be interesting, should they even not always seem unexceptionable.

4. Biography and Poetical Remains of the late Margaret Miller Davidson. By Washington Irving. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard.

When we finished this touching narrative of real life, we could but reiterate the language of Mr. Irving, and say, "we shall not pretend to comment on these records; they need no comment." And even now, when our emotions are calmed, we feel little disposition to add any thing further, than to recommend every one to read it. It is a simple tale, simply and beautifully told, composed altogether of the "lights and shadows," the little incidents which made up the young spirit's life, fondly treasured in the memory, and feelingly narrated by a bereaved mother to the biographer. The subject of it was indeed a bright exhalation, too pure for this earth, a "bright planet" that will shine long "above the waste of memory." We should



[&]quot;Rejoice for her, that when the garland of her life Was blighted, and the springs were dried, She received her summons hence."

No one could consure a mother's pride and affection for so remarkable a child, nor doubt the facts related of her, especially as she has passed from life unto death—it would be desecration; yet, of all precocious children, she is the most remarkable. When not quite two and a half years old, her sister Lucretia died, and yet the event made a strong impression upon her; she understood and appreciated Lucretia's character. The recollection of her death is not so extraordinary, but the comprehension and estimation of her character is inexplicable, unless indeed great poetical ardor had quite transformed her nature, and introduced her to a "communion of saints," ere her "mortal had put on immortality." The verses addressed to her sister are beautiful, and her Leonora is wonderful, considering her age. In perusing this most interesting volume, one is lost in admiration of the child, and won back by love to the gentle devoted Christian mother — the drooping withered plant, surviving the loss of so many buds of promise. Surely, she too must have been endowed with the like gift; her little Margaret appears to have been but a miniature of herself.

5. A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America; with a view of Improvement of Country Residences, with remarks on Rural Architecture. By A. T. Downing. New York and London: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

THE publication of this volume may be considered a new epoch in the annals both of our literature and of our social history; for while on the one hand it is our first attempt in a kind of literary productions, of which England gives every year so many beautiful specimens, it shows on the other that we have arrived at that stage of advancement, in which all minds are not needed for inventing or discovering new sources of material wealth, nor all hands for turning them into public use. We do not mean to say, that it is not until very recently that the attention of the wealthier part of our community has been directed toward the embellishment of summer residences; we know, in the vicinity of our city, and on the banks of our beautiful river, of several places which give proofs of the contrary; we merely state that this is the first publication by which posterity will be enabled to judge how far, in 1841, the art of gardening here was advanced. We do not intend to dwell on the moral good which may result from a residence in the country, in a place where the beauties of nature procure innocent enjoyments, which do not require the aid of city pleasures to keep ennui at a distance. In opening the volume before us, it was with a view of ascertaining how far the contents correspond to the title. We shall briefly



communicate to the reader the impression which it made upon ourselves.

The work is divided into ten sections, headed as follows:—I. Historical Sketches; II. Beauties of Landscape Gardening; III. Wood and Plantations; IV. Deciduous Ornamental Trees; V. Evergreen Ornamental Trees; VI. Vines and Climbing Plants; VII. Treatment of Ground — Formation of Walks: VIII. Treatment of Water; IX. Landscape or Rural Architecture; X. Em-

bellishments — Architectural, Rustic, and Floral.

The author considers a landscape garden as composed of certain elements, which he examines and describes minutely. These elements are, the natural character of the locality, architectural buildings, water, and plants. The last he divides into two classes, namely, those which constitute and adorn parks, and those which constitute and give variety and beauty to flower gardens. The former class contains trees and vines, while the latter is composed of flowering herbaceous plants and shrubs. The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters are devoted to the first class. There the reader will find descriptions of the finest indigenous and imported, but hardy trees and creepers, written in beautiful language, and intermingled with numerous quotations from favorite English poets, and also from Delille and some other foreign writers. It may seem to some readers, that too much attention is paid to this embellishment of the book, and to this desire of suiting it to the taste of the fair reader. But we cannot complain that a man who spends his days among flowers and their perfumes, should try to give a little variety to the uniform green sward of a descriptive work, by interspersing it here and there with pots of Bengal roses and fragrant geraniums.

Plants being considered here as elements of landscape gardening, could not be classified according to any botanical system; hence the author, we think with great success, arranges them according to their physiognomy, or rather according to their forms. Trees he divides into round-headed, oblong or pyramidal, spirytopped, and drooping. The descriptions of the individual genera of trees are made interesting by historical notices on the largest and most celebrated of each kind. It treats especially of those kinds which are hardy, and may be cultivated in any part of the

country south of Albany.

The book contains, moreover, a most valuable catalogue of herbaceous plants, and of shrubs, arranged according to the time in which they flower, and with an indication of their size and colors. This part of the book we consider as by far the most important, and we cannot but regret that it was not more extended, to the exclusion, if necessary, of much that is now devoted to parks. For while almost every person who resides on a small estate in the country, would be able to derive great enjoyment from a flowergarden, intermingled with shrubs, there are but very few even of

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our most wealthy citizens, who have the means of laying out ex-

tensive grounds in parks, lawns, and miniature lakes.

The book, then, is adapted to North America, inasmuch only as it makes us acquainted with the greatest number of plants which stand our climate, and may be introduced into our plantations. We cannot say all our plants, because we miss from the catalogues some of our own indigenous trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants, the sight of which in our fields and woods always delights us. Of these we may mention our wild cherry trees (prunus Virginiana, Canadensis, and obovata), whose deep green and generally glossy foliage would produce such a beautiful effect, when contrasted with that of most other trees; while the delicate white flowers, with which they are covered at the end of May and the beginning of June, give them a great beauty, even independently of the contrast. We are the more surprised at not seeing them mentioned, as M. Chevreul, of the French Institute, in his work on the subject,* makes such a happy use of these very trees, in combining them with the Judas tree, with whose flowers those of the wild cherry harmonize most beautifully. In the list of shrubs we looked in vain for some of the most beautiful of our natives, which are well adapted to embellish our summer retreats. Among others we noticed, that of the numerous species of andromeda not one is honored with a place in the catalogue, though some of them are worthy of being placed on the flower-stand of the drawing-room.

These remarks must, however, be considered as an expression of our regret, rather than a criticism on the book. We expected to find our less known plants recommended for landscape gardening and the embellishment of villas, as well as those which, from being naturalized in Europe, have there acquired a certain celebrity. We expected to find even a peculiar attention paid to the indigenous plants which adorn our woods. The author is himself a distinguished gardener, having formed one of the most complete collections of trees and shrubs in this country, which led us to hope to find a fuller account of them in his landscape gardener; and the defect in this respect is almost the only one worthy of being noticed

in Mr. Downing's book.

Beside very good and interesting descriptions of trees and vines, there are in this work drawings of villas and cottages, plans of establishments upon a larger scale, and of extensive grounds, with an enumeration of the most remarkable hot-houses in the country; of these Mr. Perry's, at Brooklyn, deserves to be particularly noticed, which is superior to any of the same size in Europe. Our climate is so different from any in Europe, that if we are to adapt landscape gardening to our own country, we must emancipate ourselves as soon as possible from European tutelage. Any one who has had an opportunity of comparing our vegetation with that of

^{*} La loi du contraste des couleurs, par E. Chevreul. Paris: 1839.

Europe, knows that, at least in the middle states, it most resembles that of the central part of the continent. Scarcely any European genus of trees or shrubs is without its representative in our country. But it must also have been remarked, that our species are in general much more vigorous: trees which are small in Europe, are often in our own country far greater in size; genera which there are but shrubs, in our woods attain to the dimensions of trees. But this is not all. European shrubs transplanted to our gardens, if they ever become naturalized, will generally acquire much more vigor than in their native country; while in Europe our ornamental shrubs dwindle down far below their natural size. Hence it follows, evidently, that plants which harmonize perfectly in Europe, as well in size and forms, as for the colors of their foliage and their flowers, may not be at all adapted to each other in our own gardens. In forming our landscape gardens, therefore, we must select plants, whether native or naturalized, that are found to harmonize here; and in forming our woods, by taking native trees, we have much greater chance of arriving at satisfactory results, than by filling them with a great number of European ones. It is generally acknowledged by all travellers, that no landscape effect is to be compared to the aspect of our woods in autumn; and no one who has been on the Catskills will deny that in summer they are fully equal in beauty to those in Europe. And still, however varying the woods may be there, as we ascend, they are still very much inferior to those of some parts of the Alleghany mountains. Nowhere in Europe are there to be found, in any natural wood, so many kinds of trees as in ours; and nowhere can we better see what effects art might produce in our parks, than by studying what nature produces in her own plantations. We have not less than ninety different species of trees in our own state, and at least as many shrubs, which by cultivation might produce an immense number of varieties. Trees and shrubs are the very plants of which the United States may boast, while other countries have a much more varied flora of herbaceous plants. Let us, then, try to take our own nature for our guide in landscape gardening directly, and not indirectly by seeing first what effect our trees produce in English parks; and let us look abroad for flower gardens.

Mr. Downing gives the plan and list of plants for a flower garden, of which the effect must be charming.* There must be a great many tropical, or at least southern herbaceous plants, which complete the period of their existence in a very short time, or which at least do not require more than some months of warm weather to

^{*} One of the most beautiful flower gardens in Europe may be seen in any oat-field of France, in which there are often intermingled, scarlet poppy, blue centaury, lychnis githago, the summer and harvest adonis, and the great daisy. No gardener was ever able to compose a more elegant and harmonious parterre than this, which requires no other care than the tilling of the ground, and the sowing of the mingled seeds.

complete it. We do not doubt that plants of this kind, if sown in hot-houses, from seeds either obtained directly from their native countries or from hot-houses, and planted in June in the open air, would be better adapted to our climate than most of the European garden plants, the green parts of which our hot summer sun, bursting forth so suddenly, prevents from being fully developed, though their flowers may appear in their full beauty. We know not if any attempts have been made with the view here pointed out, but we think that we might have some originality even in our flower gardens. We leave to practical men the solution of this most interesting question. They alone are able to solve it. If there existed in our country any endowed botanical garden, questions like this might have been solved long ago for the public benefit, at the expense of the community. But unfortunately we have not, and therefore they are likely to remain unsolved.

6. The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes; containing evidence of their Identity, an Account of their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, together with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia, and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy. By ASAHEL GRANT, M. D. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

A very remarkable feature of our present literature is its richness in books of travels. Of late we have contributed our full share, in labors of this kind, to the stock of human knowledge; and our activity in this field of exertion is to be attributed, in a great measure, to the impulse imparted by the missionary spirit now so general among us. The volume now under consideration is one of a large number that our Asiatic missions have produced, and is justly entitled to be ranked with the valuable works of the same class which preceded it. The author was selected by the American Board of Foreign Missions to visit the country of the Nestorian Christians, which is situate among the mountain solitudes of Koordistan, and surrounded by predatory bands, professing a hostile faith. It was deemed important by the Board to send a physician on this dangerous mission, as they had reason to believe that a person of that profession would be more secure against violence, and less likely to excite the suspicions of the ferocious hordes through which he must pass. Dr. Grant renounced a valuable practice at home to accept this appointment, and departed on his mission in the spring of 1835, from which he did not return till the autumn of 1840. During this long absence from his country, his only fixed residence was in the city of Ooroomiah, which stands in the centre of a large plain, having the snow-clad Koordish mountain chain on the west, and the lake of its own name on the east. It is a city of twenty thousand inhabitants, mostly Mohammedans, and is now the centre of the mission, whose labors are extended throughout the province situate in this plain. "Twelve or fourteen free schools have been opened in the villages of the plain; a seminary and girls' boarding school have been established on the mission premises in the city; considerable portions of the scriptures have been translated into the vernacular language of the Nestorians. They have opened the churches for our Sabbath schools and the preaching of the gospel." Here, in this remote and almost unknown nook of the earth, Dr. Grant was established for three or four years, devoting himself to the duties of his profession, for the benefit alike of Mohammedans and Christians, and, as it seems, with great success and to great acceptance. We know but few facts more characteristic than this of the adventurous spirit of our countrymen; and we are glad to have it in our power to add, that it was a nobler purpose than the pursuit of gain, which called and fixed him there. We regret the scantiness of his details about the people among whom he dwelt so long; it seems to us that they must have furnished him rich materials for remark; but the first part of his book, to which he confines his narrative, is very short, and much of it is appropriated to an account of his visit to the Independent Nestorians, who are hidden among the fastnesses of the mountains. This portion of the work is exceedingly curious and interesting, and, we doubt not, a single extract from it will suffice to excite a desire in our readers to see the whole:-

"The country of the Independent Nestorians opened before my enraptured vision like a vast amphitheatre of wild, precipitous mountains, broken with deep, dark-looking defiles and narrow glens, into few of which the eye could penetrate so far as to gain a distinct view of the cheerful, smiling villages, which have long been the secure abodes of the main body of the Nestorian church. Here was the home of a hundred thousand Christians, around whom the arm of Omnipotence had reared the adamantine ramparts, whose lofty, snow-capped summits seemed to blend with the skies in the distant horizon. Here, in their munition of rocks, has God preserved, as if for some great end in the economy of his grace, a chosen remnant of his ancient church, secure from the beast and the false prophet, safe from the flames of persecution and the danger of war."

We have not room to give our author's account of the usages and rites now practised by this remarkable and isolated remnant of the primitive church; we can only say, in general, that they fully corroborate the statements of previous writers on the subject, and conclusively prove the preservation among them of so much of the Christian faith and practice as to seem almost miraculous, considering their ignorance, their want of the scriptures, and the gross superstitions which surround them on every side.

The second and third parts of Dr. Grant's work are taken up with an attempt to prove the identity of the Nestorians and the lost

tribes: the discussion of this point would lead us too far; we shall therefore confine ourselves to a mere enumeration of his argu-These are: - The Tradition of the Nestorian Christians, that they are descendants of Israel; supported by the testimony of Jews and Mohammedans — the places to which the Ten Tribes were deported, now occupied by the Nestorian Christians - the Ten Tribes never removed from Assyria; proved historically, by circumstantial evidence, and by inference from Scripture prophecies — language, same as spoken by the Jews in that region names applied to the Nestorian Christians, proof of their Hebrew origin — observance of the Mosaic ritual, sacrifices, vows, etc. physiognomy, names, tribes, government, etc., proofs that they are a distinct people, or an unmixed race - social and domestic customs, the same as those of the ancient Israelites. These arguments are all fully stated, and supported by facts. He then answers the objections which might arise from the conversion of the Ten Tribes to Christianity, as required by the supposition, and proves that this is conformable to Scripture prophecy and to history. The author's opinion is maintained throughout with great force and learning, and great appearance of truth; his book every where evinces zeal, piety, and talent; but it shows that his mind harbors many strong prejudices, particularly against the Roman Catholic church, and in other respects it is often wanting in candor. In point of style, it is generally well written, but sometimes a little verbose and turgid.

 Collections of the New York Historical Society. Second Series, Volume I. New York: 1841. For the Society.

THE appearance of this volume is an evidence of the revived activity of the New York Historical Society, in collecting and preserving the materials which pertain to the history of the State. It is filled with papers and works of great importance in their relation to this subject, some of which are now first published from the original manuscripts, and some are translations of historical memoirs, existing before only in a foreign language not generally known here. So far as we can judge from a hasty examination, the selection of the materials for the volume is very judiciously made, and great care seems to have been bestowed upon it in all other respects. It is printed on good paper and in a very fair and handsome type, and embellished with a beautiful engraved portrait of Governor Stuyvesant and a lithograph of the government house, as it was in 1795; it contains, also, a curious map of New York, in 1656, copied from the one in Vander Donck's Description of the New Netherlands, in Dutch. It is edited by Mr. George Folsom, librarian of the society, to whom the society and the public are indebted for some of the most valuable papers contained in it, and for the general fine appearance of the volume.

8. The Progress of Democracy; illustrated in the History of Gaul and France. By ALEXANDRE DUMAS. Translated by an American. New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley.

Those who are familiar with Alexandre Dumas's Gaule et France, may be at a loss to recognise it under the new title which it has received from the American translator; this change seems hardly justifiable, and it might create a suspicion that the same liberty has been taken with the work itself; but this is not the case; the translation is as faithful as the language of the original will allow. The book is a curious specimen of the tendency of the French mind to generalize facts and form theories; with great ingenuity it weaves the whole history of France, from the time it ceased to be a Roman province to the present day, into a regular tissue, developing, as it goes on, certain great social principles, just as the web brings out the figures of the pattern in the very place where they are intended to appear. God's great purposes relative to humanity are clearly manifest to the author, and France, of course, is the country in which the social destiny of the whole human race is to be developed. As a historical summary, it is admirable; and, viewed as such, no work of that extent could be more instructive; but in its philosophy, none was ever more fanciful. His grand idea of an approaching social regeneration, is founded upon the belief, that "three men have, from all eternity, been foreordained to accomplish this mighty work: Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon.

Cæsar was to pave the way for Christianity;

Charlemagne for civilization;

Napoleon for liberty."

When the elements combined against the latter in Russia, "his mission was accomplished, and the hour of his'downfall had arrived; for liberty was now to gain from his fall as much as she had formerly done from his elevation. God, therefore, withdrew his hand from Napoleon, and, to make His intervention in human affairs visible to all, He changed the nature of the contest. Man no longer contended with man, but the order of the seasons was reversed; snow and cold were sent upon the earth before their time, and the elements destroyed an army." Here we have the substance of his whole theorythe past events of history, and especially of the history of France, have all been ordained to prepare for the accomplishment of God's final intentions, with respect to the social condition of the human family, and that condition he pronounces to be one of UNIVERSAL LIBERTY. But one obstacle to its attainment now remains—the present monarch of France, and him the hour of destruction awaits; "and in that hour," says M. Dumas, "the recollections of a man, overpowering those of a citizen, will cause one voice to exclaim, Death to royalty, but GoD save the King!—That voice shall be mine."

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9. The Life of Petrarch. By Thomas Campbell, Esq. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and Hart.

Petranch is one of the names which have ceased to denote an individual, and now represent an abstraction, or, as the French most happily term it, une celebrité. As a poet, he is praised by every one and read by very few; as a man of learning and an elegant prose writer, he is known only to scholars, as the imagined to-thelast faithful, single hearted, wholly devoted, self-denying lover of Laura, he is the impersonation of pure Platonic affection, in the opinion of all who have never taken pains to learn his true character; in this last respect, his recent biographer has not thought it necessary to perpetuate the prestige, and we think it will be difficult for any one, after reading his work, to preserve the idea which he may have before entertained of Petrarch's superiority to earthborn passions. We observe that Mr. Campbell is particularly cautious in the language he uses in speaking of the love of Petrarch; "its utterance," he says, "was fervid and eloquent, and its enthusiasm enduring;" "he holds up the perfect image of a lover, and is regarded as a friend to that passion;" even this is quite strong enough after the account he gives of his neglect of the mother of his children. But although the biographer has raised neither himself nor his subject in a moral estimate, he has certainly produced a far more agreeable and interesting life than before existed in the English, and, indeed, in any language, of one of the master spirits of the age in which he lived.

A Plea for the Intemperate. By D. M. REESE, M. D., late Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the Albany Medical College. New York: 1841. J. S. Taylor and Co.

This little "tract for the times," is the offspring of a benevolent feeling, and commends itself to the attention of all who interest themselves in the restoration of the inebriate. The author, with practical skill, has well set forth the insidious way in which intemperance in alcoholic drinks steals its march upon its victim; and, with graphic power, has stated the influence which even moderate drinking, as it is called, operates upon the physical and intellectual constitution, and, ultimately, how it vitiates and destroys the moral sense. With true philanthropy, he refuses to deliver up the intemperate, hand and foot, to his own vile practices. The better to secure this laudable object, he projects a hospital, or sober-house, exclusively devoted to this unfortunate and neglected class of society. His plea is ably sustained, and the plan proposed well worth the consideration of those who interest themselves in the cause of humanity.

ART. XIII.—NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

The Works of Lord Bolingbroke. With a Life. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and Hart. 4 vols. 8vo.

The lovers of English literature are greatly indebted to the American publishers for enabling them to enrich their libraries with the standard works of the language at less than half the expense of imported copies. The character of Lord Bolingbroke as an eloquent and elegant writer is too well known to need our testimony in his favor, but if any one should entertain doubts as to the value of his writings, he need only look into the life prefixed to the excellent edition of his works recently published by Messrs. Carey and Hart, of Philadelphia, and he will find opinions cited from Pitt, Lord Brougham, and other high authorities, that must satisfy him of the incorrectness of his estimate. They are not unexceptionable, but they are as indispensable to a well-chosen library as Bacon's, Locke's, or Johnson's.

Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons. Phila.: 1841. Carey & Hart.

READERS of the right sort of books must be increasing in numbers very rapidly among us, if we may judge by the change in the character of the new publications. A few years since, it would have been difficult to find a publisher for a historical work of such extent as Turner's Anglo-Saxons, even of acknowledged highest merit, as this is. Occasionally an English copy found its way into the country, but the price was too high for buyers of books in general, although it is a book for which there is no substitute in the language. We rejoice to see it placed within the reach of American purses.

Sutton's Disce Mori: Learn to Die. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

We notice this beautiful reprint of the Disce Mori of Dr. Sutton, chiefly to introduce a remark or two upon the "Devotional Library," of which it forms a part—a collection which seems to us to deserve especial commendation from all who are friendly to the circulation of improving books. It is not yet completed; but, in the volumes already published, and in the high respectability of its publishers, we have a certain pledge that the whole will be of a consistent character. Thus far it is composed of Dr. Sutton's Meditations on the Sacrament and Disce Mori, Bishop Wilson's Sacra Privata. Bishop Patrick's Heart's Ease and Discourse on Prayer, and a volume of excellent religious poetry, entitled Thoughts on Past Years. We know not how, in the same compass, there could be offered to the pious mind, a richer feast of devout meditation, or, to the careless one, more of serious and awakening exhortation to a religious life.

NO. XVII. - VOL. IX.

Carlylc's Heroes, Hero - Worship, and the Heroic in History. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

ALTHOUGH we are no unqualified admirers of Carlyle's writings, we are by no means insensible to their many beauties; we have found much to delight us in all that we have read of his, and as much, we think, in these lectures on Heroes and Hero Worship, as in any thing he has written. He excels in nothing so much as in the delineation of character, and no where has he exercised this talent with more power than in some of the sketches here drawn, particularly in those of Dante and Shakspeare; Johnson, too, the idol of former days, now no longer worshipped, receives justice at his hands, and is acknowledged as one of England's greatest minds: we like him for that; it shows that he is not governed by the popular sentiment of his day, but thinks for himself, and dares to speak as he thinks. Mr. Carlyle undoubtedly owes much of the favor in which he is held to the supposed originality of his thoughts, frequently nothing more than strangeness of expression; his affected jargon seems an oracular language to many, to us it is most repulsive; but, in spite of it, we find in him so many of the marks of a man of genius, that we frequently find ourselves riveted to his pages.

Brewster's Martyrs of Science. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

This is a reprint of a recent English work of great merit, from the pen of Sir David Brewster, containing very interesting biographical sketches of the three great physical philosophers, Galileo, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler, all among the most renowned of those who have been immortalized by their labors for the promotion of science. The life of Galileo is made particularly interesting in the account here given of it, by the view which it presents of the proceedings against him at Rome for his alleged heretical opinions in relation to the earth's movement. The biographer considers the conduct of Galileo as highly censurable, and offers more in justification of his opponents than is commonly admitted. The remaining lives of Tycho Brahe and Kepler, who may be regarded in some measure as master and pupil, are scarcely less interesting in themselves than that of Galileo, and that interest is far from being lost out of the portraits which Sir David Brewster has drawn of them. On all accounts we regard this volume as one of the most valuable that has appeared in the Family Library, of which it makes a part.

Carlyle's Specimens of German Romance. Boston: 1841. James Munroe and Co.

German literature is "going ahead" with surprising rapidity among us, as well by the increasing popularity of the language itself, as by the greater opportunities now offered of becoming acquainted with it through the medium of translations. Goethe and Schiller are no longer the sole representatives of German genius in

England and America; we have passed over the vast interval which separates these two mighty minds from all others in their country, and are beginning to extend our acquaintance among the class of writers who approach nearest to them. The volumes entitled, "German Romance," which have just been issued from the press of Messrs. Munroe and Co., in Boston, contain specimens of some of their most popular writers in that department of literature, as, Musæus, De la Motte Fouqué, Tieck, Hoffmann, and Jean Paul Richter. The lovers of the wild and romantic will find in them enough of the extravagant and terrific to gratify the most decidedly Germanic taste; the selection was made by the translator with a view to furnish specimens of the several modes of German novel-wri-The popular tale is seen in the selections from Musæus and Tieck; the chivalry romance in that from Fouqué; the fantasy-piece in that from Hoffman; the two from Jean Paul are novels, in our sense of the word; Wilhelm Meister, which is the art novel, also belonged to the selection, originally, but it is now published separately.

The Poetry and History of Wyoming, etc. By William L. Stone. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

THE author of "Wyoming and its History" has acquired a high reputation at home and abroad by his biography of the Indian chieftain whose ravages in this beautiful valley have made its name a hallowed one in our country's annals, and furnished a subject for one of the finest poems in our language. We are glad to find that his success has led him to make Indian history a particular study; it is in this way that we shall arrive at a more accurate knowledge of the people whom we have supplanted, and rescue their traditions from oblivion before the last remnants of the race disappear from the earth. We have before made our acknowledgments to him for his Life of Brandt; we now thank him for the very pleasant volume we have in hand, and we hope soon to welcome his long looked for Life of Red Jacket.

Presidents' Addresses and Messages. New York: 1841. E. Walker.

Whoever has occasion to make frequent reference to state papers, knows how difficult it is, amid the immense mass of our public documents, to lay hands upon the one wanted, and will at once perceive the advantages that would arise from a general systematic arrangement of them, in the same manner as the "Addresses and Messages of the Presidents, from Washington to Tyler" are arranged in the volume recently published by Mr. Walker. How far the publisher is remunerated by the public for so useful a labor, we cannot say; we only know that he deserves to be most liberally. His book is a very valuable and convenient one, which should have a place on the shelves of every good citizen of our country.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

(Reprints of Foreign Books are marked with an asterisk.)

AGRICULTURE AND GARDENING.

A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, adapted to North America; with a view to the Improvement of Country Residences. Remarks on Rural Architecture. Illustrated by Engravings. By A. J. Downing. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam, 8vo.

Every Man His Own Gardener. By Andrew Gentle. New York: 1841.

A. Smith.

* The Theory of Horticulture; or an attempt to explain the Principal Operations of Gardening upon Physiological Principles. By John Lindlay, F. R. S. With Notes, by A. J. Downing and A. Gray. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam. Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown.

• Organic Chemistry, in its applications to Agriculture and Physiology. By Justus Liebig, M. D. Edited from the manuscript of the author, by Lyon Playfair, Ph. D. First American Edition. With an Introduction and Appendix, by J. W. Webster, M. D. Cambridge: 1841. J. Owen.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Biography and Poetical Remains of the late Margaret Miller Davidson. By Washington Irving. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard.

The Life of Paul Jones. By Alexander Slidell Mackenzie. Boston: 1841.

- Hilliard, Gray, and Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

 Life of Petrarch. By Thomas Campbell. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and
- Life and Literary Remains of L. E. L. By Laman Blanchard. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo.

• The Martyrs of Science; or the Lives of Galileo, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler. By Sir David Brewster. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

The Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest. By Agnes Strickland. Philadelphia: 4841. Lea and Blanchard. 2 vols.

COMMERCE AND THE USEFUL ARTS.

Remarks on Currency and Banking. Having reference to the present derangement of the Circulating Medium in the United States. By Nathan Appleton. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and J. Brown.

Suggestions on the Banks and Currency of the several United States. In reference, principally, to the Suspension of Specie Payments. By Albert Gallatin. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

Reasons for the Inexpediency of Chartering a National Bank. Dedicated to the President of the United States. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

Principles and Practice of Rockteening. Ry Thomas S. Jones New York:

Principles and Practice of Bookkeeping. By Thomas S. Jones. New York:

1841. Wiley and Putnam.

HISTORY AND STATISTICS.

History of the Colonization of the United States. By George Bancroft. Abridged by the Author. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and J. Brown. 2 vols. 12mo.

Collections of the New York Historical Society. Second Series, Volume I.

New York: \1841.

Texas and the Texans; or Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the Southwest. By H. Stewart Foote. Philadelphia: 1841. Thomas, Cowperthwaite, and Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

A Geographical, Historical, and Statistical View of the Central or Middle United States. By H. S. Tanner. Philadelphia and New York: 1841. H. Tanner, Jr., and T. R. Tanner.

- Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth. From 1602 to 1625. Now first collected from the Original Records and Contemporaneous Printed Documents, and illustrated with Notes. By Alexander Young. Boston:
- 1841. C. C. Little and James Brown.
 The History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the earliest period to the Norman Conquest. By Sharon Turner. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and Hart.

2 vols. 8vo.

* An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

* The Progress of Democracy, illustrated in the History of Gaul and France. By Alexandre Dumas. Translated by an American. New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Children. By James Stewart, M. D. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

A Visit to the Thirteen Asylums for the Insane in Europe, with a brief notice of similar institutions in the United States. By Pliny Earle, M. D. Philadelphia: 1841. J. Dobson.

Outlines of Anatomy and Physiology. Translated from the French of H. Wilson Edwin. By J. T. W. Lane, M. D. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and

J. Brown.

System of Practical Medicine. Volume V. Hemorrhages, Dropsies, Rheumatism, Gout. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The Poetry and History of Wyoming, containing Campbell's Gertrude. With a Biographical Sketch, by Washington Irving, and the History of Wyoming, by William L. Stone. New York and London: 1841. Wiley and Put-

The Moral Influence, Dangers, and Duties, connected with Great Cities. By John Todd. Northampton: 1841. J. H. Butler.

A Plea for the Intemperate. By David M. Reese, A. M., M. D. New York: 1841. J. S. Taylor.

The Fourth of July Book, containing Plans for a Juvenile Observance of the National Festival. By a Sunday School Man. New York: 1841.

A Voice to the Married, being a Compendium of Social, Moral, and Religious

Duties, addressed to Husbands and Wives. By John M. Austin. New York: 1841. J. & H. G. Langley. Report on the Subject of Capital Punishment. By J. L. O'Sullivan.

Report in the Senate of Maine, on the Northeastern Boundary. By C. S. Davies.

Federalism, or, the Question of Exclusive Power, the True Issue in the Pre-

sent Monetary and Political Discussions in the United States. By John W. King, M. D. Cincinnati: 1841. U. P. James.

The Philosophical Emperor, a Political Experiment; or, the Progress of a False Position. Dedicated to the Whigs, etc. New York: 1841. Harper and

Brothers.

A Week in Wall Street. By one who knows. New York: 1841. Published for the Booksellers.

Review of a Part of Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Campbell's Lectures on Poetry. Boston: 1841. J. H. Francis.

Naval Text Book. Letters to the Midshipmen of the United States Navy, on Rigging, etc. By B. J. Totten, Licut. U. S. Navy. Boston. C. C. Little and J. Brown.

Richardsiana, or Hits at the Style of Popular American Authors. New

York: 1841. Henderson, Green and Co. The Works of W. E. Channing. First complete American Edition. Boston: 1841. James Munroe and Co. 5 vols. 12mo.

1841. James Munroe and Co. 5 vols. 12mo.

• On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History. Six Lectures, by Thomas Carlyle. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

• Lectures on the History of Literature, from the German of Schlegel. New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley.

• The Miscellaneous Writings of T. Babington Macauley. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and Hart. 3 vols. 12mo.

• The Works of Lord Bolingbroke. With a Life, prepared expressly for this edition. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and Hart. 4 vols. 8vo.

• Annals of the Poor. By Leigh Richmond. A new Edition. Enlarged, with an Introductory Sketch of the Author. By the Rev. John Ayres. New York: 1841. W. Kerr and Co. 1841. W. Kerr and Co.

NEW PERIODICALS.

The Catholic Expositor, and Literary Magazine. Edited by the Very Reverend Felix Varela and Rev. C. C. Pise. New York. Monthly.

Merry's Museum. Boston. Monthly.

Laborer's Advocate. Devoted to the Investigation of First Principles. By John White. Columbus, Ohio.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Carleton, a Tale of 1776. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard. 2 vols.

Insubordination; an American Story of Real Life. By the author of "The

Subordinate." New York: 1841. S. Colman.

The Merchant's Widow, and other Tales. By Caroline M. Sawyer. New York: 1841. B. Price.

* Corse de Leon, or, The Brigand. By G. P. R. James. New York: 1841.

Harper and Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Moneyed Man, or the Lessons of Life. By Horace Smith. Philadel-

phia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard.

• The History of a Flirt, related by herself. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo.

• German Romance. Specimens of its chief Authors, with Biographical and Critical Notices. By Thomas Carlyle. Boston: 1841. J. Munroe and Co. 2 vols. 12mo.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Address in Commemoration of the Death of William Henry Harrison; delivered on the day of the National Fast, May 14, 1841. By William G. Goddard. Providence: 1841.

Sermon preached on the National Fast Day, May 14, 1841, in Trinity Church,

Newport, R. I. By Francis Vinton

Sermon preached in St. Paul's Church, Troy, on the late National Fast, on occasion of the Death of General W. H. Harrison. By Rev. R. B. Van Kleeck,

The Leader Fallen, a Scrmon on the Death of President Harrison. By John M. Krebs.

A Discourse on the Death of W. H. Harrison. By Rev. Horatio Potter,

D. D., Rector of St. Peter's, Albany.

A Discourse on occasion of the Death of W. H. Harrison, delivered at Rox-

bury. By George Putnam.

Eulogium on the Life and Character of General William H. Harrison, late President of the United States, delivered before the Legislature of Pennsylvania. By Thomas Williams, Esq.

The Nation's Grief. A Funeral Address before the citizens of Burlington, on occasion of the Death of William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States. By the Right Rev. G. W. Doane, D.D., L. L. D.

The Bible and its Literature, an Inaugural Address. By Edward Robinson, D. D. With the Charge. By the Rev. William Patton, D. D.

Lecture on the Haytian Revolution. With a Sketch of the Character of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Delivered at the Stuyvesant Institute, Feb. 26, 1841. By J. McCune Smith, M. A., M. D.

Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia, May 11, 1841. By W. E. Channing.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Marathon and other Poems. By Fliny Earle, M. D. Philadelphia: 1841. H. Perkins.

Poems. By W. M. Burleigh. Baltimore, 1841: J. M'Kim: New York:

Wiley and Putnam.

The Patapsco and other Poems. By Charles Soran. Baltimore, 1841: N. Hickman. New York: L. W. Ransom.

Powhatan; a Metrical Romance. By Seba Smith. New York: 1841.

Harper and Brothers.

The Voices of the Night. By H. W. Longfellow. Cambridge: 1841. J. Owen. 5th edition.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

A Companion to the Book of Genesis. By Samuel H. Turner, D. D. New

York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam. 8vo.

A Brief Examination of the Proofs, by which the Rev. Mr. Bardman attempts to sustain his charge, that "a large and learned body of the clergy of the Church (of England) have returned to some of the worst errors of Popery. By the Rt.

Rev. G. W. Doane, D. D. LL. D. Bishop of New Jersey, Burlington: 1841.

Remarks on the Oxford Theology, in connection with its bearing upon the

Law of Nature, and the doctrine of Justification by Faith. By Vanbrugh Livingston.

New York: 1841. C. Henry.

Letters on the Missionary Organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By a Presbyter. New York: 1841. Claims of Civil and Ecclesiastical History as indispensable Branches of Min-

and Theological Institution. By George W. Eaton. Utica: 1841.

The Guide to the Understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and the Unity of the Church. Two sermons preached in All Saints Church, New York. By Benjamin J. Haight, A. M., Rector. New York: 1841. A. V. Blake.

Sermons of the Rev. Jonah Foot, D. D., with a Biographical Sketch. By Rev. George Foot. Philadelphia, 1841: Hooker and Agnew. New York: Gould, Newman and Co.

By the contributors to the Oxford Tracts for the Times, Plain Sermons. with a recommendation by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Onderdonk. New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley. 2 vols. 8vo.

Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa; a Journal of Travels in the year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith. Drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations. By Edward Robinson, D. D. With new Maps and Plans. Boston: 1841. Crocker and Brewster. 3 vols. 8vo. Lectures on Spiritual Christianity. By Isaac Taylor. New York: 1841.

D. Appleton and Co.

Disce Mori,-Learn to Die. By Christopher Sutton, D. D. A New Edition.

New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

Not Tradition, but Scripture. By Philip N. Shuttleworth, D. D. Philadel-

phia: 1841. Hooker and Agnew.

* Tracts for the Times, No. 90. New York: 1841. J. C. Sparks.
Themes for the Pulpit; being a Collection of nearly Three Thousand Topics with Texts, suitable for Public Discourses. By Abraham C. Baldwin. New York: 1841. M. W. Dodd.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens: Illustrated by numerous engravings. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Summer Journey in the West. By Mrs. Steele, author of Heroines of Sacred History. New York: 1841. J. S. Taylor.

The Nestorians; or the Lost Tribes; containing evidence of their identity. By Asahel Grant, M. D. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PERSONS.

Mary Somers; a Narrative from Real Life; Conrad, or a Time to Die; Thoughts for Little Children; Samuel in the Temple; Conversations about the Babe of Bethlehem; five stories published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. Boston: 1841.

* The Looking-glass for the Mind, or Intellectual Mirror, being an elegant col-

lection of the most delightful little stories and interesting tales, with wood cuts.

New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co. 20th edition.

The Settlers at Home. By Harriet Martineau. New York: 1841. D. Ap-

pleton and Co.

• Early Friendship; a Tale. By Mrs. Copley. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

Family Secrets; or Hints to those who would make Home Happy. By Mrs. Ellis, author of Women of England. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

* Masterman Ready, or the Wreck of the Pacific. Written for young people. By Captain Marryat. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

* Helen of the Glen. By Robert Pollock. New York: 1841. R. Carter.

* The Peasant and the Prince. By Harriet Martineau. One of the "Tales for the People and their Children." D. Appleton and Co.

WORKS IN PRESS, TO BE PUBLISHED SOON.

By D. Appleton and Co., 200 Broadway, New York.

Disce Vivere - Learn to Live. By Christopher Sutton, D. D.

The Early English Church. By the Rev. Edward Churton. Edited by Rt. Rev. Bishop Ives.

Fragments of German Prose Writers. Translated by Mrs. Austin.

Little Harry and his Uncle Benjamin. By Mrs. Copley.

A Pictorial Edition of Robinson Crusoe.

The Beauties of the Country. By Thomas Miller. The Rose, or Affection's Gift, for 1842. An Annual.

By J. and H. G. Langley, 57 Chatham street, New York.

Sir James Clarke's Influence of Climate. With Introductory Notes by an American Physician.

The Minor Poets of England. Edited by Rufus W. Griswold.

Walker's "Physiognomy." Edited by an American, with an Introduction.

By C. S. Francis, 252 Broadway, New York.

Julian, or Scenes in Judea. By Rev. W. Ware.

By Wiley and Putnam, 161 Broadway, New York.

Boswell's Poultry Yard, Bees, Pigeons, Rabbits, Canary Birds, and Art of Taxidermy

Blacklock's Treatise on Sheep.

By Hogan and Thompson, Philadelphia.

Pantology, or a Systematic Survey of Human Knowledge. Designed as a Guide to Study for Advanced Students in Colleges, Academies, and Schools. By Roswell Nash, A. M. 1 vol. 8vo.

THE

NEW YORK REVIEW.

No. XVIII.

OCTOBER, 1841.

- ART. I.—1. The Life of John Jay, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers. By his Son, William Jay. New York: 1833. J. and J. Harper. 2 vols. Svo. pp. 520, 500.
- 2. Life of John Jay. By HENRY B. RENWICK. Edited by JAMES RENWICK. New York: 1840. Harper and Brothers. (School Library.)

The recent appearance of a compendium of the original biography of John Jay, offers us an occasion which we willingly embrace, for calling our readers' attention to the life and character of another, and one of the most illustrious of the great men of our revolution—one of the three granite pillars, we may say, of our country's political greatness—Washington, Hamilton, Jay. To our subject, therefore, rather than to the works before us, will our attention be directed. But still justice to the father demands justice to the son. We pause willingly, therefore, for a few minutes, on the merits of the work first named in our title, and the more willingly, as we deem it one as yet not rightly appreciated by the reading public. Indeed, we know of no work that of late years has issued from the American press, entitled by its NO. XVIII.—VOL. IX.

merit to so much, that has in truth received so little, of public attention. It is a fact, certainly, as little creditable to our taste as to our patriotism, that the life of one of the greatest and purest of American statesmen - a life, too, of great private as well as the highest public interest — ably and faithfully written, from sources in it first opened—and, to close all, coming from the pen of a son worthy of his name and lineage, — that such publication should bring back loss instead of profit, as we understand it has done, through dearth of readers,—this tells but ill, we think, for the condition of our popular press. By audience "fit though few," however, (it may be some consolation to the author to know,) has the work been both thankfully received and duly estimated, bringing forth, as it does, calmly and truthfully, and with an ability that places it in the first rank of our native biographies, the merits of one whom America can never cease to honor—a name, in truth, which she may fearlessly hold up to the world as a model of what the world so seldom has seen, the Christian STATESMAN—a man who not only placed his country above his party, which doubtless many do, but truth and duty above his country, which comparatively very few do; nor only so, but who derived his notions of what truth and duty are, which fewer still among politicians do, from the pure fountains of revealed truth. Now, for the full and faithful exhibition of this rare character, do we, as patriotic Americans, owe a debt to Jay's biographer, which we would here gladly pay. It is a picture ever and everywhere needed, doubtless, but nowhere and at no time more than here and now, in a republic where all are rulers, and in an age of such low political morality as to doubt or even to deny the possibility of the politician being ruled by the principles of the Christian. In such a state of things who can over-estimate the value of such a practical example as that furnished in the life of Jay? The "impossibility" is at once set aside by the "fact," for here we have actually before us, the public man, the senator, the judge, the ambassador, the statesman, the governor, ruling himself in word and deed (so far, at least, as man may judge) by the purest and strictest principles of the Christian; and evidently feeling himself not less but more responsible, in proportion as his measures and influence extended over a wider sphere. It is very easy. indeed, for the politician of expediency to demonstrate the impossibility of carrying out such strict rule — very easy,

doubtless, and very conclusive to willing auditors, and THERE-FORE is it, we say, well for them who would willingly believe in a better faith to have familiarly before them the demonstrative fact of at least one such in our history, and such, no one who reads the life before us but must acknowledge John Jay to have been. Nor is such estimate at all indebted to the veneration of an after age that looks at his character but from a distance; it was the judgment of those who saw him closest and knew him best. If hard for the soldier to pass for a hero with his comrades, except he be one, it is at least equally so for the statesman to appear the Christian. this test Jay successfully stood, and we forget their reverence instead of adding to it. Take the language of one who knew him well. "I often say," are the words of the elder President Adams, "that when my confidence in Mr. Jay shall cease I must give up the cause of confidence and renounce it with all men."—Letter, etc. Or of another competent judge. "Go on, my friend," thus writes Robert Morris to him, in Europe, "you deserve and will receive the gratitude of your country. History will hand down your plaudits to posterity. The men of the present day, who are generally least grateful to their contemporaries, esteem it an honor to be of your acquaintance."—Vol. ii., p. 110. Or of one almost of his household. "I wish you," says Governeur Morris, "to be one of my boy's godfathers. True it is, that, according to the usual course, you may not be able to perform the duties of that office, but, my friend, should you be mingled with the dust, he shall learn from the history of your life, that a man must be truly pious to be truly great."—Vol. ii., p. 355.

There is a difference, therefore, in great men's biographies; some are useful for the age in which they live, and that only; others, for that which immediately follows them; some few are lessons for men in every age — great and true for ever, being lives of principles rather than of facts. Now, such do we esteem the life of Jay to have been, and such, therefore, the perennial interest that belongs to the record of it. The great battle it tells us of is not merely or so much that of the revolutionary war, as that which every man is called upon to fight — the battle of obligation against inclination, of right against might, of conscience against expediency. The most interesting Union it tells us of, and which it teaches us how to bring about, is that which the good man seeks, in his

own small republic, to effect - between his duty and his business - labors for this world united to preparation for the next. First and foremost, in this moral light, among our great men stands, we think, Jay; and, were it possible for all else to be forgotten of him, in this alone the record of his life would still hold its value for the teaching of the world. is this said to the prejudice of the historic interest of his life, which we hold also to be of the highest. Over the political fortunes of his country but one stood superior to him in influence - Washington; and but one other in power of intellect - Hamilton; while in fearlessness of duty, public and private, in the stern resolve, whose rule was always sternest within his own bosom, carrying out the Christian life into public life, Jay, doubtless, had no superior, or rather, we should say, no equal. He stands pre-eminent, almost what Bacon terms "instantia singularis."

That his biographer, with all his talent, has fully satisfied us in giving this high portraiture, we do not say, for with our notions of what such biography may effect, it were, perhaps, not easy to satisfy us. The materials, in short, of the present work, are richer than the workmanship. They are of gold and precious stones, and still lie about in unused profusion in the appendix and volume of letters, valueless, comparatively, because not wrought up into the narrative itself, an error eventuating sometimes in loss of clearness, and always of interest. With some few points, too, we must express rather our dissatisfaction. The chapter occupied with Littlepage's slander is so much room, we deem, thrown away; no man believed it then or now. The same censure we must pass upon the ten pages occupied in a doctrinal letter to the vestry of Trinity Church, and the twenty of popular addresses made at meetings of the Bible Society. Had these been occupied with private letters now thrust out among the documents and there lost — had the author been somewhat freer in personal anecdote, of which he had store, and bolder in portraying at large his father's domestic character and habits, the volume would, in our judgment, have gained somewhat in value and much in interest. This defect is most apparent, too, in that portion of his father's life where the son had the greatest abundance of material, in his own personal recollections — the period, we mean, of Jay's retirement, to us, we contess, of all parts of his life, the most interesting and the most ennobling. We can readily understand, indeed,

the motive that here made the biographer fastidious in his narrative—the "quorum pars magna fui," that made him silent instead of communicative; this portion, therefore, of the life we would gladly have had from another pen—"suo ingenio, alieno judicio"—our author's materials but another's use of them—one that could have spoken of domestic scenes without violating the modesty of self-dignity. In a second edition, which we here confidently predict for this work, these partial defects will, we trust, be amended or supplied, and then, in our judgment, the book will take its place among the Lives that do most credit to American talent as well as American patriotism.

The compend of the "Life," put forth by the Harpers, adds, of course, nothing to our stores of knowledge, and consequently calls for little reference. It is a praiseworthy effort, however, from a youthful candidate, though as would seem from Mr. Jay's recent charges made against it in the public prints, wanting accuracy in some of its details. The volume comes forth, however, under the editorial guarantee of the well-known name of Professor Renwick.

We have said above, it were not easy for the biographer of Jay to satisfy us. Now, lest we be held herein more fastidious than wise, we must be permitted to pause a moment over our conceptions of what Biography may, and therefore should, be. It is, then, we deem, in its very nature, a work of high ART; subject, therefore, to all its rules of unity, order, and arrangement of parts. The life written, must be as the life spent — ONE, with the golden thread of a living identity running through it. Hence, alone, comes its power to awaken personal sympathy - we must feel that we have before us, not a name nor a series of facts, but a living and breathing man, so that all things recorded of him, partake of the interest felt in him—he becomes to us, in short, the hero of an Iliad, great or small, as the case may be, but still the poetic centre to which all minor interests point. But the artist must go yet deeper. This is still but the external picture; the soul of biography lies in its inward portrait - in the exhibition of character—in the man opened, "disembowelled" before us. We must see of what he is made, we must understand not only the work our hero did, but the spirit in which he did it - not only where and for what, but how he fought in the great battle field of life — with what arms he stood accourred, as well as with what success he wielded them. We must

behold him at work and see him, day by day, at that which God gave him to do—whether as a son or a slave he wrought in it — with a selfish or a generous spirit — with an eye fixed on expediency, or a heart set on duty - whether governed by circumstances, or governing them through the energy of a resolved will. Now, short of this, biography attains not its BND, for we know not the man it tells us of — we feel not for him, sympathize not with him, and, above all, gather no wisdom from his example. With it, again, biography is the ruling department of all literature. It, alone, is true history; nay, it, alone, gives the essence of all moral teaching, and all other forms of composition have their roots of interest and their fruit-hearing power from it — developing, at every step, this great universal truth, that man sympathizes but with man, and, therefore, that the picture of man, that is, biography, in some form or other, lies at the foundation of all other writing. Thus, then, to write a life that well deserves to be written, is, obviously, no easy task. Clear vision, that looks into the depths of character, the comprehensive grasp, that gives unity to minutest details, and, above all, the sympathetic power, which breathes life into dead facts - these are rare, yet needful qualities for the true biographer — so rare, in truth, as almost to justify the thought of Carlyle, that a well written life is about as rare in the world as a well spent one.

Now, the life, as well as character, of Jay, is one fittest above most to bring forth and reward such skill and labor in his biographer. Passing by, for the present, deeper views of it, it is divisible, in the first place, with singular accuracy, into the threefold natural aspect of man-youth, manhood, and age; each, again, by singular agreement, sharing its equal third of a life prolonged to its eighty-fourth year; namely, twentyeight years of quiet, studious youth, or professional labor, unknown to the world; twenty-eight years, again, of public life and manhood, in the world's eye - unintermitted official toil, without one day passing in which he was not in the service of his country; and, lastly, twenty-eight years of age, passed in a voluntary retirement, equally unbroken - withdrawn from the world that is, and devoted to preparation for a higher and a better world to come. Now, there is something so striking in this artistical coincidence, that, being unnoticed by his biographer, we add the needful data to verify it. Born 12th December, 1745, Jay had just completed his twenty-eighth year, when the Boston Port Bill

(31st March, 1774) waked the continent into a flame, and the hitherto silent young patriot with it. Popular movement. then, for the first, took form. A New York Committee of Correspondence was then appointed; Jay, young as he was, placed at its head, and at once absorbed in its responsible executive duties. Up to that hour, his life had been one of peaceful private study; from that hour, not one of private life, for eight-and-twenty years, intervened, till, in his fiftysixth year, (1801,) we see him withdrawing from all public employment, seeking a life of tranquillity, but not of indolence, in which twenty-eight years again came round, his life closing 14th May, 1829, in his eighty-fourth year; and, to add to this singular equivalence, it may be further noted, that these divisions correspond precisely with those of his bachelor, wedded, and widowed life - having married the very year that he entered into public station, and lost the companion of his toils the very year after he quitted it. Now, all this, however trivial, as compared with its higher questions, would yet afford, we think, to his biographer (regarded in the light of the artist) a beautiful coincidence of framework, as it were, in which to embody and exhibit to the reader the successive phases of Jay's singularly-marked, externally-varied, yet inwardly-uniform character — like the consecutive compartments of some great entablature unfolding in coloror relief the varied events of some heroic life. In the FIRST of these, we would see exhibited the advancing steps of a wellordered youth — grave and severe, but faithful and affectionate, though not one easily guided, except through his own judgment—a youth, ripening, by degrees, into clear and strong manhood — into all moral and intellectual fitness for the high, stern duties, that as yet lie hid in the darkness of the unopened compartment before him. In unfolding the SECOND, there would open to us, in long procession, high and heroic deeds of worth, like the unbroken series of sculptured marble, in high or low relief, on the frieze of some ancient temple. The THIRD, again, would unfold to us a new and more touching scene — the quiet and peaceful picture of an honorable and honored age, with a back-ground, as in the Homeric shield, of waving grain, and glad reapers, and harvest home; and then the grateful and solemn rites of religion; and, to close the scene, a sacred, slow procession, leading on the hero of the piece to the portals of some dark temple whose gates open to receive him, and there we lose him, at least from mortal eyes,

and thus closes the entablature of human life — " sic transit gloria mundi." Of these successive pictures, (thus to speak,) the first is given by his biographer pleasingly, at least — materials, perhaps, were wanting to make it more full and graphic, though we think it might have been done. On the second, he has, evidently, laid out his strength — Jay, as a public man — and given it ably and well. The third, as already hinted, through filial or personal modesty, inadequately, in point of fulness, at least - awakening, rather than gratifying our sympathies, and leaving to us, we deem, but half told the noblest part of his story—the statesman, content in voluntary retirement; the public man, happy, encircled but by his children; the Christian, ripening for heaven, through the quiet and gentler duties of earth. But the veil of domestic life is too sacred to be raised, at least by a son; and thus does the world lose the best part of its lesson - the practical exhibition of a Christian's faith, in making age lovely as well as venerable — a temper, gentle and affectionate, which nature had made stern and unyielding, and which the infirmities of age would, doubtless, without it, have rendered fretful or selfish. This noble picture we know to have been the truth; and, knowing it, would gladly, for the benefit of the world, have seen it more fully portrayed by family letters and personal narrative. But we yet hope the time for this will come. Our present object is to awaken the desire for it on the part of the public, as well as the motive for it on the part of the biographer, and, also, to pay our personal debt of gratitude to the memory of one, whom thus living we reverenced. In doing this, we will hold to our scheme proposed, and look at Jay's life and character, as exhibited in rapid review, through each of its notable divisions.

Of its primary one, comprising the first twenty-eight years of afe, we have fewer details, as already said, than we could have wished; enough, however, to show the boy as "father of the man," and that the marked traits of Jay's character were early developed, and came as much from nature as from culture. The lineage from which he sprang, was like himself—one stern and uncompromising in the path of duty. Through three descending streams was there martyr's blood in his veins. His paternal ancestor, Pierre Jay, was one of the heroes of Rochelle, who, preferring exile and poverty to the loss of a good conscience, quitted France for ever, and, after many wanderings, reached America in safety about the year 1690,

where he at length gathered, by degrees, his dispersed family in safety around him, "by Divine Providence," was the thankful language of his like-minded descendant, "every member of it being rescued from the fear and rage of persecution." On the maternal side, also, through two successive links, do we trace him up to the same strong stock—the simple, true-hearted, uncompromising Huguenot; and seldom, if ever, we think, did ancestral blood flow more purely or strongly. Of his father and mother, a somewhat gentler picture is drawn, which we would quote, both for its interest and as a fair sample of the clearness and precision of the biographer's style, but space forbids. We, therefore, but

refer to it. (Vol. i., pp. 10, 11.)

Of this true-hearted couple, JOHN JAY was the eighth out of ten children. His early education, as with most in that day, was a broken and imperfect one, not such, however, as to debar him from the advantages of a college course. was among the early students of King's College, New York; graduating thence in the year 1764, receiving its highest honor from the hands of its recently elected tory president, Dr. Myles Cooper — a man equally noted in that day for classical learning and political zeal. Two incidents here recorded of young Jay were highly characteristic, but are too long to be quoted. (Vol. i. p. 13-15.) The first evinced self-government; the second exhibited an equally prominent trait in his character — rebellion against what he deemed usurped authority: "I do not choose to tell," his answer to the president's unstatutory command, was but the precursor of "I do not choose to obey," when he deemed the king to transcend his powers, and in both cases the result was the same—"a hard contest and a final victory."

On quitting college, the LAW became his professional choice, and we deem it a wise or a fortunate one, for it was the very discipline his mind most needed. If in any thing that mind was one-sided, the error lay in contempt of authority; and we hold it well, both for himself and others, that he had the training of a profession that rests practically on authority. "Stare in decisis," was not one of Jay's native maxims; so that, with all the discipline of a legal profession, his three years' study and six years' practice, his mind ever continued one rather of equity than of law—standing on principles in contempt of cases. Law was, therefore, his true profession, and, like all right choices, it worked well. The extent of its

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influence on his natural turn of mind may be measured by his favorite maxim—"He who trusts nothing to authority is a fool; he who trusts all is a slave." In his course of preparative study, it is sufficient to say, he gained equally the esteem of his principal and the respect of his equals, as well as the love and confidence of all. Of Mr. Kissam, with whom he studied, he was accustomed, through life, to speak as "one of the best men he ever knew, and one of the best friends he ever had." In what light Jay was himself regarded, we may judge from the letters given and the recollections of an observant fellow-student — himself afterwards bearing a wide-spread name. "The celebrated John Jay," says Lindley Murray, in a posthumous memoir of himself, "was my fellow-student for about two years. His talents and virtues gave, at that period, pleasing indications of future eminence; he was remarkable for strong reasoning powers, comprehensive views, indefatigable application, and uncommon firmness of mind." Six years' faithful practice of the law was the completion of Jay's preparation for public usefulness — maturing by experience into a wise and sagacious leader, one whom nature had already made a stern and inflexible patriot.

Looking at his character as now ripened, let us mark the leading features it exhibits. Its first trait, or rather the groundwork of all, was "simplicity" or singleness of purpose. It was every where of one stamp, and at all times of one color and complexion. The name of Jay, from early youth, conveved to all who knew him but one image, and that a clear and well-defined one. No man hesitated, even then, what to think of him, as not knowing his principles of action. The citizen might doubt of his own road, whether Jay would o: would not be the better man for such or such a charge, but he never doubted which road Jay would take if called to it the direct, plain, fearless, path of duty. Connected with this, or rather, as its outward expression, comes "truthfulness" of character. In Jay, however, this was a peculiar trait. was truthfulness without communicativeness - never, even to an enemy, would he give false reasons; but then, not even to a friend would he give reasons at all, if he saw fit to withhold them. It was, in action, the highest form of the diplomatic mind - the maximum of caution with the maximum of truth; neither simulation nor dissimulation had place in it, and yet was it, when occasion demanded, more impenetra-

ble than either, and, as we shall have occasion to observe, more perplexing and formidable to cunning diplomatists. Whatsoever, from duty or prudence, Jay deemed right to withhold, that he withheld; but then he let his querist know too that he did withhold it, and would often playfully allow him to feel that he was laboring to pick a lock that was too close for him. As this was a trait of native character, so it ran with Jay through life, and was often good-humoredly exhibited even in private and domestic intercourse. An illustration occurs from personal recollection. Being on a visit in his family about the time of the originality of General Washington's Farewell Address being first called in question, the reviewer took the liberty, with youthful curiosity, to ask of the governor his opinion, and, perhaps, rather pertinaciously to press for an answer. When the slowly-puffing pipe and the deaf ear turned were no longer an apology for not hearing, the answer came out with a quiet smile — "My opinion, my dear sir, you shall freely have — I have always thought General Washington competent to write his own addresses."* A still more pointed, as well as delicate question, put to him by General Gates at an earlier period, received an equivalent, or rather still more diplomatic answer. The anecdote we relate as told to us by the late Colonel Troup, General Gates's companion in the visit —"Let us ride over," said the General, soon after the surrender of Burgoyne, "and see the Chief Justice, (then resident at Fishkill;) I wish to learn his opinion of our late Saratoga Convention." They went; and during a two hours' visit, Gates labored in vain covertly to draw forth from Mr. Jay some favorable opinion of that military mistake. Finding himself ever baffled, he at length, in desperation, ventured upon the direct question. "Pray, Mr. Chief Justice, do you not think the Saratoga Convention a good convention?" "Unquestionably, my dear General," was the ready reply, "provided you could not have made a better." "Come," said the General to his companion, "it is time for us to go."

Now this trait of character in Jay, has been by some, both then and since, greatly misrepresented. Mr. Sparks speaks of it as arising from "a suspicious temper," and uses that interpretation for the justification of Franklin and the French

 $^{^{\}circ}$ On this nice point, see his subsequent strong and well-reasoned letter to Judge Peters, vol. ii., p. 336.

government, in the matter of the definitive treaty. that "vexed" question we shall have occasion hereafter to look more specifically; at present we content ourselves with noting its false ground. Jay's caution was not the fruit of suspicion, but, on the contrary, of conscientiousness; it was, therefore, rather watchfulness than distrust, and bearing upon himself as well as others. The simplicity of his own nature inclined him to overtrustfulness, as those, themselves unconscious of double-dealing, ever are. He was, therefore, incredulous of deceit until he found it, but once found, we admit, that he was suspicious of the individual ever after; he could not understand how probity could "come and go" in the character. such case, therefore, he was not easily moved again to confidence — he trusted not a building when he found the corner stone was removed. The peculiarity of his mind, on this point, (and, doubtless, one of no small value in such delicate management as he was often called to,) was, that he judged men's character less by their studied than their unstudied acts—by trifles that fell from them unawares—"feathers," as he used to term them, "by noting which," he added, "if you pick up enough, you know the bird." Now, of the soundness of this principle there can be no doubt, nor of its value to a diplomatist. It is, indeed, the very touchstone of his fitness, and constitutes that "tact," which, in later times, gave to Talleyrand his world-wide reputation.

A further trait by which Jay was through life popularly distinguished was "sternness," a trait more associated in the public mind with reverence than love. Now this, too, was by many then, and has been since, greatly misunderstood. Beyond the near circle around him this feature of his character has never been till now rightly appreciated. His private and family correspondence has now first opened to the light of day the true nature of that sternness which has been confounded with obstinacy of temper, with unfeeling harshness, and absence of all the gentler virtues. But it is due alike to his memory, and to the volumes before us, to unfold this matter a little more at large. Of a reserved and thoughtful nature, Jay was "firm" alike on principle and by temperament, and therefore "unyielding" wherever duty was concerned, whether in his own case or that of But in this neither temper nor selfishness had part. He forgave others more and more readily than he forgave himself. He was slow, as already said, to receive an evil

impression of any man, but once received, it was, we acknowledge, upon steel—the stamp of baseness once given, was an ineffaceable one — not through obstinacy, we repeat, but conscientiousness — and silent, though stern, was the manner that marked its influence on his mind. He bore no enmity to the man; that was a feeling not within his breast. He would not have put a straw in the way of his bitterest enemy—the basest ingratitude never drove him a line's breadth towards it; but then neither did he choose to walk in the same path with him. Trust was at an end, friendship, intimacy, and it may be, even intercourse; but then this was a decision of judgment, not of temper, though it may well be he found it, too, a needful guard over his own feelings. A high and severe temper he doubtless had, but then it was ruled by a still higher and severer judgment; and hence we find, even in his sternest condemnation of men, nothing of bitterness, and in his course towards them nothing vindictive. "Separate yourself from your enemies," was the limit of his resentment. Whether this be exactly the character best fitted to awaken love, may indeed be questioned; that it is that in which confidence most willingly reposes, the life of Jay conclusively proves. Now, should any distrust our explanation of this trait, we refer them to the case most often quoted against him, (though we deem it out of place in his biography,) that of Littlepage. Instead of proving vindictiveness in Jay, we know of no higher proof of patience and long-suffering ever exhibited by him, than the parental care and guidance so long wasted by him on that paragon of ungrateful coxcombs. But we would give another reference, also much talked of, that of Deane, and the correspondence with him. But, for his triumphant defence in this case, we must refer to the published correspondence. The tender heart of the friend struggling with the indignant feelings of the patriot towards one who had broken his "sacred honor,"—who had "visited and received visits from the traitor Arnold," what could it say less than Jay did, —" Every American who gives his hand to that man, in my opinion, pollutes it,"—or do less than reverse Deane's portrait, once the pledge of friendship, and cut him off from his heart, "while doubt," says he, "remains on that point." "I love my country and my honor," are his words, " better than my friends, and even my family, and am ready to part with them all whenever it would be improper to detain them."—Vol. ii., p. 144. "I

have never broken the bands of friendship in my life," were Jay's words about this time, "nor when once broken have I ever been anxious to mend them." Equally, or even still more false, is that interpretation which makes Jay's sternness fatal to the gentler and kinder feelings of our nature. Men were not wrong in deeming him of stoic firmness—in terming him, as they did, the Roman "Brutus" or "Cato" — a "Fabricius for unbending integrity." This was true - the error lay in thence concluding that therefore his heart was of steel, as well as his resolution, and that such a man could not be the kind and liberal friend, the gentle husband and the The philosophy which rejects such union in tender father. human character, has read life, we think, but superficially, and at any rate, in Jay's case has read it falsely. Let him, we say, who doubts such union, but read the life and letters before us and be undeceived. We, on the contrary, scarcely know where to turn to a published life (not excepting even that of his friend Wilberforce) wherein we read more strongly marked the abiding operation of all the unselfish feelings of our nature—a mind more habitually awake to the claims of others, or more conscientiously sensitive to them — a more tender heart, a more open hand, more thoughtful sympathy, or more watchful and generous attention — often, too, at the cost of great exertion or self-denial, and that not merely within the circle of his home affections, a care which selfish men often exhibit, but extending to the utmost limit of his influence, to strangers, to enemies, to the orphan, and to the slave. This shows its source to have been both a deep and a true one; even something deeper and truer than the mere instincts of nature. We need not add, it was Christian principles. Now, with proofs of this we might fill our pages — with examples of self-denying kindness such as might well make those look within who comfort themselves with the thought, that if they have not the sterner virtues of Jay, they are at least his superiors in the gentler affections. But we forbear. To blazon forth such feelings, or deeds of charity, even for a good end, seems like an offence to the spirit that dictated them. We will not even, therefore, specifically refer to them, though strongly tempted to do so, having marked a number for that purpose, but simply recommend the volumes generally, and its familiar letters especially, to our readers, as containing much that will reward their perusal, and this discovery among others, that of seeing how the tender heart of the son, the husband,

the father, and the friend, may be enwrapped in a stoic's mantle. His practical philosophy, too, was ever cheerful as it was firm. "In a word, my friend," is his language to a grumbler, "as to all these affairs, I believe that a wise and good Being governs this world, and that he has ordered us to travel through it to a better one, and that we have nothing but our duty to do on the journey, which will not be a long one. Let us, therefore, travel on with spirits and cheerfulness, without grumbling much at the bad roads, bad inns, or bad company we may be obliged to put up with on the way. Let us enjoy prosperity when we have it, and in adversity endeavor to be patient and resigned without being lazy or insensible."—

Letter to Silas Deane, vol. i., p. 118. But this brings us to the governing feature of his character - " principled" even to the verge of impracticableness. To Jay's mind duty presented itself under the stoical image, as a line rather than a path, and with stoical precision he marked it out and followed it, admitting of no deviation from it. The rule, and not the result, he ever looked to. "Let Jupiter take care of that," was the expression of stoic arrogance. "God will take care of that," was the Christian's language and trust. How often, in his trying course as a public man, Jay made noble trial of this rule, those familiar with our national story know well. No statesman, we think, of any age, ever cast himself more habitually or more undoubtingly on that high rule, "Do right and fear not." Nor do we know of any whose example is more instructive or encouraging to timid politicians. Success, and not failure, marked his course. He flew in the face of party, and party honored him for it—he broke the instructions of the nation once and again, and the nation blessed him for it. He despised popularity, and the people courted him. This, then, we deem the crowning feature of Jay's character, and that which girded him for the race he was to run. Nor was this principle itself baseless. Its rock was his Christian faith—a living practical conviction of the truth of Christianity, and his duties under it. Religion was with him no state policy, no vague sentiment, and feeble as vague in the hour of temptation. It was no dubious recognition of a doubtful revelation, an open intellectual question to be canvassed and settled by ingenious or learned argument, but it was the inward reception, as a personal question, of the spiritual truths of the Gospel, received on the ground of its felt necessity—looking

to the Bible as an authoritative code—as that by which, if wise, he would here walk, and whether wise or not, he should hereafter be judged. So deeply engrafted was this religious faith into the whole man, that we doubt whether any one ever talked half an hour with Jay without perceiving that he was a Christian, not, we mean, through his words, but through the tone of all his sentiments. A stranger would have parted from Burke, says Johnson, after a chance meeting under a shed, during a shower, and said, "That is a great man" the eulogium of Jay would, we think, have been, "That is a good man and a Christian." How lightly he held "being judged of man" in this matter of his religious profession, we learn from his bearing among the atheistic philosophers of Paris. "I was at a large party," says he in one of his letters, "of which were several of that description. They spoke freely and contemptuously of religion. I took no part in the conversation. In the course of it one of them asked me if I believed in Christ? I answered that I did, and that I thanked God that I did. Nothing further passed between me and them, or any of them, on that subject." - Vol. ii., p. 346.

Now this we deem Jay's high peculiarity as a statesman, that he brought into public life the open and professed principles of Christian duty. This alone solves the problem of his fearless course in politics, his steady course, and we may add, his successful course. Not many have been ever called to set that course over a rougher ocean than he had, or in darker weather—few ever navigated it more honorably for themselves, or more prosperously for their country; and fewer still do we find reaching the port of retirement with more of quiet dignity, or occupying it longer, or more con-

tentedly.

But we anticipate. Our review, thus far, has but fitted Jay for that troubled ocean. We have now to trace his path in it. The portals open which admit us to the second compartment of his story, the events of his public life — the twenty-eight years' untired race which he ran, girded as we have

already seen.

On the eighteenth of May, 1774, took place the first great political movement in the colony of New York, "The great meeting in the fields," (so called,) on receiving news of the Boston Port Bill. In the crowd of citizens then and there hastily assembled stood two, a youth and a young man, both marked by fate in the fortunes of their country. There stood Hamil-

TON, as yet a stripling in years, a college youth of seventeen, unknown even by name or lineage, but even then bursting forth into the orator and the leader. There, too, stood Jay, the Hampden of the ripening rebellion, the quiet, but stern, well-read young lawyer, in the opening fulness of manhood, just entering on his twenty-ninth year. To him, as to a trusted advocate, his fellow-citizens promptly transferred their Of the primary committee of fifty, Mr. Jay at once was named a member, and again of the sub-committee appointed to maintain the requisite correspondence with the other colonies; and of this committee, the minutes of which are still extant among the records of the New York Historical Society, Mr. Jay was made chairman. On the 23d of May he brought forth their circular address, concluding with these memorable words, the earliest summons we know of for a united congress of the colomes. "Upon these reasons we conclude that a Congress of Deputies from the colonies in general is of the utmost moment; that it ought to be assembled without delay, and some unanimous resolutions formed in this fatal emergency, not only respecting your deplorable circumstances, but for the defence of our common rights."-Vol. i., p. 25.

On 7th June appeared, from the same pen, a second letter addressed to the Boston Committee, requesting them to appoint time and place for the assembling of the proposed congress. On the 5th of July he was named by the committee as one of five suitable delegates to such congress, and on the 19th so chosen by his fellow citizens. This being the first high official trust committed to him, brought forth his peculiar principle - TRUTH AND DUTY AGAINST THE WORLD. Through some informality of notice he deemed his election irregular, and therefore unjust towards that portion of his fellow citizens not summoned. He, therefore, in answer to the election, replied in the name of himself and two of his associates, thus: "that until the sentiments of the town are ascertained with greater precision we can by no means consider ourselves, or any others nominated as delegates, duly chosen or authorized to act in so honorable and important a station." - p. 28. On this self-denying suggestion, a new and more open election was noticed to be held on the 28th of the same month. But on its eve a further test was to be made of his principles. Immediately previous to the choice, the preponderant, or movement party, to which Mr. Jay belonged, demanded from their candidates a pledge

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of action, with the threat that, if declined, others would be substituted in their places. The answer, signed by all, but drawn up by Jay, refuses the pledge, but yet states their present judgment on the test question in language which gives his course through life. "Permit us to add, that we are led to make this declaration of our sentiments because we think it RIGHT, and not as an inducement to be favored with your votes; nor have we the least objection to your electing any gentlemen as your delegates in whom you think you can repose more confidence than in your humble servants," &c. It were well for the trimming politician of our day to mark the result of such highminded disinterestedness. Not only was the first choice confirmed, but on Jay, as the fearless leader, were the eyes of both parties now fixed as a man to be TRUSTED by all, and he was accordingly unanimously requested to prepare a new set of resolutions to be supported by both parties. Mr. Jay took his seat in congress at Philadelphia on 5th of September, 1774, being the first day of its session, and it is believed the youngest member of the house, surviving all his colleagues by several years. The first act of this congress was the appointment of two committees, on both of which Mr. Jay was placed, one " to state the rights of the colonies in general," the second "to draft addresses to the people of Great Britain and of British America." The first named, and most important of these addresses, was assigned by the committee to Mr. Jay. The address, as submitted by him, was reported by the committee, and adopted by congress, and now stands among the earliest and most glowing monuments of the spirit of the young and FREE America. Mr. Jefferson, while still ignorant of its author, declared it to be "a production certainly of the finest pen in America." After a six weeks' laborious session the congress dissolved, whereupon the province of New York took its second revolutionary step by converting its hitherto peaceful committee of correspondence into the more hostile form of a "Committee of Observation." Of this again was Mr. Jay a prominent member. The election for delegates to a second congress was now called for, but it was deemed more advisable by the committee to entrust the choice to an open convention of deputies. To that convention was Mr. Jay deputed as a city member, and by it was he chosen a delegate to the second congress. But before its appointed day of meeting, (10th May, 1775,) the province,

under Mr. Jay's influence, took its third step in the onward movement by the election of deputies to a provincial congress, in order to act as a state legislature until a state constitution should be framed. Here again was Mr. Jay, for a fourth time, entrusted with the guidance of the popular movement, being made a member of the preparatory committee of association appointed by the people, with undefined Again, too, was his pen put in requisition, and spoke forth in its usual fearless tone. The letter addressed by this incipient congress "to the lord mayor and magistrates

of London," bears Mr. Jay's signature.

The 10th May, 1775, found Mr. Jay at his seat in a congress still higher toned than the first, and under their authority and name he prepared his third awakening appeal, "The Address to the Inhabitants of Canada." But the sword was now to be appealed to, as well as the pen. An American ARMY was for the first time now organized, and "Rules and Regulations" for it adopted. We know not that these came from Mr. Jay; we only know that they are like him. They are from a Christian statesman at least, though of such in that congress we trust there were not a few. Few or many, however, their "Rules and Regulations" are worthy of note. By their moral and religious provisions they consecrated a righteous cause, and we doubt not brought down a blessing upon it.

On the 6th July, from the first named committee emanated a very able DECLARATION, "setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking arms." From whose pen this proceeded is not now known; its quiet, but stern tone, is in agreement at least with Jay's known character, but so too

were there many of that stamp. (p. 36.)

On 8th July, congress united in a petition to the king personally, to be individually signed by all its members. rather singular measure originated in the sagacity and prudence of Jay, who argued, and wisely, that in order to unite the nation in forcible resistance to Britain, it must be first satisfied that all possible peaceful remedies were exhausted by the action of congress. The result evinced his wisdom. Its rejection by the throne was the casting away of the scabbard. A further address was then directed by congress "to the people of Ireland and of the island of Jamaica." This was also drawn up by Mr. Jay, though not himself of the reporting committee, and adopted by the house on their report. And now, having taken "all the measures," says our author, "dictated by human prudence, congress submitted their cause, with prayer and fasting, unto Him without whose blessing the wisdom of man is folly, and his strength weakness;" and the 20th July, 1775, was thus solemnly ob-

served throughout the colonies.

A little characteristic trait here occurs of another kind. being reported to Jay by the colonel commandant at New York, (McDougal,) that commissions in the militia "went a begging," because "men of rank and influence refused to serve in it," Jay immediately wrote back soliciting rank for himself, and thus became "Colonel of the Second Regiment of Foot of the City of New York." But higher civil trusts withheld him from pursuing a military career. On the 29th November, congress entrusted to a secret committee, of which Mr. Jay was chairman, the high and unlimited charge of a discretionary correspondence "with the friends of America in Great Britain and Ireland, and other parts of the world," making Mr. Jay, in point of fact, the representative of the revolutionary government to all foreign powers. The mysterious stranger whose message to congress had dictated its appointment is an anecdote we have ourselves heard from the mouth of Jay. We here refer our readers to it in his son's narrative. (P. 40.)

This event paved the way for direct communication with the French government, and led, after a short interval, to Deane's appointment by the committee, with power to negotiate a loan in that country, Of the two subsequently-appointed and more openly-energetic committees of Congress one "for repressing domestic disaffection," the other "for fitting out privateers," Jay was, also, of both a leading member, and the report from the latter came from his pen. in the midst of these unintermitted congressional labors, a more imperative demand for his services arose within his own state. During his absence, he had been elected a delegate from the city and county of New York to a new provincial convention, called for the purpose of "preparing a State Constitution." This convention met without him, but, finding themselves involved in many deep questions, both of law and policy, and feeling the need of his wise and prudent counsels in their critical course, they proceeded to recall him (which, as delegated by the convention, they had a right to do,) from his attendance on congress, to their aid. In

obedience to this call, however unwillingly, on the twentyfifth of May, Mr. Jay appeared and took his seat in the convention — finding himself already placed at the head of the committee on whose deliberations the whole action of the convention depended. With characteristic fidelity he devoted himself to the task, and, within six days, as their chairman, reported a series of resolutions which were adopted by the convention, recognizing the insufficiency of their own actual powers and authority, and recommending to the province a new convention, to be elected with power to establish a new form of government. On the ninth of July, the new and empowered convention met, the old continuing in session up to that day — Mr. Jay being again returned member for the city. Their new session opened under higher as well as fairer auspices, for the Declaration of Independence, passed on the fourth, was, on that day, (ninth of July,) received from Philadelphia by the convention. To that high document, as is well known, Mr. Jay's name appears not, through this, his imperative absence; yet is no one of its signers' fame, we may confidently say, thereon stamped more legibly or deeply. It was an act matured before it spoke out, and Jay's spirit was in it. On its reception by the convention, a committee was appointed to report upon it, and Jay unanimously placed at its head. The report was made instanter, and as unanimously adopted, declaring the reasons for the act "cogent and conclusive"—that the convention "approve the same," and will support it "at the risk of lives and fortunes." This equivalent pledge, subsequently so nobly redeemed, is still preserved, in Jay's own hand-writing, among the archives of the State of New York, and, as well observed by his biographer, may surely be set in balance against the incidental fact of the absence of his name from the instrument itself. The day following this patriotic report in favor of the action of congress, brought forth from Jay an equally cha-The case was this: in racteristic one in opposition to them. the nomination of the officers of a battalion raised under the authority of the New York Convention, congress had usurped a power not given to it; and usurpation, from whatever quarter, Jay was always ready to denounce, and that in no measured terms - with but the lofty courtesy, in this case, that the "convention entertained too high an opinion of the virtue and integrity of congress to apologize for a freedom of speech becoming freemen.

The war having now begun, by the enemy's possession of New York and Lord Howe's hostile fleet passing up the Hudson, nothing remained for the New York Convention but to suspend its civil and assume its military labors — as undefined as they were novel for such body. This was done by organizing a "standing committee," with unlimited, and therefore, supreme executive authority. Of this committee, Jay became a leading member. His reported draft of a constitution, made the first of August to the convention, was then remanded until more peaceful times; while, for still more efficient action, the standing committee was again resolved into a new and more formidable body, under the fearful title of a "Committee for inquiring into, detecting, and defeating all conspiracies which may be formed in this state against the liberties of America;" having power "to send for persons and papers" — " to call out detachments of the militia" — "to apprehend, secure, or remove persons whom they might judge dangerous to the safety of the state" - "to make drafts on the treasury, to enjoin secrecy on their members and the persons they employed, and to raise and officer two hundred and twenty men, and to employ them as they saw fit." Of this tremendous engine of tyranny, Mr. Jay was made prime mover, being chosen by the committee their permanent chairman. Well was it for American fame, as well as liberty, that such a weapon was placed in safe hands; it was such, as in other times and countries, had seldom failed to desecrate as well as desolate society. Its first step was to put forth a plain, strong preamble and resolutions, both from Mr. Jay's pen. The minutes of this committee, still extant, attest equal vigor and moderation. Never, perhaps, was such irresponsible power more justly or gently exercised. After some months, however, its powers and Juties were again merged and modified by the creation of a new committee entitled the "Council of Safety," immediately after the appointment of which the convention itself dissolved, leaving in its hands absolute sovereignty, with power of life and death, and the control of all military operations in the Such was this new form of dictatorship; but a Cincinnatus was at its head; and, what is more, a Christian. Without such guard it had been a fearful tyranny. Among the anecdotes recorded of the spirit in which this irresponsible power was wielded, our author gives one. Having reason to believe that an over-zealous committee-man had exercised

his power with unjustifiable severity, Mr. Jay procured a vote of censure against him. On receiving from him, however, subsequently, though in anger, a satisfactory vindication of himself, Jay instantly replied, "You are right, and I was wrong; I ask your pardon." The committee-man, overpowered, exclaimed, in grasping his hand, "I have often heard that John Jay was a great man, and now I know it!"—p. 87.

But a crisis had now arrived, and the state of the country, under the rapid progress of the British arms, admitted of no half measures. In this moment of gloom and dismay, Jay resumed his pen and in an address, "the most animating and thrilling," says his biographer, and we agree with him, "that ever flowed from it, called on his countrymen to awaken to a sense of their danger, and to discharge the duties they owed to themselves, their country, and their God. This call came forth in the name of the New York Convention, shortly before their dissolution; and, although addressed but to their constituents, was taken up and adopted, by a resolution in the general congress, earnestly recommending it to the serious perusal and attention of the inhabitants of the United States;" ordering it, further, "to be translated and printed in the German language, at the expense of the continent." — Journals of Congress. As in all he ever wrote or said, Jay's argument was here built on religion. brave citizens; do your duty like men. The holy gospels are yet to be preached to these western regions, and we have the highest reason to believe that the Almighty will not suffer slavery and the gospel to go hand in hand. It cannot, it will not be."

By such words did Jay seek to infuse into the hearts of others his own stern resolves and high hopes—ever the sterner and the higher as fortune darkened over his country. We commend its perusal to modern patriots, in order that they may learn how, in the most tumultuous times, patriotism may be elevated into piety, dignified by virtue, and consecrated by religion. "Let a general reformation of manners take place," are among its closing words; "let universal charity, public spirit, and private virtue be inculcated, encouraged, and practised. Unite in preparing for a vigorous defence of our country, as if all depended on your own exertions. And when you have done all things, then rely upon the good providence of God for success, in full confidence

that, without his blessing, all our efforts will inevitably fail."

— p. 25. That these were not, with Jay, "words of rhetoric" to catch the religious mind of the people, we quote a passage from a private letter, about this time, to a friend wbo, like himself, was tried with domestic misfortune: "Despondency, however, ill becomes a man; I hope I shall meet every severe stroke of fate with firmness and resignation, though not with sullen indifference. It gives me consolation to reflect that the human race are immortal, and that my parents and friends will be divided from me only by a curtain which will be soon drawn up, and that our great and benevolent Creator will (if I please) be my guide through this vale of tears to our eternal and blessed habitation."—Letter to R. L. Livingston.

Hitherto, Jay's position has been that of a revolutionary leader, with an influence uncontrolled but by personal character, though never, surely, was such unregulated power lodged in safer hands. But we come, now, to behold him in stations more congenial to him—wielding power under the guidance and limitation of law. The New York Convention dissolved not till it had framed a constitution for the state. On the twelfth of March, 1777, as chairman of the committee, Mr. Jay reported the plan complete. By it the right of suffrage was, in several instances, restricted to freeholders — it being a favorite maxim with Jay, "that they who own the country ought to govern it." Immediately upon its adoption, at which Mr. Jay was not present, being in attendance on a dying mother, the convention proceeded to abrogate their revolutionary powers, appointing Mr. Jay Chief Justice, "ad interim," until the new government could be constitutionally organized, thus transferring to him the judicial, as it had already done, in its "Council of Safety," the executive government of the state. This interregnum continued from March to September, 1777 - his judicial office necessarily vacating his seat in congress. But, in proceeding to organize the state government, a new test came up to try Jay's self-denial—the proffer of the highest rank in it. He was solicited to allow his name to be held up for governor; and, before answer received, was so nominated. To such call, how many patriots of our day, may we estimate, would make the reply which follows, namely: "In my opinion, I can be more useful in the place I now hold, and therefore, though the other is far more respectable as well as lucrative, yet, sir, the regard due to the public good induces me to decline this promotion."—Vol. ii., p. 12.

Or again, in answer to a second application, "My object, in the course of the present great contest, neither has been nor will be either rank or money. I am persuaded that I can be more useful to the state in the office I now hold than in the one alluded to, and, therefore, think it my duty to continue in it."—Vol. i., p. 73. The statesman who decides a question in such spirit, we doubt not, decides it right. On the ninth of September, 1777, Mr. Jay having been re-appointed, the first term of the supreme court of the STATE of New York was held, when the chief justice proceeded to deliver, under the new constitution, his primary charge. Though in a small country town, yet was it a scene of high dignity and interest:

"A government venerable for its antiquity," are the words of Mr. William Jay, "and endeared to its subjects by the freedom and happiness it conferred, had been renounced for its recent oppression and injustice, and a new government had just been established by the people amid the tumult of arms and in the presence of a powerful and infuriated enemy. The success of the undertaking was still apparently dubious. At such time and under such circumstances was the TEMPLE OF JUSTICE, which had long been closed, re-opened, and he who had been one of the earliest asserters of his country's rights, was seen, full of faith and zeal, ministering at the altar."—p. 79.

His address to the grand jury was one of eloquent, yet tempered patriotism:

"It affords me, gentlemen," said he, "very sensible pleasure to congratulate you on the dawn of that free, mild, and equal government, which now begins to rise and break from amid those clouds of anarchy, confusion and licentiousness, which the arbitrary and violent domination of Great Britain had spread, in greater or less degree, throughout this and the other American states. This is one of those signal instances in which Divine Providence has made the tyranny of princes instrumental in breaking the chains of their subjects, and rendered the most inhuman designs productive of the best consequences to those against whom they were intended."—Charge, vol. i., p. 80.

From his official duties, which were, under that constitution, (for it is since amended,) legislative as well as judicial, Mr. Jay found little time for repose. What he could command was spent in the duties of filial piety, "devoted," says his son, "to his aged and surviving parent."

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With what kindly personal feelings Jay regarded the unfortunate men whom he was bound to hold publicly as enemies, it is pleasing also to contemplate, more especially as with his stern mind it might otherwise be a matter dubious. Two evidences of it here appear in the narrative, towards friends, it is true, but still such claims as selfish or narrowminded patriotism would gladly have cast off. To one, (a royalist officer,) prisoner in Hartford jail, he writes: " How far your situation may be comfortable and easy I know not; it is my wish, and shall be my endeavor, that it be as much so as is consistent with the interest of that great cause to which I have devoted every thing I hold dear in this world. I have taken the liberty of requesting Mr. Samuel Broome immediately to advance you one hundred dollars on my account."—Letter to Colonel James De Lancy, p. 84. To a nother, a prisoner on parole, he thus speaks in consolatory language: "Misfortunes, and severe ones, have been your lot. The reflection that they happened in the course of a Providence that errs not, has consolation in it. I fear, too, that your sensibility is wounded by other circumstances, but these are wounds not to be probed in a letter. You mistake much if you suppose the frequency of your letters or applications troublesome to me. I assure you it would give me pleasure were opportunities of being useful to you more frequent than God bless you and give you health." This letter, which had begun with a "Dear Sir," concludes with, "Dear Peter, affectionately yours." - Letter to Peter Van Schaick, p. 85.

But a new mark of public confidence now awaited him. As judge of the supreme court, Mr. Jay was restrained by the constitution from holding any other office except that of delegate to congress on a special occasion. That "casus" the legislature determined now to exist in the conflicting claims of New York and New Hampshire, to what at present constitutes the state of Vermont, so that, without vacating his seat on the bench, Mr. Jay was forthwith returned to congress. "He was received," says his biographer, "as an old and valued friend, (after an absence of more than two years,) and three days after, on the resignation of Mr. Laurens, was elected its president." Deeming the official attendance on congress thus required of him inconsistent with his judicial duties, Mr. Jay, with characteristic conscientiousness, at once resigned his seat on the bench, and persisted in it, notwithstanding the governor's earnest request that he would

recall it, so little did any thing weigh with him, whether of honors, or other's opinion, compared with his own sense of duty. Nor thus far only. In his letter to the governor he remarks: "The legislature may, perhaps, in consequence of this step, be inclined to keep me here. (After the current term.) On this head I must inform you, that the situation of my father's family is such that I can no longer reconcile it to my ideas of filial duty to be absent from them, unless my brother should be so circumstanced as to pay them the necessary attention." To his brother, at the same time, he thus wrote: " Make up your mind on this matter: if you cannot pay necessary attention to Fishkill, prevent my election, and let me know your intention by the first opportunity." "Happily," says his son, "such arrangements were made as relieved him from the necessity of sacrificing his public to his filial duties."

As if in proof to the nation of a confidence unlimited in their new president, congress, shortly after his election, took the unusual step of imposing upon the chair the responsibility of a report on the prospects of the country, deputing him, with power, in their name to address a letter to the confederation on the subject of the finances, and the duty of the states touching them. Of the urgent need of some remedy for a depreciated currency, we may take Washington's strong language in his letter to Jay urging it. "The depreciation of it is got to so alarming a point, that a wagon load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon load of provisions." Few documents of the old congress," says a competent judge, "are more distinguished for perspicuity, elegance and patriotism, than this letter." (Vol. ii., Appendix.)

The Vermont question was now also placed authoritatively in his hands, the resolutions introduced by him adopted, and himself empowered to remit to Governor Clinton a satisfactory adjudication of this long embroiled controversy. It was given in the spirit of a Christian statesman, and gained the usual triumph of good sense and disinterestedness over passion and party interest, standing forth a monument of the governing influence of such principles. But higher scenes are now opening. On 27th September, 1779, congress deeming it advisable to open negotiations with Spain under their rights reserved by secret article in the French treaty, (concluded February, 1778,) determined on despatching thither a minister plenipotentiary; and for this important mission at

once selected their own president. On receiving this appointment Jay resigned the chair, which, from the day he first occupied it, ten months previously, he had not even once quitted. Such was his notion of the duties of official station.

On a wider field, and under higher responsibilities, was Jay now to be called on to redeem his pledge of "holding all save conscience at the call of his country." What were his thoughts in entering on it may be best taken from his private journal at the time. "I have long been convinced," are his words, "that human fame was a bubble, which, whether swelled by the breath of the wise, the good, the ignorant or malicious, must burst with the globe we inhabit. I am not among the number of those who give it a place among the motives of their actions. Neither courting nor dreading the public opinion on the one hand, nor disregarding it on the other, I joined myself to the first asserters of the American cause, because I thought it my duty, and because I considered caution and neutrality, however secure, as being no less wrong than dishonorable."—Journal.

Into the history of this Spanish mission we shall not enter; it is familiar to all students of American history. We will but note the characteristic traits it brings forth of Jay's mind. He went, accompanied by his wife, who, to use her own words, "In all their perils, incited by his amiable example, gave fear to the winds, and cheerfully resigned herself to the disposal of the Almighty." His first letter to the president of congress was a characteristic one. It was a draft from Martinique, into which island the national ship had been driven by stress of weather. "I have done," says he, "what perhaps I shall be blamed for, but my pride as an American, and my feelings as a man, were not to be resisted." The draft (no doubt an inconvenient one) was for a hundred guineas, drawn on the fund pointed out for the payment of his own salary. Its proceeds he divided among the officers of the ship, in order that they might not "sneak," as phrased, when thrown into the society of the French officers, with whom they were there associating. Now we deem this a striking anecdote, not so much for its generosity, though in that light no trivial act, as in its sympathies with a worldly feeling that he himself individually felt not.

But a higher and harder question met him at his very entrance on his mission. Congress, with the desperation of bankruptcy, had, even before knowing of his safe arrival,

much less waiting to hear of his success, proceeded to empower their treasurer to draw bills on Mr. Jay, payable six months after date, to the amount of half a million of dollars. These began to come in soon after the American minister's arrival, and at a court which greeted him coldly, and gave him neither money nor promises to justify his acceptance of What course was he to take in regard of them? prudent man would certainly not have touched them—a politic man would have cried out against the government that thus disgraced him, while a cautious man would have sunk under the difficulty. Mr. Jay was prudent, and politic, and cautious, yet he did neither. He looked higher for his rule. It was evidently a crisis in his country's fortunes, and an act upon which she was driven by a life-struggle. Refuse the bills, and her credit was irreparably ruined, at least in Europe, and her prospects even at home immeasurably darkened. Accept them, and there was yet a chance for her safety. It was but throwing his own individual fortune into the scale of his country's, and who knew but that sacrifice might turn it. If her cause was ruined, he was ruined, but if she was safe, he was safe. Under this view he hesitated not in his choice, and thus redeemed nobly his pledge given. Without one dollar of the government in hand, or the promise of one given, he proceeded to accept bills as they came upon him accepted all that came - staking name, and character, and fortune, against them. Curtius-like, he leaped into the yawning gulf, and his country was saved. This step once taken, it is worthy of note the skilful diplomatic use he made of it. These unauthorized bills of congress on the credit of his mission, he urged upon the Spanish government as the highest proof of American confidence in the generous friendship of their ally. His own acceptances he turned into a similar appeal to their national pride, "lest they, as well as he, should stand disgraced in the eyes of the European world." Suffice it to say, it was so far successful as that few men, we think, would have attained so much, no man more, from the hands of Spain as she then was, a government alike dilatory and feeble in her movements, and equally overbearing and selfish in her policy. Of her negotiator, however, the Count D'Yranda, Mr. Jay ever spoke personally with great respect, as the man of highest talent he had met with abroad.

Of Jay's merit in this act much has been said and written;

still not, we think, too much. It was in truth the act of a wise madman, answering to Lord Bacon's demand for a fit ambassador in some desperate emergency — " poco di matto" — a little of the simpleton. But the folly was of this world — the wisdom of a better, and the result was accordingly. One conclusion at least we may confidently draw from it, this; that Jay's characteristic caution, with which his fame has been taunted, was the result of principle, and not of selfishness. His caution was for his country's safety, not for his own, still less for private benefit. Not against peril, through duty, whether of person, fame or fortune, did Jay ever display it, but solely against aught which threatened the common good. " Ne quid detrimenti RESPUBLICA caperet." On the whole, we conclude, that few men of less rigidness of character would so successfully have resisted the alternate cajoling and threatening arts by which, both at Madrid and Paris, the American negotiator was literally beset, in the vain hope that he might be entrapped or browbeaten into satisfactory terms. It affords to men in all time an instructive and comforting picture of such contest, one, to the worldly eye, so fearfully unequal, as republican simplicity matched against the trained diplomacy and corrupt management of Europe — an instructive, and a proud picture, too, for "the race here was not unto the swift, nor the battle to the strong." Spain was finally caught in her own net: waiting, with selfish wisdom, for American infancy to succumb, she found berself, at length, in the arms of a giant Hercules, and, by delaying the boon she might have sold, till America no longer needed it, she lost the equivalent the young republic stood ready at first to offer. Such was Jay's primary view of this business, and such his final influential course in But we approach now to the crowning test of Jay's principles.

On the twenty-third of June, 1782, he arrived in Paris, appointed to act in conjunction with Franklin, Adams, Laurens, and Jefferson, in negotiating, under the advice and approval of the French government, the definitive treaty of peace with England. Of these, his co-adjutors, Franklin, alone, was in Paris; Adams being in Holland negotiating a loan, Laurens a prisoner in the Tower at London, and Jefferson still in America. On Franklin and Jay, therefore, its complexion primarily rested, and on them, with Adams, (who reached not Paris till the 26th of October,) definitively.

On this point, as well known, a great difference of judgment exists. The biographer of Franklin (Sparks) casts upon Jay the imputation of groundless and injurious suspicions, as touching the good faith of the French government. The biographer of Jay maintains, again, and we think conclusively, the opposite side of the question—justifying those suspicions. Having had, ourselves, an opportunity of examining, recently, some new, unpublished, and original testimony, unseen by Sparks or by Jay's biographer, at the time of writing, we take the liberty to speak with some confidence upon this point.

Our first observation goes to clear this question in the popular mind. The patriotic character of Franklin is not involved in it—his clear-sightedness and judgment may be, but not his That suspicion, at the time awakened, Jay patriotism. promptly wiped off. (See Letter to Franklin, vol. ii., p. 127.) The sole question before us is, whether the good faith of the French government was such as America had a right to demand, under the child-like trust, as we may well term it, reposed in her by the open instructions of congress to their negotiators — "to do nothing but through their good ally." This is the true and sole question. The French government had solicited and received, from a too-confiding congress, the control of an absolute guardian, in negotiating the terms of peace—the question is, whether to that trust her acts showed her faithful or faithless; for surely, in the latter case, it were an act of the highest wisdom in Jay, to detect such doubledealing, as well as of the highest patriotism, at any risk, to defeat it. We think it was so proved, and rank Jay accordingly.

That the philosophic Franklin saw into French duplicity less clearly than his single-minded brother negotiator, we deem to be, "à priori," a probable conclusion. Franklin was, in Paris, a great philosopher among brother philosophers—one of the "lions" of high society, praised and "fèted" by the learned, the titled, and the beautiful.* Whether this was the safest of positions for a stern nego-

^{*} Among the floating memories that still rest in Parisian circles, of such enchantment being spread around the philosopher, studiously, we remember the following: the incense offered to him of a kiss from each fairest of the company, who, at the close of the soirées, were led up to give a kiss, for good night, to "bon papa Franklin." (Our authority for this anecdote is the late M. Marbois, who gave it from personal recollection.) How would not Jay have recoiled from such personal flattery — dangerous alike, we must think, to the delicacy of the man and the integrity of the negotiator!

tiator among watchful enemies to occupy, may well, we think, be doubted; and surmise that amid such "cajoleries," political matters would, very naturally, with others, appear "rosecolored." However this may have been in fact, still, we think, the chances of sound judgment were with him who looked at men and things through a soberer medium. regard to Jay's full confidence in Franklin, though not bere necessarily involved, one word further. That a mind like Jay's - pure as woman's in all delicacy of manners - stern as a Christian's in all moral duty, and holding all truths cheap, compared with revealed truth—that such a mind should or could ever have moved in full communion of trust and sentiment with one lax in all these points, we do not and can not believe. Jay trusted no man who himself trusted not God. His first thought necessarily was what, to the sceptical physician in Paris, (Vol. ii., p. 347,) he put in words. "I very concisely remarked," said he, "that if there was no God, there could be no moral obligation." Now, that such was Franklin's infidelity we do not believe, but to take him at his own showing as one who never professed belief, and who, in his private memoirs, could record, without one word of self-condemnation, the suicide of a youth whom his instructions had led into infidelity—with such an one, we deem, his mind could not be at accord who habitually recognized Christ and his law in every path. Surely such fellowtravellers could not keep step together. Religion was one of the elements of Jay's deep confidence in the "Father of his Country." Speaking of Washington's public letter of this very date, he says, "It does him credit as a soldier, patriot, and Christian." That Franklin justly recognized the power of religion over other men's minds, there is no doubt. celebrated motion (26th of May, 1781) in congress, to adjourn a stormy debate for the purpose of religious worship, is a striking illustration of it; but the question here is, as to its depth in his own mind. The utmost we know that he ventured to say, when asked on his dying bed, was, "It is safest to believe."*

On one point, at least, we cannot but condemn Franklin, though in a matter more perhaps of judgment than patriotism.

^{*} These words were uttered by him in answer to Dr. Shippen, of Philadelphia, who attended him in his last hours—repeated within the day in the family of his friend, Mr. Eddy, and by one of the daughters (the first Mrs. David Hosack) narrated to the present writer.

We know that he was for waiving the all-important honorable question, whether independence was to precede or follow the treaty—whether we were to stand before England in the light of revolted colonies, or of independent states. In the celebrated interview of the tenth of August, Jay made short answer to what he well termed Vergennes' "singular reasoning" on this subject, in favor of Oswald's commission. The Count then turned to Dr. Franklin, and asked him what he thought of the matter. The Doctor said he believed the commission "I told the minister," says Jay, " that we neither could nor would treat with any nation in the world on any other than an equal footing."—Letter to Gouv. Morris, vol. ii., p. 106. In private conference too, with Jay, such was his argument, - "the good faith of the French," and "obedience to instructions;" and, in accordance with these views, Franklin declined putting his name to the letter drawn up by Jay, refusing to treat except on terms of equality. But this, as before said, touches not his love for his country or his sense of duty, though still in neither in accordance with ours. As to his clear-sightedness into the views of France, Franklin stands, also, in our estimation, condemned of the blindness either of partiality or culpable remissness. The course of France in the matter of American liberty, during the contest, had been, on the part of individuals, one of high and generous enthusiasm, and on the part of her government, one of liberal though calculating policy. This was for the lowering of England. But when it came to the question of a solid and permanent independence to the states, that was another question; and herein we hold the policy of the French government, (saving, perhaps, the king personally,) to have been one alike selfish, arrogant, and false, and thereby, too, dishonorable, inasmuch as it was the abuse of a guardianship with which she herself had sought to be entrusted, for the benefit not of herself but of America, or rather, we should say, through her minister in Philadelphia arrogantly claimed, (See Count Lucerne's letter to congress,) and which trust she now held up to the American negotiators and to the world at large in proof of her pledged generosity and disinterestedness. She had feared, it seems, the "impracticability," as her minister worded it, of Adams as negotiator of the treaty, and solicited coadjutors to him. The selfish prayer was heard and answered, and truly was a boon granted unto her when Jay, "the truly impracticable," be-39 NO. XVIII.-VOL. IX.

came the substitute. In his quiet character the French government obviously read not at first their difficulty, and various were the arts used, as it opened upon them, to entrap or overawe him; we refer more especially to the interviews of the tenth of August and the twenty-seventh of September, and to the unofficial interference of M. de Rayneval, Vergennes' private secretary, a convenient agent, whose words and acts might be sustained or abandoned at pleasure, one who might gain much and could pledge nothing. (See his letter and memoir of the sixth of September.) Under these circumstances Jay broke his instructions, opened a direct communication on his own personal responsibility with the British government, demanded and obtained from their new ministry the previous recognition of American independence -a starting point, against which not England but France, as he had truly suspected, was the bar—and thus did he effect the provisional treaty, securing to us, under our own guarantee, rights which under French guardianship we never should have obtained. Now, to such conclusion no unprejudiced mind, we think, but must arrive from the documentary evidence here exhibited in Mr. Jay's two volumes. such conclusion becomes demonstration under the new proof we now are enabled to adduce. The witness we bring forward is an unquestioned one—the late Lord St. Helens, then Mr. Fitzherbert, the English minister resident in Paris, and a party to the very negotiation in question. In returning to a friend, through whom it comes to us, a copy of the volumes before us, lent him for his perusal, Lord St. H. accompanied them with the following testimony: "These memoirs are indeed highly deserving of further attention on both sides of the Atlantic, and as you justly foresaw, particularly interesting to myself, from my intimate acquaintance and political intercourse with Mr. Jay, when we were respectively employed at Paris, in 1782; and I can safely add my testimony to the numerous proofs afforded by these memoirs, that it was not only chiefly, but solbly, through his means that the negotiations of that period, between England and the United States, were brought to a successful conclusion."—Graftonstreet, 29th July, 1838. To this conclusive language as to Mr. Jay's course, we would yet add two of his lordship's marginal notes, bearing upon the French question.

Vol. i., p. 145. "N. B. This letter (letter in Appendix, p. 490) was intercepted by a British cruiser and communicated to the American commissioners, and the sequel of this narra-

tive (which is perfectly true throughout) will show that this important disclosure of the machinations of France led to the immediate conclusion of the provisional treaty between England and America being in reality quite tantamount to a separate treaty.—St. H."

Page 149. (Last visit.) "These propositions related entirely to a certain enlargement of the limits of the French fisheries, as defined by former treaties. But in the course of these discussions, M. de Vergennes never failed to insist on the expediency of a concert of measures between France and England, for the purpose of excluding the American states from these fisheries,* lest they should become a nursery for seamen.—S. H."

Such is the new light thrown on this once dark question; and sufficient, we think, to settle it for ever. Let us have no more, therefore, of these charges against Jay, of "unfounded jealousy of France;" or against his friends either, of "an

overrated estimate of the value of his services."

Before one great task was closed, the voice of his country had already called Jay to another. On the first of May, 1783, congress appointed him a commissioner in conjunction with Adams and Franklin to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Great Britain. The further appointment of minister, resident in England, being also suggested to him from a high quarter, he promptly declined it, on ground not often taken by public men. "I view," said he, "the expectations of Mr. Adams on that head as founded in equity and reason. He deserves well of his country, and is very able to serve her. I do, in the most unequivocal manner, decline and refuse to be a competitor with that faithful servant of the public for the place in question." — Letter to Secretary of Foreign Affairs, vol. i., p. 172.

Spain, finding herself foiled in her selfish schemes of aggrandizement, now solicited the re-opening of the very negotiation she had before spurned, and to that end Mr. Jay's return to Madrid. The state of his health led him, however, to decline that, as well as all other foreign appointment, and to

* That this matter was well understood at that time, and that to Jay in chief belonged the merit of saving the fisheries, is clear. In a letter immediately subsequent, Adams thus writes to Jay: "I have received several letters from Boston and Philadelphia, from very good hands, which make very honorable and affectionate mention of you. You have erected a monument to your memory in every New England heart."—Vol. ii., p. 153. To the same effect Hamilton writes: "The New England people talk of making you an annual fish offering, as an acknowledgment of your exertions for the participation of the fisheries."—Vol. ii., p. 123. In Renwick's life the above testimony is referred to in a note on page 71.

determine on a return to his native country. To the secretary of foreign affairs he thus writes in answer: "Be pleased, sir, to present to congress my warmest acknowledgments for the marks of confidence with which they have honored me, and assure them that by becoming a private citizen I mean not to retreat from any duties which an American owes to his country."—Vol. i., p. 173.

On the third of September, 1783, was signed at Paris the definitive treaty, closing the arduous contest. In putting his name to it, Mr. Jay might indeed satisfactorily look back on the events that led to it, for he had embarked in the cause at the first summons of his country, and zealously persevered

in it at every hazard.

After a short visit to the waters of Bath, (England,) and a wearisome delay of some months, awaiting the requisite authority for the settlement of accounts, Mr. Jay returned to America with his family, landing at New York, after five

years' absence, on the twenty-fourth of July, 1784.

With what feelings his country stood ready to greet his return, may be seen in the language addressed to him by a city not over forward to bestow its praises. We would give it at large did space permit; with our limits we can but refer to it. (Vol. i., pp. 184, 185.) But not to private life was he permitted as yet to return. Even before his leaving Europe, congress had elected him to the most responsible office under the existing forms of government, and involving the highest trusts of the country, as determining all its foreign relations — secretary of foreign affairs. With a view to this appointment, so unanimous was congress in it, they had made provision for the temporary performance of the duties of the office, even from the time of its creation in 1781, until Jay's approaching return enabled them to place in it the man on whom, next to Washington, the country most confidently rested for wisdom and sound guidance. A contest of honors, however, awaited his landing, the legislature of the state of New York having at the same time met and appointed him a delegate to congress. He accepted the secretaryship, and continued for five years — that is, until the adoption of the federal constitution in 1789 — to perform its laborious and highly responsible duties faithfully and fearlessly. It was a high station, for until such new union gave to the states an executive head, the secretary came nearest to such official representative both in rank and influence, and was so regarded at home as well as abroad. Far, however, from desiring the continuance of such feeble confederation of the states as that of 1781, Jay stood prominent among those who led the way to a true federal union, and with Washington and Hamilton most effectually labored for it, and when matured, with Madison, also, for its adoption. A single extract may suffice to show the tone of his correspondence on this point:

"It is my first wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of one great nation, whose territory is divided into different states merely for more convenient government and the more easy and prompt administration of justice—just as our several states are divided into counties and townships for the like purposes.

"Until this be done, the chain which holds us together will be too feeble to bear much opposition or exertion, and we shall be daily mortified by seeing the links of it giving way and calling for repair one after another."—Letter to J. Lowell, May 10th, 1775.

That Jay then looked to a more consolidated form of government, as here indicated, than his matured thoughts subsequently led him to advocate, there is no question; nor was he alone in such preference. It was shared by Washington and Hamilton, and justified at the time by the feeble and disorganized condition into which the country had every where fallen.

But Jay's native state was not content to yield him up to congress without another struggle for his services, and early in 1785, under general dissatisfaction with the actual incumbent, Clinton, he was solicited to allow his name to be put in nomination for governor. His answer exhibits as usual characteristic ground:

"This," said he, after declining, "is my deliberate and mature opinion,—a servant should not leave a good old master for the sake of a little more pay or a prettier livery. Were I at present to accept the government if offered, the world would naturally be led to say and to believe that I did it from some such paltry motive. The place I hold is more laborious, requires more confinement and unceasing application, and is not only less lucrative but also less splendid than that of the government. To exchange worse for better does not seem very disinterested, and when professions and facts give opposite evidence, it is easy to foresee which will obtain the most credit. If the circumstances of the state were pressing, if real disgust and discontent had spread through the country, if a change had, in the

general opinion, become not only advisable but necessary, and the good expected from that change depended on me, then my present objections would immediately yield to the consideration that a good citizen ought cheerfully to take any station which his country may think proper to assign him."—Letter to Gen. Schuyler, June 10, 1785.

This pledge, too, as we shall see, was he afterwards called on to redeem. Spain, as already noted, having failed to draw to her capital the American negotiator whom she had so much undervalued, at length followed him by her ministry across the Atlantic; and under the special appointment of congress, Mr. Jay had the singular satisfaction of conducting, on his own soil and in his native city, at the instance of Spain herself, a negotiation which in her own capital she had superciliously rejected. But not yet even was she sufficiently in-The mission of Don Diego Gardoqui proved a fruitless one, and the question of boundaries and river navigation continued unsettled until the treaty of 1795. Among the singularly confidential trusts reposed about this time by congress in Mr. Jay, was one conferred by a secret act, (7th September, 1785,) giving him, for the period of a twelvemonth, full discretionary power to inspect all letters passing through the post-office. Such inquisitorial proceeding was, however, so little in 'accordance with Jay's rule of action, that it is believed he never exercised it. It related, however, to a matter as pressing as it was delicate - the non-fulfilment by the British government of the terms of the definitive treaty, more especially the retention of the posts, grounded on equivalent infractions of the treaty on our part. This was a subject definitely within the official duties of the secretary, and to devise some adequate remedy for this new speck of war engaged his most earnest attention. The course recommended by him to congress was as usual the straightforward path of truth and duty. The conditions of that treaty had been mutually violated, -this was his position, -nor had the states any right to complain so long as they themselves were standing upon wrong. The maxim of law was often in his mouth on this occasion - "They who seek justice must do justice;" and again: "Do justice and all is easy." Under this principle, his advice to congress was as wise and virtuous as it was fearlessly given. (See report of the thirteenth of October.) "Your secretary," is its plain language, "is about to say unpopular things, but higher motives than personal considerations press him to proceed." "It is not a matter of surprise," he adds, "to your secretary, that the posts are detained, nor in his opinion would Britain be to blame in continuing to hold them until America shall cease to impede her enjoying every essential right secured to her and her people and adherents by the treaty." His advice then was, a general repeal of all state laws repugnant to the treaty, candid acknowledgment through their minister at London of past violations, and authority given him to conclude a definitive convention for the settlement of all remaining litigated questions. Had such honest advice been as honestly followed, it would have saved the country years of embittered feeling as well as general embarrassment, and anticipated a result which it was yet destined for Jay to carry out under more perilous circumstances ten years later—a treaty with England. Of Jay's conduct on this occasion we cannot find a better expression than in the words of his son:

"It is delightful to see a statesman thus bringing to the discussion of a great national controversy, and one in which the interests and passions of his countrymen were involved, that strict and honest adherence to truth and justice which the moral sense of mankind requires in the affairs of private life, but which is too frequently, and without censure, dispensed with in politics."—Vol. i., p. 240.

The inability of congress to carry out its own constitutional acts was now fully apparent, and awakened widely a call for some more energetic form of government. Without such the condition of the states was all but desperate. "We are no NATION," was Jay's condensed picture of it-"unblessed with an efficient government," "destitute of funds," " without public credit at home or abroad," and on the brink of war with two of the leading nations of Europe, England and Spain. What Jay most dreaded in this emergency was, that universal insecurity should pave the way for a willing tyranny, and that the very men who had shed their blood for liberty should now barter it away for peace. To secure the one, without losing the other, was the great problem now in all good men's minds. How Jay thought and labored for it we must refer to his published correspondence in these volumes, more especially with Washington, of whom we have some fifty letters. (See particularly Letters of 27th June, 1786, 7th of January, 1787, vol. i., pp. 244, 255.) Of the FEDE-

RAL party which now arose, or rather by name now first appeared, a party seeking to realize this only scheme of safety for the country, and so named in contradistinction to those who, as Jay described them, preferred being "little kings at home," Jay, as is well known, was among its leading founders, as through life he continued to be among the firmest adherents to its primitive principles. Of this party, so to miscall it, or rather this natural and necessary union, as in its origin it was, of the wise and good of the land, to save a distracted country out of the jaws of anarchy and restless individual ambition, the eulogium, we think, is yet to be written by the historian. It is not our intent to do it; not for that its name has now an ill savor in political nostrils—that is a risk we fear not; but solely that it would lead us too wide of our present mark, already largely extended. We content ourselves with saying, that he who would estimate federalism aright, must transport himself to the age in which it arose, and then appreciate both its necessity and its happy influ-He must view, we say, that fairest flower of American freedom, not as in later times we have seen it soiled and torn by rude and selfish hands, but as it first bloomed in the eye of heaven under the nursing hands of Washington, Hamilton and Jay. Let no man write its epitaph who cannot read in it something better than party. That Jay was not of the convention which framed the constitution, has, in popular opinion, withdrawn his name somewhat from the reputation of it, as before we noted his absence had done from the "declaration." But this is doing him injustice here as then. From the deliberations of the convention, as from the congress of 1776, Jay was withheld by claims which his country deemed imperative and paramount. this case he could not be spared for labors which were not to be definitive, from his high official duties in the government, congress being in session at New York at the same moment that the convention sat in Philadelphia. But of the value of his labors in procuring a convention, and still more in maturing the national mind for its action, there can be but one opinion, and still less doubt, if possible, of the weight of his influence in securing the subsequent adoption of the constitution framed by it. The state of New York, which was the very citadel of its opponents, without Jay's labors we doubt whether it would have been carried; so at least thought those who were better judges. General Washing-

ton thus habitually expressed himself, both as to the task beforehand and Jay's merit in its execution: "Is the public mind matured," he asks, (Letter of March 10th, 1787,) "for such an important change as the one you have suggested? What would be the consequence of a premature attempt? opinion is, that this country has yet to feel and see a little more before it can be accomplished. A thirst for power and the bantling —I had like to have said MONSTER — sovereignty, which have taken such fast hold of the states individually, will, when joined by the many whose personal consequence in the line of state politics will be in a manner annihilated. form a strong phalanx against it." Again, of Jay's "Address to the inhabitants of New York," urging the adoption of the constitution, Washington thus speaks in a letter to the author himself: "The good sense, forcible observations, temper and moderation, cannot fail, I should think, of making a serious impression upon the anti-federal mind, where it is not under the influence of such local views as will yield to no arguments, no proofs." The address here alluded to was one published by Mr. Jay anonymously, but soon attributed to its right "Nor has the tribute of applause," says one of his correspondents on the occasion, "been withheld from the author, that usually accompanies his writings, for though through modesty his name was concealed, it seems the wellknown style discovered him." In this pamphlet Jay did not maintain the theoretic perfection of the constitution, for he did not so hold it. In one leading feature, "want of permanency in the senate," it had been against his judgment; but he argued the question simply on its practical grounds. " Is it probable a better plan can be attained?" "If attainable, is it likely to be in season?" "If not attained, what will be the situation of the country?" In combination with Hamilton and Madison, the papers of "The Federalist" were also now resolved upon, but Jay's share in them was cut short after furnishing Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5, through an injury received in quelling the popular tumult in New York, familiarly known as the doctor's mob. He was struck senseless to the ground by a blow from a paving stone, causing "a deep and dangerous wound on the temple." His friend, Baron Steuben, was also knocked down, at the same time, by a similar missile, complaining, with a soldier's feeling, that one "who had fought through the wars of the great Frederick, NO. XVIII. - VOL. IX.

should at length be brought to the ground by a brickbat

thrown by a blackguard."

Jay's views of a federal constitution we find no where drawn out at large. His mind was not, in truth, a speculative one, and, content with the practical question as it lay before him, seldom wandered into the regions of possibility. His was not, in short, the philosophical mind—not the THINKER, but the ACTOR, is his high name. On general principles he was, however, firm and clear. For these we refer to his confidential correspondence with Washington, with whom, in judgment, he was fully at accord. (See Letter, Mount Vernon, 15th of August, 1786.) With Jefferson, also, at Paris, being officially in correspondence, he sometimes touches on these points. In one of date of 18th of August, 1786, he speaks his sense of needful changes. (Vol. i., pp. 250, 251.)

Jay's first number in The Federalist contains a passage we shall quote as exhibiting a fact that even now has an important bearing on political parties. It is this: that the federal policy, so to call it, was the original and native feeling of the American people — the existing party, and that the states' right party was but a novel faction, unknown to earlier times, and springing up then but out of temporary state jealousies, and the ambitious views of individuals. the present popular opinion is unquestionably the reverse of this, namely, that the states' rights were the old party, and the federal the new one. Yet hear a contemporary witness as to the fact, which, if incorrect, would doubtless have been at once as publicly denied, as it was publicly asserted. "It has, until lately, been a received and uncontradicted opinion, that the prosperity of the people of America depended on their continuing firmly united, and the wishes, prayers and efforts of our best citizens, have been constantly directed to that object. But politicians now appear who insist that this opinion is erroneous, and that instead of looking for safety and happiness in union, we ought to seek it in a division of the states into distinct consederacies or sovereignties. However extraordinary this new doctrine may seem, it nevertheless has its advocates," etc. — Federalist, No. 2.

Jay, as already mentioned, was not a member of the convention that *framed* the constitution; but in giving efficacy to its deliberations no name stands more prominent. Had, indeed, his wise advice been followed, to have given it power to establish, as well as *frame*, the country would have been

saved a year or more of angry debate, and perhaps the very existence of those hostile parties in it, or at any rate their malignant bitterness, which first took form in the heated passions called forth by the long and dubious contest between the advocates for, and opponents of, the reported constitution. But this was too high-toned a measure even for Washington. In answer to the suggestion, he replies: "However constitutionally it might be done, it would not, in my opinion, be ex-

pedient."-Letter, vol. i., p. 259.

With what confidence Jay's fellow citizens entrusted to him the *final* decision of this point, may be judged of from the almost unanimous vote in his choice as a city delegate to the convention. Out of two thousand eight hundred and thirty-three votes, but ninety-eight were found without his name. His colleagues were the chancellor of the state, the chief justice, a second judge of the supreme court, the mayor of the city, and Alexander Hamilton. When we learn that out of fifty-seven delegates composing this convention, forty-six went there set against the adoption of the constitution, we may form some idea of the perilous fight, and rate accordingly the merit, of those who eventually carried that vital measure.

On the 17th of June, 1788, the convention assembled, and on the 11th of July, after much contest, Jay moved that the constitution be "ratified," and the amendments deemed expedient "recommended." The majority long stood out, insisting on the words "on condition that," etc., but at length, giving way to truth and eloquence, passed its ratification, with the words "in full confidence," etc., by a majority of two votes! Thus hardly did our vessel of state reach its only port of safety! May we not fondly trust, that among the blessings time has wrought, this is one, that even two could not now be found within it to bid it go forth again upon the stormy and pathless ocean.

Thus was the union of the states perfected, "God willing," and it is an instructive fact recorded for our less reverential age, that its first organized movement was one of thankful devotion. Immediately after General Washington's address on taking the oath of office, "the president," says our author, "with both houses of congress, attended divine service in St. Paul's Church, (New York,) to render their thanksgivings to the Supreme Being for the peaceful and successful establishment of the new government, and to implore

for it his future guidance and favor." The independent action of congress, too, was a correspondent one, for, before adjournment, they, by resolution, requested the president to recommend the people of the United States to observe a day of thanksgiving and prayer, "acknowledging, with grateful hearts, to use its language, "the many and signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a constitution of government for their safety and happiness."—Journals of First Congress. Such was the spirit of the founders of our government. May we not trust that their mantle is now at length again descending upon our rulers, and wiping out the proverbial charge sometimes cast in our teeth—"How different are the men that bring forth revolutions, from the men that revolutions bring forth!"

How Jay was estimated by the country we have already repeatedly seen. We have now, for the first time, an opportunity of judging how he was regarded by him who has been well named "the father of his country."† It was unquestionably a clear token that Washington gave. Jay was the first called by him in the formation of his cabinet and what is more, desired to choose his office. His selection was a wise one for himself, we deem, as well as his country. In the supreme federal court Jay had recognized the key-stone of the constitution. There he saw was to be its first, and probably its last battle field, and with the firmness of one that feared not responsibility, chose to take his stand upon it. He became the first chief justice of the United States.

On the 4th of April, 1790, the supreme court held its first sitting in the city of New York. In delivering his primary charge Jay's feelings might well have been those of honorable pride. We doubt whether they went beyond deep thankfulness, and the approving sense of duty that belongs to the patriot and the Christian. Thirteen years before, as the first chief justice of the state of New York, had he stood, as it were, on the same ground, had witnessed then, as now, the birth of a new government, and been called on by the voice of his fellow citizens then, as by the father of his country now, to consecrate by law what by arms the people had achieved. Then,

^{*} This was penned before the lamented death of General Harrison.
† With what feelings Jay regarded Washington in turn, may be taken from a letter of about this date, urging upon his friends the obtaining of a bust by Ceracchi.
It is only while he lives that we can have the satisfaction of offering the fruits of gratitude and affection to his enjoyment. Posterity can only have the pensive pleasure of strewing flowers on his grave." — Letter to Benson, vol. ii., p. 310.

however, with the sword still in their hands, — now, a second time, sheathed in peace, was this holy sceptre entrusted to him, that he might sway it from a yet higher eminence to heal and bless not a single state only, but a mighty empire; and the work he then and there looked upon, he might have felt, under God, was in no small measure his own. But self-gratulation was not his thought. Law, founded upon religion, was the corner-stone of this, as of all his arguments. On this foundation alone, he argued, could rational liberty be built. it be remembered," is his language, "that civil liberty consists not in a right to every man to do just what he pleases, but it consists in an equal right to all the citizens to have, enjoy and do, in peace and security, and without molestation, whatever the equal and constitutional laws of the country admit to be consistent with the public good."—Charge, etc. It was some time before the case anticipated by Jay of the conflicting sovereignties, state and federal, came up for adjudication before him. At length it did appear, to be settled once and for ever — the supremacy of the constitution. February term, 1793, the state of Georgia, being impleaded in a suit with a citizen of the state of South Carolina, RE-FUSED to answer on the ground of being sovereign and independent, and, therefore, not liable to civil process. This was the anticipated battle—union or dissolution. The chief justice pronounced the decision of the court in an elaborate opinion, which, though subsequently modified by the amendment of the constitution, was conclusive, and has been final, establishing the supreme court the guardian, as well as the interpreter of the federal constitution, and settling definitively that question, which, once unsettled, would have shaken the union to its centre, or rather have wholly untied the band. One further hinging contest yet remained, that the federal government should not be too high. This also was ruled in two leading decisions. First, in declaring unconstitutional the pension act of 1792; and, secondly, under the act of 1793, in holding the heads of departments amenable, and that a mandamus issued by the court would lie against them.

But with all the need of Jay's services on the federal bench, his native state was no longer willing to spare him from her councils, and pleading his own conditional promise, given them in 1785, proceeded to put him in nomination for governor. That the case then contemplated had arrived Mr. Jay was willing to admit, and therefore concurred in their act. The corner-stones of the constitution were also now definitively settled. The election was held, and by a majority of votes Jay was chosen. But power and injustice were leagued against him. Official frauds (thus justifying Mr. Jay's opinion of the party in power) defeated the will of the people. The decisive vote of one county (Otsego) was rejected on the frivolous pretext that it was returned by a sheriff holding over until his successor had taken the oaths of The favoring votes of two other counties (Tioga and Clinton) were rejected under pretences still more glaringly unjust; and thus, by fraud, was the popular voice overruled, and the election set aside. But such gross perversion of power rebounded on the heads of its perpetrators, and prepared for them but more certain ruin at the next triennial election. In the mean time nothing could exceed the demonstrations of popular respect and confidence that met Jay wherever his judicial duties carried him - honors by far more trying to his unambitious nature than the disappointment for which they sought to atone. Escorts of citizens, town addresses, public dinners, arriving and departing under salutes of artillery, with military attendance for miles — all this made his summer circuit of this year (1792) more like a triumphant military procession than became the official peaceful duties of a chief justice. On such occasions, therefore, it was Jay's greatest study and care to repress and put down all display of feelings, which, however justifiable in their source, he deemed to be dangerous in their expression. "It was, indeed," as observed by his son, "an unusual spectacle; a popular leader striving to moderate the ardor of his followers, all burning to redress his wrongs, and impressing upon them reverence for laws, and courtesy and kindness towards his and their opponents." By many of the public meetings held at this time, Mr. Jay was openly declared to be the rightful governor of the state, and had be thought proper to assume the exercise of the office, numbers stood ready to support his claims. What a field for the ambition of a Cæsar! What a field for the virtue of the patriot! Well was it for the peace of the state that neither power nor popular favor was Jay's idol; with Solomon he had made his choice for wisdom, and as with Solomon the earthly rewards were added unto it. The very next election prostrated the party who did him the injury, and placed him in the seat of power whether he would or not, for it was

done without his knowledge, he being at the time abroad. But ere that time came yet wider interests were to be entrusted to his management. The foreign relations of the United States were, at this time, (1794,) rapidly becoming full of imminent peril. The storm cloud was stayed, though but for the hour, by Washington's celebrated "proclamation of neutrality." This declaration was from the pen of Jay, alike well written and well timed. It saved the country, or at least gave it breathing time, from the abyss of war that was opening on the right hand and on the left. The murmurs, or rather outcries with which it was received by a rapidly rising war party in the country, evinced its calm prospective wisdom. Nor did the chief justice fail, in his high court, fearlessly to stand the brunt of this wise, but unpopular measure. In his ensuing charge to the grand jury at Richmond, Virginia, after explaining the obligations of the United States as a neutral nation, he directed the grand jury "to present all persons within their district guilty of violating the laws of nations with respect to any of the belligerent powers."—Vol. i., p. Of all years of peril to the American Union, we deem this (1794) the most alarming. The traitorous insanity of French fraternity openly patronized by the then secretary of state, and spreading like wildfire through the people, the insolent confidence arising from it of the French minister, threatening to appeal from the president to the people, and borne out in such insult by the mad applauses of the same desperate faction, this on the one hand, and again on the other, the wrongful detention of the posts by the British government, goading on the nation to madness - still further daily irritated by her cruisers' unauthorized search of our unarmed vessels, all served to place the nation on a precipice brink whence it seemed as if one false step would be sufficient to hurl it into ruin. One, and but one, more peaceful step remained, but yet a step both unpopular and perilous, the appointment of a special envoy to England. The prudence of Washington seized with instinctive sagacity upon this point d'appui, and wise as was the measure, equally wise was his choice of the agent to whom such a delicate, all-important mission should be entrusted. He nominated at once Chief Justice Jay. senate, though in the face of a strong war party, confirmed the nomination, and Jay again prepared to stand in the gap for his country, to take upon himself a foreseen unmeasured load of obloquy, and to pledge his own name and fortune

for the republic. At what personal sacrifice he accepted this trust, leaving behind him all but his eldest son, may be pleasingly, as well as painfully seen in the family letters of this period, evincing alike the tenderness of his heart, and the affectionate virtues of those that called it forth. (See Let-

ters, vol. i., p. 313, etc.)

Never, indeed, was a mission undertaken under a darker cloud of adverse circumstances. In Washington's lofty imperturbability and Jay's truthful inflexibility, lay, it may be said, the only hope of a successful termination. Both countries were hot for war - England, at least, ready for it, while the house of representatives studiously labored to bring it on and to defeat all possible pacific results from the mission by irritating and hostile measures. A bill prohibiting British manufactures was passed by it, and a resolution moved and urged for suspending by law the treaty rights of British creditors. The war party, in the meantime, among the people, were paving the way for French alliance by fraternizing with the Jacobin clubs of Paris, organizing affiliated societies, as in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and elsewhere, and opening a treasonable correspondence abroad. In this our prouder day it may awaken a smile as well as a sigh to read what American citizens then deemed the test of an American patriot. The New York Society, in an address to the people published at the moment of Jay's departure, says: "We take pleasure in avowing that we are lovers of the French nation, that we esteem their cause as our own. We most firmly believe that he who is an enemy to the French revolution cannot be a firm republican, and therefore, though he may be a good citizen in other respects, ought not to be entrusted with the guidance of any part of the machine of government." Under such an angry cloud did Jay set forth on his mission of peace, and out of such elements of discord was he to manufacture an acceptable treaty. In few other hands, we think, would the result have been equally successful. Happily for America, for England, for the world, we may say, not only did Jay carry with him that spirit into



[•] How lightly Jay valued such risks, may be judged from his letter to Hamilton soon after his arrival in England. "If I should be able," he writes, "to conclude the business on admissible terms, I shall do it and risk consequences." Another has this singular assertion in it of Washington's popularity in England: "It may seem strange, and yet I am convinced that next to the king our president is more popular in this country than any man in it."—Vol. ii., p. 41.

the negotiation, but in the British negotiator, Lord Grenville, found a congenial one. They met as true-hearted men meet under trying circumstances, and discussed international quarrels as high-minded statesmen ever should. Mutual wrongs, that would have fired the breasts of petty patriots, disappeared (as causes of offence at least) before the mutual frankness and sincerity of the gentleman and the Christian, and the result proved not only international peace, but individual friendship, to be maintained by kindly correspondence till death. Now this, to our minds, is, we confess, a beautiful picture, and one that we love to dwell upon—unparalleled, so far as we remember, in modern times, but by a single case, to which we have often in imagination referred it—the celebrated negotiation carried on under a similar condition of things between Sir William Temple and the great De Witt. The men, the inauspicious circumstances, the eventful crisis—all similar, and the happy result in both due but to the truthful sincerity of the negotiators. Between Temple and Grenville there are questionless many striking traits of resemblance, arising from the marked union in both of the scholar, the statesman, and the polished Christian gentleman. tween the stern virtuous republican De Witt and the American Jay, there are again, if possible, still more marked features of identity; and to their truth and straightforwardness was due mainly the effecting of a peaceful league between two irritated states, such as cunning diplomacy would have sought in vain. The language of the historian in the one case suits that of the other, and merits quotation.*

Of the amount of labor involved in Jay's treaty, the negative must have formed by far the greater part. Jay's language in remitting it indicates this. "The long-expected treaty," says he, "accompanies this letter. The difficulties which retarded its accomplishment frequently had the appearance of being insurmountable. They have at last yielded to modifications of the articles in which they existed, and

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^{*&}quot;On this occasion, as on every other," says Macauley, "the dealings between Temple and De Witt were singularly fair and open. When they met, Temple began by recapitulating what had passed at their last interview. De Witt, who was as little given to lying with his face as with his tongue, marked his assent by his looks while the recapitulation proceeded; and when it was concluded, answered that Temple's memory was perfectly correct, and thanked him for proceeding in so exact and sincere a manner. When the instrument was signed, the Dutch commissioner embraced the English plenipotentiary, with the warmest expressions of kindness and confidence: 'At Breda,'exclaimed Temple, 'we embraced as friends; here, as brothers!'

to that mutual disposition to agreement which reconciled Lord Grenville and myself to an unusual degree of trouble and application. They who have levelled uneven ground know how little of the work afterward appears."—Letter to Secretary of State.

Among the proposed articles of Jay, unfortunately not acceded to, was one of general philanthropy—a provision against "privateering." In this the Christian anticipated the statesman and the practice of nations, though, we trust, but by few years. On the conclusion of the treaty, in conformity with the practice of his court, Lord Grenville gave orders for a royal present—the king's miniature set in diamonds. This, notwithstanding an official approval of its acceptance from

his own government, Mr. Jay saw fit to decline.

But the battle upon the treaty was yet to be fought at home, and of all contests in our history, either before or since, between the destructive and conservative principles of our federal government, it was the fiercest. We shall not enter into it, but simply commend to all the perusal of Mr. Jay's chap. x. vol. i., as a fearful, yet instructive picture, of the popular madness of that day, goaded on by the ambition of demagogues. After long delay, arising from extraneous doubts, on the 15th of August, 1795, Washington signed the treaty, and on the 1st of March following, it having been duly ratified by Great Britain, laid it before the house as a matter constitutionally complete, part of the supreme law of the land. By party power, however, this was still to be contested, and through the treaty an onset made upon the constitution, which, had it been successful, the constitution itself would have been but as torn paper a cancelled and worthless instrument. Washington's firmness resisted the assault; the unconstitutional call for papers was declined, the requisite vote taken, and but by one single "nay," the casting voice of the speaker, on the 29th of April, did the union of the United States achieve a trembling and almost dubious victory. In the calm of another generation we cannot but still look back with affright at the hazard our constitutional liberties then ran, and with equal astonishment at the infatuation that provoked it. Not only had honorable peace been secured for the country, when war seemed almost inevitable, but a commercial treaty formed with England, which, scorned as it then was, may be fearlessly held up even

[.] By Mr. Jefferson it was pronounced "execrable," "an infamous act," and

now as the best that has ever yet been made with that great and jealous power. It secured, in the first place, an amount of indemnity beyond any other treaty ever made by the American government, amounting to over ten millions of dollars. Of the deep-seated causes of international hostility, it removed all but the irremovable one, we mean the right of search, and gave, besides, to this country, commercial advantages such as have never since been given by compact. was a treaty acknowledgedly better than its proposed substitute that followed it, as negotiated in 1805 by Monroe and Pinckney, but rejected by President Jefferson. It was a treaty unquestionably more favorable to American interests than that of Ghent in 1815, negotiated by our greatest diplomatist, (Mr. Gallatin,)—a treaty for which our share in the payment was a three years' war, and six years following ruin, and one that made no provision against that very right of search which provoked the contest; and, lastly, as to that negotiated by Mr. McLane in 1830, he has with little care examined the West India question who thinks that any advance upon Jay's treaty. It is full time, then, we think, that we do justice to our greatest of American negotiators, and rank Jay's name FIRST in our list of native diplomatists.

But the diplomatist was soon to be merged in the civil ruler. With that unexampled confidence in him on the part of his countrymen which so singularly marks the whole story of Jay's public life, even while yet abroad, his consent unobtained, was he put in nomination for governor of his native state, his election carried by a triumphant majority, and on his landing at New York the first news given him of it by his salutation as "governor elect," having been so officially declared two days before his arrival. A station to which he was thus chosen, Jay might well deem a call of Providence, or what, to the right thinking mind, is equivalent, a call of duty. In that light he regarded it, and his special mission ended, and his seat on the bench of the supreme court resigned, on the 1st of July, 1796, he took the oath of office as governor of the state of New York.

The first act to which (in his judgment at least) his official duty called him was one of moral courage. The yellow

[&]quot;stamped with avarice and corruption." If such was the language of the leader, we may readily judge of that of his followers. "A damned arch-traitor," was Jay's common appellation. The treaty itself was burned before his door—he himself paraded in effigy—Jay proclaimed as "sold to Great Britain," and the political interests of France and the United States declared to be "one and indivisible."

fever in the preceding summer of 1795 had become, for the first time, the scourge of the city of New York, desolating it by the fears it awakened, even more than by its actual ravages. The governor felt that an example of courage was needed, and with his family remained through the summer at his post in the city, providentially unharmed. His second official step was one demanding perhaps equal moral resolution, though of another aspect. It was to stem the current of popular, or rather official infidelity, by the appointment, through proclamation recommending it, of a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, an act until then unknown under our state constitution. The language of its preamble clearly defines his impregnable ground. (Vol. i., p. 386.) we hold as among the enduring monuments of Jay's Christian fame, for it is now part and parcel of the settled discretionary policy of the state government. The day, too, selected by him, (Thursday, 26th of November,) as well as its employment, bearing, ever since, the stamp of Jay's religious influence.

On the 6th of January, 1796, Governor Jay first met the legislature, and gave to them such pledge as statesmen should alone be forward to give: "To exercise the power vested in me," are his words, "with energy, impartiality and freedom, are obligations of which I perceive and acknowledge the full force." Three main points, then first urged upon legislative attention, mark Jay as among the leading benefactors of his native state—the "penitentiary system," then first adopted, forming a new era in criminal jurisprudence—"internal improvement," then first advocated as the policy of the state treasury, and "the gradual abolition of slavery," by bill then first moved. But a higher test yet remained to distinguish between the politician and the statesman—between the head of a party and the governor of his people. All offices within Jay's gift were actually in possession of his enemies, adherents of the defeated party, while political friends daily swarmed around him ravenous for office. Now, then, came the trial, whether in words only, or in truth, he had pledged himself, as in his opening address to the legislature he had specifically done, "to regard all his fellow-citizens with an equal eye." The answer is, he had spoken thoughtfully and truthfully. He stood the test, and during the six years of his administration not one individual was dismissed by him from office on account of his politics. It is among the

many reproofs given, recorded of the governor, that when a member in the council of appointment was urging a candidate's political services, Jay broke in upon him with, "That, sir, is not the question, is he fit for the office?" But on a still tenderer point was his firmness to be tried—the power of pardon. In refusing one to the solicitations of a personal friend, he thus laid open the ruling principle of his mind on all practical questions. "To pardon, or not to pardon, does not depend on my will, but on my judgment, and for the impartial and discreet exercise of this authority I am, and ought to be, highly responsible."—Vol. i., p. 400. Such was not a course likely to advance Jay's popularity, and yet by an increased majority was he, in 1798, elected to a second triennial term of office, "being regarded," to use the language of an address soliciting his compliance, "as one whose attachment to their liberties had been uniform, whose firmness in prosecuting them inflexible, and whose integrity in every part of his official conduct is unimpeachable." — Address of Washington County. Though against inclination, he yielded to the nomination, deeming it his duty, under the actual gloomy aspect of political affairs, and the approaching foreseen overthrow of the federal party in the general government, not to retire as yet from his advanced post of responsibility. He opened the second, as he had done his first term, with urging what he justly deemed the foundation of all safe government—RELIGION. His speech pressed upon the legislature the desecration of the Lord's day as a matter demanding legislative provision. Notwithstanding the political, if not irreligious complexion of the house, the recommendation was respectfully responded to, and thereupon an act passed, still subsisting, to guard against its profanation.

But after all the tests we have seen of Jay's political firmness, the highest was yet in reserve for him—the very "experimentum crucis"—whether to be named politician or statesman—the man of expediency or the man of principle. It was this: the federal party was now, (1800,) in the general government, a falling one—the temporizing policy of President Adams had both disheartened and divided its ranks, and the electoral vote of New York, in the approaching presidential election, could alone save them, by barring Jefferson from that high station. These electors being chosen in the state of New York by the legislature, would, upon its new session, be necessarily anti-federal. But time yet re-

mained to summon a special session of the existing legislature, their election by whom would give them a federal character, and thus Jefferson's election be defeated, a result no federalist but regarded as of vital moment, Jay as little as any man. The means of doing it were constitutionally within the governor's power, and its exercise was urged upon him with great force in a private letter, (vol. i., p. 412,) from one of the most distinguished and influential federalists in the United States, (Hamilton?) as the only hope of safety for the party. "In times like these in which we live," was its reasoning, "it will not do to be over-scrupulous. It is easy to sacrifice the substantial interests of society by a strict adherence to ordinary rules." The result is soon told. The call was not made by the governor, but on the letter, found among his papers, stands this endorsement, words which we commend to all his successors in office, viz. —" Proposing a measure for party purposes which I think it would not become me to adopt."

A letter from President Adams, shortly after received, though not obviously in reference to this act, says: "I often say, that when my confidence in Mr. Jay shall cease, I must give up the cause of confidence and renounce it with all men." Is it possible, we ask, for words to express a higher culogium? Of the sincerity, at least, of this praise, the president soon gave the highest mark by re-appointing Mr. Jay, while still governor, to his former elevated station of chief justice of the United States, an appointment which was immediately confirmed by the senate. This act the president thus communicated to him: "I had no permission from you to take this step, but it appeared to me that Providence had thrown in my way an opportunity not only of marking to the public the spot where, in my opinion, the greatest mass of worth remained collected in one individual, but of furnishing my country with the best security its inhabitants afforded against the increasing dissolution of morals. — Letter of John Adams, December 19th, 1800. The P. S. adds: "Your commission will soon follow this letter." But the president had reckoned "without his host." Jay's determination was now taken to retire from public life, and it had been formed, as all his purposes were, too thoughtfully to be moved from it by any honors that could be tendered to him. The appointment was, therefore, promptly and unequivocally declined, and the ermined mantle bestowed upon one worthy

in all points to follow him, and as a constitutional expounder even more lucid and profound, Chief Justice Marshall. Jay's closing trial of official firmness was a painful one — the maintenance of the constitutional powers of the governor in a contest with heated enemies. In the votes of the council of appointment, subject, however, to the governor's call and nomination, lay, then, the constitutional appointment to all This now hostile council, after rejecting, state offices. " seriatim," every one of the governor's nominations to vacant office, proceeded, thereupon, themselves to nominate, but before they had time to complete, by their votes, such irregular appointments, the governor adjourned the council sine die, preferring the responsibility of leaving even important offices unfilled, rather than sanction, by his summons, a violation of the constitution, communicating the same, by spe-

cial message, to the legislature then in session.

With this period of office (1801) terminates Jay's public life, and our perhaps too ample narrative of it; but we found it impossible in any other or shorter way to do justice to this portion of our subject — Jay's character as a public man. was a life of action, not of words, and of actions characteristic of the man. It could be told, therefore, only by being exhibited as in our preceding sketch we have endeavored faithfully Thus, then, closes the second great compartment in the entablature of Jay's life. The triumphant processions, with their civic and mural crowns, have all passed, and a quiet and tranquil scene alone remains, rounding off the circle of life with an honorable and peaceful age. But before entering on this last portion, let us pause to gather up some few of the many golden lessons of wisdom which the closing one scatters so freely before us. For ourselves we confess that this nearer examination to which we have been led in preparing the above rapid outline has awakened in us deeper thoughts than we can well express. Let alone justice to Jay, we feel as if we could not do justice to ourselves in the exhibition of the sentiments it has aroused. The first thing that strikes us in it is the unbroken continuity, the ceaseless succession of honorable confidences, throughout this twenty-eight years' course, reposed in Jay by his countrymen. From first to last not one intervening hour, the new office or new honor always claiming him before the old was ready to yield him, and oftentimes two, and even three incompatible calls of his country contending for his choice; as, for instance, in the year 1795 —

special minister to England, chief justice of the United States, and governor elect of the state of New York, all at one and the same moment. This certainly is a singular fact in the history of any country, but, above all, in one especially jealous of such monopoly. What again adds to this wonder in popular judgment, though in ours it helps to explain it, is the total absence in Jay's character of all personal ambition. If honors came, they came unsought, and as often rejected as accepted; and we have his own direct authority for asserting, that through his whole life he had never asked an office or solicited a vote, and yet, as we have seen, honor and office flowed in upon him in a stream—a valuable hint to all such as wish to know how to attain them. Even to seem ambitionless may be well, though still better, in truth, to be so, as Jay was. His ambition, at least, was not of this world. "From Absalom downward," he used to say, "never was there an honest demagogue." But a greater lesson, as already noted, is found in his singleness of character - the same ever and everywhere, and imparting to his whole course a steadiness and directness of movement that has in it something imposing, if not rather awe-inspiring. He always headed to port, from whichever point the wind blew, or however currents ran. His course showed no tacking, no doubling of capes, no lee-way, no hugging of the safe shore. If there were disturbing forces within, they at least showed themselves not without. He fought the battle, if battle there was, in the circle of his own bosom — when he came forth for action it was as a man girded for the race. "He had laid aside every weight." Now, whatever name men may choose to give to this trait of character, there can be no question as to the fact of its existence in Jay, nor that it was in truth the secret of his power. True minds at once understood him and trusted him - false minds feared him - feeble minds yielded to him, and cunning minds overreached themselves in attempting to understand him, baffled by a directness of movement they comprehended not. It is obvious that such was the case both at Madrid and Paris. Jay puzzled and bewildered the high-trained diplomatists of Europe. They could make nothing of him, and did make nothing of him.

In tracing, as we have already done, this trait of power to the predominance of religious principle, we still would not deny the intellectual peculiarity of Jay's mind out of which it naturally sprung. This lay in the preponderance of the

WILL over the other elements. In the power of volition, that mightiest faculty of man, lay Jay's peculiar strength, as, in truth, with all strong men. Of his contemporaries, some—many, we trust—equalled him in Christian principles. Many, doubtless, were his equals in intellectual power, nay, superiors, but his will was of steel doubly-tempered, and few, we deem, equalled him there. What he willed he wrought. According to the old adage, "where was the will. there was the way," and men yielded the path in which Jay walked. But here, too, in justice to him, and those like him, must we draw an intellectual distinction. His will was of steel, but then, not the steeled will of a selfish mind, unyielding, because wound up within a narrow circle; nor yet of an arrogant mind, leaving free will to no other man; nor yet of a simply obstinate mind, that, "bull-like," shuts its eyes when it rushes upon danger; but it was the steeled will of a principled mind; one that counts the cost, and closes the account, before it opens the battle, leaving all other men free to do the same — impregnable, therefore, because ruling only where it has full right to rule, in its own path of duty. Such, as in Jay's case, is ever found to be the will that sways the world and carries all before it.

But another peculiarity distinguishes the principled from the selfish will. It is capable of being united, as in Jay's character it was, with a gentle heart and the tenderest affections, producing sometimes, however, to the outward eye, a very singular contrastin its combination of sternness with kindness. Of these contradictory phases Jay's life doubtless exhibited its full share. We note one, in exemplification, as narrated by his son, the case of a poor blacksmith in his neighborhood, who had encroached with his buildings on the public highway and refused to recede. Jay prosecuted him to the rigor of the law, and having duly punished the offender, proceeded to make it up tenfold to the poor man by deeding to him an acre or two of ground from his own farm, in order that his necessities might be no plea for any further breach of the law.

But we must hurry on. We have yet to see Jay in retirement. The peaceful compartment now opens to us, wherein we behold the statesman in repose, "under the shadow of his own vine and his own fig-tree." The long period of life yet spared to him, from his fifty-sixth to his eighty-fourth year—his complete withdrawal from public life, almost from society—the narrow circle of worldly in-

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terests to which it confined him, all serve to awaken in the thoughtful mind many inquiries. " Finis coronat opus." How did the public man bear such contrast? What change did it effect in the private man? in his temper, manners, character or habits? As history teaches us with its celebrated statesmen, Cicero, Bacon, Chatham, Walpole? Did repose make him restless? age selfish? or its infirmities peevish? Our answer is a short and sure one; not from the biography merely, but from personal knowledge do we speak. It produced no change in the statesman or in the man—none, we mean, except in outward occupation. Seldom may the curtain be raised from the retirement of the politician with such perfect confidence as here; nought is presented to us but purity and peace—the thankful enjoyment of domestic life, cheerful industry, active benevolence, and a Christian's daily preparation for better things. But the man was still the same. His will was still of steel. There was in him no yielding where duty was concerned, and no opposing him in a matter where conscience dictated his course. He had chosen retirement upon principle, and on principle continued to choose it. The same sense of duty that had made public life tolerable, now made private life delightful, for he ever measured his labors and enjoyments, not by their magnitude, but by their motives. The business of courts and cabinets he had not overrated—the business of his family and farm he did not underrate, but deeming them both, in the eye of God and conscience, of equal value, went on in the same even spirit to their performance.

Thus, then, passed the third portion of Jay's life. Books, letters, his children, duties of benevolence, care of his farm, and the few old staunch friends who could or would travel fifty miles to visit him—these were his daily occupations and amusements, with now and then some English or American stranger who longed to see personally one of whom they had heard so much—the negotiator who had perilled himself for his country—who had baffled Spain, overruled France, and preserved peace with England, and who now lived the life of an unassuming American farmer. Such were his occasional visitors. From the pen of one of these may we take the picture—

"With respect to thyself," writes an old Quaker friend after his visit, "I had to behold and contemplate a character which appeared

to me so far redeemed from the world and the defilements of flesh and spirit as, in a good degree, to resemble the piety of good old Simeon, who is described by St. Luke in the following emphatic language: 'And behold there was a man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon, and the same was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Ghost was upon him.'"—Vol. i., p. 481.

But with all this change the man was the same now as formerly—gentle, but stern in his gentleness, with all around yielding implicitly to his unselfish, wise determinations. Even in the management of his farm, these characteristic traits were apparent. His mansion, erected the year before his retirement, was plain, spacious, solid, and convenient, but sternly rejecting all ornament. He would not even give a "name" to his extended domain, or allow it, by his children, to be termed a "seat" or "place," but simply, a farm. His out-buildings and other improvements were all, too, of a stern kind—stone walls of Cyclopean bulk—cow-sheds built for posterity—nothing of wood ever permitted to come in contact with earth, save here and there some locust post, of which imperishable wood, as if by sympathy, he was a great admirer as well as successful cultivator.

With all of animal life, again, "kindness" was the law. All upon his farm were of the best, and living, as farmers say, "in clover;" nothing overworked, but much the contrary, with here and there an aged horse* in his best pastures, or otherwise carefully tended; the result of all which was, that his farming was profitable for all things save income, and to his poor neighbors more than to himself. But this was a minor point. He sought not profit, and needed it not, and as to him then, so to his children now, the money spent has been a thousand times repaid by the blessings with which, through the country around, his memory is still visited, as a kind master, an indulgent landlord, and a beneficent neigh-

^{*} Of horses he had a favorite breed—the Narragansett, now run out in our country—famous under the saddle. To Judge Peters, in 1819, he writes, "My favorite mare, which I had rode for twenty-three years with great satisfaction, has died suddenly. She was the third in succession which died in my service. The grand-dam was given to me by my father in 1765. That circumstance associated with various others in attaching me to them." It was of the "grand-dam," doubtless, he wrote from Europe in 1783. "If my old mare is alive, I must beg of you and my brother to take very good care of her. I mean that she should be well fed and live idle, unless my brother Peter should choose to use her. If it should be necessary to advance money to recover her, I am content you should do it even to the amount of double her value."—See Life.

bor; or, as he is still familiarly to this day talked of, "the good old governor." It was a picture, not without its moral teaching, (we speak of its impression on our own minds,) to witness the polite attention, the Christian courtesy, the enduring patience with which even the humblest of his neighbors was received and welcomed, even to his family table, whenever their visit was thus chance-timed. managed the local concerns of his neighborhood it was sometimes amusing to note, being with a little of his ancient adroitness. A new school-house, as we remember, was once needed; he desired it to be of stone, which his neighbors would not hear of. He troubled them with no arguments upon the subject, but when the subscription paper was presented to him, settled the question by putting down, annexed to his subscription, "so much," if of wood, "double," if of stone. He was, in truth, liberal in all his contracts, acting on the maxim that no hard bargain is a good one. his poorer neighbors, again, he often made loans without interest, and when payment could not be exacted without distressing them, forgave the debt, while to his bounty were they frequently indebted for food, clothing, and medical attendance.

But after all the tests to which we have brought Jay's ruling principle, one, the nicest, yet remains—the influence of age, in its advancing infirmities and solitariness, upon a temper not by nature without its elements of evil. In age and solitude, when the discipline of society is removed, the "old Adam" too oft resumes his native form, and thus mere worldly minds grow morose—selfish ones peevish, and ambitious ones, (Napoleon-like,) savage. Jay's mind, on the contrary, grew otherwise, gentler and kindlier with age-more thoughtful for others' comfort, more indifferent to his own, until at length (and again we speak not from book) not a child could approach him, or a servant do his bidding, without receiving from him some word, or look, or manner, indicative of kind-Here, then, was the triumph of religion over temper, for nothing but religion claims to have such power, and under the light of revelation no vague religion either; and very few, we think, exhibit it, save those who are, as Jay was, clear, firm and consistent in the living truths of the Christian But we will not further dwell on a picture that yet admits of much minuter painting, for we feel that such scenes partake of the sanctity as well as interest of what they disclose. We, therefore, forbear, and in silence and awe approach the portals of that cloud-capt temple with which the entablature of life closes, and at the shadowy doors of which we bid a reluctant farewell (but not, we trust, for ever,) to him whom we have so long accompanied through youth, and manhood, and venerable age. Unto the portals of that temple few painted by history are seen to approach more tranquilly, or enter more triumphantly, than the statesman before us, or to leave behind a brighter track of light for guidance to those who follow him—and thus rounds the life of John Jay.

The last public honor which pierced the shades of his retirement, was an address from the corporation of the city of New York on occasion of the first semi-centennial anniversary of American independence. Its language was that of affectionate reverence. "By your firmness, and the wisdom of your counsels, you eminently contributed to the glorious and happy issue which has placed our country in a rank with the most favored nation of the earth. Amid the festivities of the anniversary, while we remember your worth, your virtue and your patriotism, it will add to our pleasure to reflect that you have been permitted by Providence to witness the fiftieth return of a day so conspicuous in the annals of freedom, and also to find your beloved country happy as a people, and prosperous as a nation."

His answer, and it was among the last words he penned, was such as became the aged Christian statesman, urging upon those who should direct the national councils, "to recommend a general and public return of praise and thanksgiving to Him from whose goodness these blessings descend. The most effectual means of securing the continuance of our civil and religious liberties, is always to remember with reverence and gratitude the source from which they flow."—

Vol. i., p. 456.

But our labors draw to a close, and on the whole we know not when we have undertaken a task more agreeable or instructive, to ourselves at least, than our recent careful reperusal of Mr. W. Jay's volumes, with a view to awaken in others fresh interest in them, and through them in their subject. We know of no life where we find such unity in the whole, with such congruity in the parts—a completeness that satisfies at once the artist in its materials, and in its lessons of wisdom, at once the statesman, the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian. Throughout the long period it traces, of eighty-four years, so far at least as records or me-

mory remains, there is no one word or act that calls for condemnation or concealment—no veil but may be lifted up, and no door but may be opened—no awkward gaps, therefore, as often occurs, for the biographer to leap, nor cautious balancing needed from his pen, of virtues against deviations from virtue. We deem Jay's life, therefore, one worthy of all meditation, and the record of it as invaluable, above all, to the public men of our country, unto whom we here fearlessly hold it up as exhibiting the model of a Christian STATESMAN.

It were, indeed, a bold task to venture to draw into comparison the relative merits of Jay and Hamilton on the fame or fortunes of their country—a bold task—and yet, bold as it is, we feel impelled, before closing, at least to venture on opening it. They were, undoubtedly, "par nobile fratrum," and yet not twin brothers—" pares sed impares"—like, but unlike. In patriotic attachment equal, for who would venture therein to assign to either the superiority; yet was that attachment, though equal in degree, yet far different in kind, with Hamilton it was a sentiment, with Jay a principle with Hamilton enthusiastic passion, with Jay duty as well as love—with Hamilton patriotism was the paramount law, with Jay a law "sub graviori lege." Either would have gone through fire and water to do his country service, and laid down freely his life for her safety - Hamilton with the roused courage of a lion—Jay with the calm fearlessness of a man; or rather, Hamilton's courage would have been that of the soldier — Jay's that of the Christian. Of the latter it might be truly said —

"Conscience made him firm,
That boon companion, who her strong breast-plate
Buckles on him, that fears no guilt within,
And bids him on, and fear not."

In intellectual power, in depth, and grasp, and versatility of mind, as well as in all the splendid and brilliant parts which captivate and adorn, Hamilton was greatly, not to say immeasurably, Jay's superior. In the calm and deeper wisdom of practical duty—in the government of others, and still more in the government of himself—in seeing clearly the right, and following it whithersoever it led, firmly, patiently, self-denyingly, Jay was again greatly, if not immeasurably, Hamilton's superior. In statesman-like talent

Hamilton's mind had in it more of "constructive" power, Jay's of "executive." Hamilton had GENIUS, Jay had WISDOM. We would have taken Hamilton to plan a government, and Jay to carry it into execution; and in a court of law we would have had Hamilton for our advocate, if our cause were generous, and Jay for our judge, if our cause

were just.

The fame of Hamilton, like his parts, we deem to shine brighter and farther than Jay's, but we are not sure that it should be so, or rather we are quite sure that it should not. For, when we come to examine and compare their relative course, and its bearing on the country and its fortunes, the reputation of Hamilton we find to go as far beyond his practical share in it, as Jay's falls short of his. Hamilton's civil official life was a brief, and single, though brilliant one. Jay's numbered the years of a generation, and exhausted every department of diplomatic, civil, and judicial trust. In fidelity to their country both were pure to their heart's core; yet was Hamilton loved, perhaps, more than trusted, and Jay trusted, perhaps, more than loved.

Such were they, we deem, in differing, if not contrasted points of character. Their lives, too, when viewed from a distance, stand out in equally striking, but much more painful con-Jay's, viewed as a whole, has in it a completeness of parts such as the nicer critic demands for the perfection of an epic poem, with its beginning of promise, its heroic middle, and its peaceful end, and partaking, too, somewhat of the same cold stateliness - noble, however, still and glorious, and ever pointing, as such poem does, to the stars. " Sic itur ad astra." The life of Hamilton, on the other hand, broken and fragmentary, begun in the darkness of romantic interest, running on into the sympathy of all high passion, and at length breaking off in the midst, like some half-told tale of sorrow, amid tears and blood, even as does the theme of the tragic poet. The name of Hamilton, therefore, was a name to conjure with—that of Jay's to swear by. Hamilton had his frailties, arising out of passion, as tragic heroes have. Jay's name was faultless and his course passionless, as becomes the epic leader, and, in point of fact, was, while living, a name at which frailty blushed and corruption trembled.

If we ask whence, humanly speaking, came such disparity of fate between equals, the stricter morals, the happier

life, the more peaceful death, to what can we trace it but to the healthful power of religion over the heart and conduct? Was not this, we ask, the ruling secret? Hamilton was a Christian in his youth, and a penitent Christian, we doubt not, on his dying bed; but Jay was a Christian, so far as man may judge, every day and hour of his life. He had but one rule, the gospel of Christ; in that he was nurtured—ruled by that, through grace, he lived—resting on that, in prayer, he died.

Admitting, then, as we do, both names to be objects of our highest sympathetic admiration, yet, with the name of Hamilton, as the master says of tragedy, the lesson is given—

δι' ελεου και φοδου " with pity and in fear." Not so with that of Jay; with him we walk fearless, as in the steps of one who

was a Christian as well as a patriot.

ART. II.—Das Christliche im Plato und in der Platonischen Philosophie, entwickelt und hervorgehoben von D. C. Ack-ERMANN, Archidiakonus zu Jena. 1835.

The Christian Element in Plato, and the Platonic Philosophy, developed and exhibited by D. C. ACKERMANN, Archdeacon at Jena. 1835.

THERE is a strong tendency in the human mind to generalization. Perhaps there is no intellectual process more flattering to our pride. For so soon as we are able to perceive resemblances between two things, and put them into the same class, we fancy that we understand them, and thus delude ourselves with a show of knowledge. It is far easier and pleasanter to generalize than to abstract, and the faculty of abstraction is much rarer than the other. The philosopher should be on his guard against this generalizing tendency. It is the prolific parent of ingenious hypotheses and plausible theories; but quite other faculties are needed for the discovery of truth.

Moreover, the inadequacy and impropriety of this method, is in exact proportion to the importance of its objects. For, as we ascend in the scale of life, the individual becomes more important, the species less so. Specific distinctions describe the individual less accurately in the higher than in

the lower orders of being. A description of the species oyster may answer for every individual of the species, but not so with man. In a sense, every man is a distinct species. Every man has an idiosyncracy. And as in the different species, so in the different individuals of the same species; the individualization, the idiosyncracy, will be proportioned to rank in the scale of being. A powerful mind has more that is peculiar to itself than a weak one. For this reason genius is pre-eminently idiosyncratic. Aristotle and Kant have attempted to establish certain forms, or categories, common to all human minds. Such, undoubtedly, there are, and it is highly important to understand them. But every mind has also its own categories. Do we believe that any training, any circumstances, any effort of will, could have transformed an Aristotle into a Plato, or a Schleiermacher into a Paulus?

It may be thought to militate against the assertion, that genius is idiosyncratic, that men of genius manifest a peculiarly strong sympathy with their kind. But, properly regarded, this fact confirms, instead of weakens, the other. For, in the spiritual world, as well as in the kingdom of matter, the law of attraction operates most strongly between opposites; and the more marked and peculiar is the mental constitution of a man, the more powerfully is he drawn towards his kind, and especially towards those of an opposite idiosyncracy from his own. Be it observed, however, that it is opposites, not contraries, which are thus mutually attracted; and, moreover, that with system-makers the hostile tendencies, engendered by a desire of victory, predominate over and suppress all workings of sympathy.

But to return to our former position. The falseness of the method of generalization, we have said, is greatest when applied to men. Man, above all other creatures, is individual, and cannot be treated in classes. Here is the mistake of many philosophers. They observe the resemblances between mind and mind too much, and the differences too little. Hence their astonishment at a fact which ought, by this time, to have become familiar to them, viz., the variety of answers given to the question, What is truth? In the form of an abstract proposition, or in its application to the history of the remote past, every thinking person recognizes and tolerates the fact that there is a diversity of opinions among men. He can easily reconcile himself to the know-

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ledge that Democritus or Plotinus, or Des Cartes, or Leibnitz, held a different set of opinions from himself; he can philosophize upon the rise and development of various systems, and trace the law of their succession. But let his neighbor rise up and say, "I differ from you on this point; you think desire is synonymous with volition, and I think, nay, I am sure, it is not;" and no words can express the astonishment, perhaps the indignation, with which he regards his audacious opponent. He descants with vehemence upon the inconceivable blindness and stupidity of some men, and is in doubt only whether he should feel most pity or most contempt for one so signally devoid of inward illumination.

Another error sometimes committed in relation to this subject, is that of inferring, from the diversity of systems, that there is no such thing as absolute objective truth. For six thousand years, it is said, men have been disputing about all the great problems of thought, and are no nearer to uniformity of opinion than when they began. Surely, if there were any such thing as absolute truth, or if it were attainable by human capacities, it would ere this have been found.

There is such a thing as absolute, unchangeable, immortal truth, and by those who seek her in humility and love, she shall be found — not, indeed, by all men, for all men have not the right state of heart: "there are some truths," says De Maistre, "which can be apprehended only by l'esprit du caur" - nor, perhaps, by any minds absolutely free from all admixture of error, and in all its beautiful proportions and admirable relations. But in that degree in which it is necessary to man's well-being, in the highest sense of the word, truth is attainable. Especially is it attainable in relation to the great points which concern man's spiritual nature and destiny; for here it is doubly true, that he who seeks shall find. We are the more concerned to be understood on this head, as some of the remarks which are to follow may seem to countenance a different result; and do, therefore, earnestly request that this carcat may be borne in mind.

Yet, with all our confidence in the existence and attainableness of truth, we find it impossible to sympathize in the agreeable anticipations of those who predict the final triumph and exclusive reign of a single system of philosophy, which is to embody unmixed truth, and to which all men are to give in their adherence. We cannot persuade ourselves that men

will even think alike on any point not susceptible of mathematical demonstration, and not falling within the jurisdiction of the senses. For such a conviction several reasons may be given; the first of which is drawn from the history of the past. For, not only do we find that a period of six thousand years has proved insufficient to create uniformity in men's opinions, but there has been no advance towards such a re-The history of ancient philosophy, as is well known, presents only a succession of systems which chase each other like the forms in a magic lantern. And what single opinion or system, in relation to points of speculation merely, can be said to have died out? Modern philosophy treads in the steps of the ancient. Of all the great problems of human thought, we have the same solutions as were given in the stoa, the lyceum, and the groves of Academus. What would have been the astonishment of Plato and Aristotle, could they have been told that the lapse of twenty centuries would not suffice to put beyond controversy the questions which they pondered and answered, each after his own fashion? That after so long a time the same points would be contested with undiminished zeal, and established or confuted by the aid of the same arguments? As great, probably, as would be the amazement of a philosopher of our day, predicting largely of the future destiny of philosophy, and the perfectibility of man, to whom the same fact should be revealed respecting two thousand years to come. What! he would be ready to exclaim, is the progress of truth so slow? Will it take the world so long to see what is to me as clear as noon-day? But patience, friend. You may see clearly, yet not rightly. Even if it is truth at which you are looking, yet you see it through your own mental optics, and your mental eye, observe, is not an achromatic lens. colors the rays it transmits. A man who wears green glasses sees very clearly that every thing is green; but does he see rightly?

So far from finding that intellectual cultivation leads to unanimity of opinion, the reverse is true. The more cultivated is the mind of a nation, the more numerous are its moral, political, and philosophical sects. The only periods of apparent advance towards unanimity, are periods of intellectual stagnation, when indifference may be taken for harmony, and no-thinking regarded as evidence of thinking alike. But whenever intellectual activity re-commences,

and thought revives, then arise on every side, "thick as the leaves in Vallambrosa," swarming sects. Men take hold anew of the so-often picked bones of contention; each thinker again imagines that he has found the golden clue which leads out of the labyrinth of error, and that he can take all the world with him. There is a universal ferment; every body talks, and reads, and writes, discusses, reasons, analyzes, and synthesizes, and nobody seems to know that he is doing just what his progenitors, back to Adam, have done as well before him, and what his descendants, down to the last man, will do again.

Increase of knowledge does not, then, tend to union. Science, says St. Paul, puffeth up, (and so disuniteth,) but

love buildeth up.

The history of an individual mind is a type of that of the species, and illustrates the same truth. Its first progress is from multiplicity to unity; it classifies, generalizes, combines. But when this process has reached a certain limit, an opposite one begins. We find that we had mistaken resemblance for identity. That which we had regarded as one, begins to seem multifold and diverse; we return to multiplicity, but not to that multiplicity from which we started. Our classification is now a new one. The alternation of these processes constitutes the law by which the progress of the individual

mind, and also that of the species, is regulated. But it may be objected, that we cannot reason with certainty from the past to the future, and that the fact that something never has been, does not warrant the inference that it never will be. Let us then endeavor to ascertain the grounds of this endless diversity of opinions which meets us in the past and the present, and determine whether they are accidental or permanent in their nature. If we select a single individual, and examine the sources of his opinions, we shall find them to be the result of various causes. places in which he has lived, the persons by whom he has been surrounded, the books he has read, and ten thousand other circumstances, have exerted a modifying influence. But to modify is not to create. The varying circumstances of soil and climate, the accidental distribution of sun-light and shade, may determine whether the young sapling shall be stunted or vigorous, crooked or erect, but no circumstances can make an elm or a poplar grow from an acorn. the tree shall be is pre-determined before the seed has begun

to germinate; how high it shall grow will depend on circumstances. Every mind is a seed containing in itself the law of its development, and pre-determined to this or that direction before its unfolding.

Allow as much as possible for habit, education, prejudice, for the *idola tribus*, theatri, etc. etc., and there still remains, broad, clear, and inevitable, this fact—men are born with different opinions; or, which is the same thing, they are born with mental constitutions, which will infallibly originate different opinions so soon as they begin to think. Place two men under the same outward influences from birth, and the one shall grow up a mystic, the other a utilitarian; the one a conservative, the other a radical, the one a Platonist, the other an Aristotelian.

The error common on this point is one of frequent occurrence on other subjects, namely, a hysteron proteron, or, vulgarly, putting the cart before the horse. We have other examples of it in the reasoning which makes motives the causes of volition, when it is in fact from an act of the will that they become motives; or in that which asserts the revival of a certain philosophical system at a particular epoch—that of Aristotle, for instance, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—to be the cause of the direction of mind at that epoch, whereas the previous direction of mind was the occasion of the revival of the system. In the present case, it is absurd to say that circumstances determine opinions and habits of thought, since the influence of these very circumstances is so modified by the character of the mind on which they act, that men shall draw support for the most opposite systems from the same source, each mind assimilating its food to itself, even as the sweet rose and the poisonous nightshade derive their nourishment from the same soil.

It is admitted that these remarks apply, in their widest extent, only to minds of uncommon power. Weak men borrow their opinions from others, and this is equivalent to having none. No man has an opinion unless he has made it his own by thinking. With others we have nothing to do. In treating of the formation of opinions, we of course select thinking minds, just as a physician, in determining the functions of a certain organ, chooses for examination a sound and healthy, not a feeble and diseased organization.

But if truth be one and unchangeable, how is it possible that men's views of it should differ so widely? For the very

simple reason that each man looks at truth through his own eyes, and his neighbor's eyes happen to be different. An opinion is the product of two joint factors—the mind and truth—no matter if one of these factors is invariable, yet if the other varies perpetually, the result will vary also. system of opinions absolutely true, would be seen to be so only by a mind constructed according to the original pattern, ideal, or norm of mind. To all others, it would seem erroneous. But no mind is thus normally perfect. In every one there are preponderances, deficiencies, disproportions. Hence, in every system, there will be some distortion; at the very least, a grain, a minimum of error; and hence endless diversities, sects, controversies, contests. Your eye is tinged with red, and you insist that every body else should see all things of the same color. Another man's happens to be yellow, and this makes the difference between you still greater. You look at the same object, and contend about it like the two knights in the story about the gold and silver shield.

"But I cannot perceive that my eye is thus clouded." Nay, how should you, since you have only the clouded eye to see with? But assure yourself, that if you see in one way, and a hundred other men each in a different way, it is not that your eye alone is single. You are not the sole

possessor of wisdom, neither shall it die with you.

In psychological science there are two other causes which increase the liability to error. The first of these is, the difficulty of reading consciousness aright. To do this requires long habits of introspection and self-study, together with powers of concentration and abstraction beyond those ordinarily possessed. There is a superficial, so to speak, and ordinary consciousness, which accompanies every mental But it is necessary to get beyond and below this. The secrets of man's inner nature do not yield themselves up to the careless or hasty observer. The "first springs of thought and will" can be reached only through the medium of longcontinued and patient reflection, added to thorough self-observation. When it is considered how few men practise this, and in what different degrees the capacity for it is possessed by different individuals, we shall cease to wonder that each gives a different interpretation of the facts of consciousness, and that so many crude and superficial theories are propounded in the science of mind.

The second reason is, that all men's consciousness is not absolutely the same. The differences in intellectual structure of which we have spoken, affect psychology more than any other science, because every defect enters twice into the result; first in the subject, and again in the object. Not only the organ with which, but the object at which we look, is distorted; the two being, in this case, identical. We have said that a system absolutely true, would be perceived to be so only by a mind normally perfect; we might say farther, that, in psychological science, it would be true only in relation to such a mind.

But there are other than mere intellectual differences among men. Man is a sentient, an emotive, a moral being; and every part of his nature exerts an influence upon the formation of his opinions. The man of feeble will and strong impulses, of irresolute purposes and violent passions; the man who can never say one day what he shall be or do the next; who cannot trust his firmest determinations, nor be sure that he shall not, at the cry of a turbulent passion, commit some act of madness foreign to all his previous thoughts -what should such a man be but a fatalist? He is not conscious of having fixed his character and position by his own will; but as he looks back upon his life, he seems to himself to have been the sport of some mysterious power, the plaything of an immovable destiny. The blind sway of passion he mistakes for an equally blind fate. He may be accustomed to reflection, but what is reflection without a will to second it? He reflects on the follies of the past only to fall into them anew, and most bitterly feels that " to be weak is to be miserable." What, we repeat, can such a man be but a fatalist? that is, a man who undervalues the element of freedom, and exalts that of necessity; and who, if a believer in Christianity, will resolve every thing into divine sovereignty.

But take another individual, of opposite character, with whom force of will is the predominant feature; who has known no obstacles which he did not surmount, no temptations which he did not resist; who has been accustomed to bend, not only his own passions, but those of others, by the force of his will; who never turned back from a purpose; never surrendered a begun enterprise; never said, "I can't"—and can you make a fatalist of him?

Augustine and Pelagius may be mentioned, not as belonging exactly to either of the types of character above described, but as examples in which opinion was evidently the result of natural temperament and constitution. It is not surprising that Augustine, whose ascendency over his passions was gained only through painful struggles, and in whom the strife of the two natures was so apparent and vehement, should have embraced manichæism; nor that afterwards, when increasing light convinced him of his error, he should have taken strong hold of the doctrine of grace. Equally obvious is the connection between the equable, moderate and placid temperament of Pelagius, and the opinions which be

held respecting free will and human ability.

We might go on to give the various elements which make up, respectively, a mystic, a utilitarian, an eclectic, or any of the other species into which men are divided; but it is unnecessary. Rather let us ask, what inferences are to be deduced from the foregoing observations, if their correctness be admitted. One inevitable consequence would seem to be, the confirmation of our former position, that uniformity in human opinions is not to be looked for. The grounds of existing diversities having been seen to lie in the nature of man, these diversities will of course continue. So long as the world stands, there will probably continue to be Episcopalians and Congregationalists, Platonists and Aristotelians, radicals and conservatives. Nor is this conclusion, in our view, a just subject of regret. While many evils grow out of the variety of existing sects, there are important counterbalancing advantages. The advantages may be increased, the evils are incidental. For, it should never be forgotten, that true union lies not in forms, nor on the surface; it is an inward principle, and has its growth in the spirit of man. It may co-exist with a wide diversity of outward forms; and, on the contrary, the most absolute external agreement may fail to indicate or produce it, and where it does not it is worthless. What we want is not uniformity; this it would not seem that God has designed, since he has created the diversity of minds, but tolerance, in the widest, deepest, highest sense of the word. Where such a union of spirit exists, differences of form are of less moment.

Moreover, it is matter of thankfulness that the truths most vital and important to us, have not been left to be discovered by our imperfect and distorted faculties, but have been made the subject of revelation. In relation to these points, therefore, error is inexcusable, and where it exists must be traced

to other causes than the necessary limitation of human facul-And this thought furnishes an answer to another objection which we anticipate to our views, namely, that they relieve men from responsibility for their opinions. If every man believes, as he does, by the necessary constitution of his mind, how can he be justly accounted responsible for his In reply it may be said, that we must first except from the class of truths in regard to which he is non-responsible, all those which God has revealed; in other words, all the truths of morality and religion. And again, we must except all those opinions on other subjects, in the formation of which, thoughtlessness, voluntary ignorance, prejudice, passion, or self-interest, has exerted an influence, since, for all these, he is responsible. To all of non-responsibility that remains after these two exceptions any man is welcome. No, far be it from us to lessen, in any degree, the fearful responsibility which rests on every man in the formation of his opinions. If he embraces error on any point fundamental to his interests, he does it not only in defiance of written revelation, but of the law written upon his heart, and most awful is the penalty for such guilt and madness. So far, then, as theoretical differences originate in men's moral natures, we may hope for a removal of them just in proportion as love, and purity, and meekness, shall take the place of pride, and selfishness, and passion. Atheism, and other monstrous forms of error, will flee in the day when men shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest.

Nor in philosophical science is the future utterly without hope of advancement. There are certain improvements which may be confidently anticipated in spite of the permanent sources of error which have been described. ends, instruments, and limitations of knowledge, will be defined with more precision; men will learn of what they are capable, and where to stop. They will comprehend the truth of Scaliger's profound maxim, humanæ sapientiæ pars est quædam æquo animo nescire velle. They will cease the foolish strife to subject all things to the laws of the understanding, and will acknowledge the inestimable worth of mystery. Mystery! how wide is its domain! Within her vast kingdom lie the beginnings of all existence, the roots of the universe. The primordial forms of all being are wrapped in its shadows. The things we see are but the images and re-

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flections of what lives unseen in the region of mystery. Those which we understand are but the twigs and leaves from the huge roots which expand themselves in that land of darkness. For a little while only do we see them ere they stretch again into that land. For there are all endings as well as all beginnings. There birth and death meet and embrace. What a worth, what a greatness is there in mystery! All fundamental things, all real things, all that is most ancient, most sacred, most terrible, most venerable, belongs to it. Let us learn to think little of the things we understand, and much of those profound mysteries which are the objects of faith, not of science. Then only shall we be in the right road to science.

Another inference which would seem necessarily to result from the foregoing premises is this: it is no argument against the truth of a system, that it appears false or unintelligible to some minds. We are the more willing to bring out this position distinctly, because it is the practice, if not the theory, of many modern would-be philosophers, to condemn and ridicule any system, however venerable, which does not commend itself to their understandings at once, or which requires any greater expenditure of thought and attention than can be given in a leisure half hour after dinner. The cry of obscure! unintelligible! is raised at once, and the condemnation is decisive.

Now there are two requisites at least to the proper understanding of a metaphysical system. The first is, that general training to such investigations, without which no man has any business to express an opinion on a single question in metaphysics, any more than a person wholly ignorant of mechanics has to advise about the construction of a bridge, or a man who knows nothing of the nature of diseases and remedies to administer medicines. Philosophy is a science, however some people may seem not to be aware of it; and a science which does not come by intuition any more than those of law and medicine. It is not with this class of persons, however, that we are particularly concerned at present; nor, indeed, is it needful to repeat what has been so much better said before, on the folly and absurdity of pretending to judge of the truth of a philosophical system without having served even as long an apprenticeship to such studies as is required of a blacksmith or a shoemaker. We have not at hand the passage in which Coleridge so forcibly

and eloquently descants on this point, but would refer those who need to be convinced to his works.

But we go farther, and assert, that still another requisite to the comprehension, in the highest sense of that word, of a metaphysical system, is the possession of a type, or cast of mind, somewhat similar to that of the author of the system. For if you are not able to see through his eyes for a time, in other words, if your consciousness cannot be put into the same state with that of the author of the theory or system, his words may fall upon your ear, or strike your eye, but they will be words only; they will not be symbols of the ideas which they represented to him. This does not necessarily imply either a defect in you, or in the system. mind may be of an order which forbids your fully penetrating the meaning of an author so diverse from you; and it may be, on the other hand, that your system would be equally obscure and unsatisfactory to him. On this point we are happy to be able to quote an admirable passage from the work whose title stands at the head of this article, and which, valuable as it is on account of the ability and learning displayed in the general management of the subject of which it treats, is no less so an account of the many just and striking thoughts scattered through it. After observing that neither Plato nor Aristotle understood the other, he goes on:

"This assertion will be received with incredulity by many persons. How does this accord, it will be said, with the fact that Plato and Aristotle are called the greatest of philosophers, while you assert them to be incapable of understanding and appreciating each other? And especially how can it be said that Aristotle judged the Platonic philosophy so hardly, simply from a misconception of it, when he is acknowledged to have possessed the most

acute and penetrating understanding?

"This objection, or doubt, will vanish so soon as we recognize the simple truth, so important in the history of science, that every mind can comprehend, in the widest sense of the word, only that object which it is able organically to produce, or re-produce, in itself. The living, up-shooting, and up-lighting, of a foreign thought in one's own inner consciousness, is properly understanding; all else is only a shadow-and-word-understanding, not a spiritual perception of the truth in question. There are two kinds of understanding. The words which Paul has written any learned man can translate and comment upon; but he cannot, therefore, say that he understands Paul, for that can be said by him alone who possesses a mind and character like Paul's.

"Aristotle saw and comprehended only the not-Aristotelian in Platonism; the peculiarly Platonic remained strange and unpenetrated by him. For had it attained a living development in his consciousness, this consciousness must have ceased to be organized and conditioned after an Aristotelian fashion, and have become Platonic. He could not have been a Platonizing thinker, if he had wished it. But he did not wish it, nor ought he to have done so, for in so doing he would have sinned against himself and the spirit of history Even Schiller and Gothe, who gave themselves so much trouble to promise, and to render each other reciprocal justice, could never quite succeed; Schiller thought the poetry of Gothe would be better and finer if it were a little more Schiller-like, (Schillerischer,) and Gothe thought no less on his side."

The fact is, that ideas are not pieces of mental furniture which can be transferred at pleasure from one mind to another; their reception demands certain requisites on the part of the receiver, or rather they are not given and received, they are awakened in the mind by reflection, aided by the words which symbolize them; but never, strictly speaking, conveyed by those words. Consequently we cannot receive truth from others, we must make it our own by reflection, and whenever the words of another are made instrumental in imparting it to us, (we are speaking of course of abstract truth,) it is only that our minds have reached a point where

they would shortly have discovered it unaided.

One more inference, and we proceed to our main subject. It is, that controversy, except within certain limits, and under certain conditions, is useless. What these limits and conditions are, it may not be possible to state under the form of a distinct proposition. In general, it may be said, that when we have reason to believe our opponent uninstructed on the subject of debate, or where his opinion has been adopted hastily, as the result of partial or prejudiced examination, there is ground for hope that a candid, fair, and dispassionate exhibition of the controverted point, may be useful. So, too, when the error relates to a matter of vital importance, so as, in our view, to endanger the eternal interests of him who holds it—not only is it our right, but our imperative duty, to use all proper means to convince him of his error. But with these exceptions, and where a man's opinion on a certain point is evidently the result of his mental constitution, being of a piece with his opinions on other subjects, then we may let controversy rest. If men were mere intellectual beings,

and had no bad passions to be called into exercise, the case would be different. It might then be well enough that they should amuse themselves, and perhaps others, with the war of words, the clashing of pens and tongues. But when we see that even the wisest and best men lack the ability to preserve their tempers in the midst of a debate; how often discussions, amicably begun, have ended in bitter mutual hostility; how seldom controversy changes the opinion of either party, and what an expense of time and temper is occasioned by them, one can hardly avoid assenting to the wisdom of Solomon's advice to let alone contention before it be meddled with.

Especially is controversy to be avoided in matters of religion. Most ruinous have been its effects on the church in all ages. If we look over the pages of ecclesiastical history, we see every where the ensigns of war, and hear the din of battle, and the shouts of victory. Are these the followers of the Prince of Peace? Much may be said, we know, and much has been said, about the duty of contending for the faith, and no doubt it is a duty. But without being uncharitable, we may express a doubt whether half the ecclesiastical dissensions chronicled in the annals of the church, are not contentions for pride, self-interest, obstinacy, the love of party, rather than for the faith. Moreover, there are other and better ways of contending for the faith than by the war of words. Live it, and you take the most effectual means of preserving it from corruption. It is not too much to say, that truth goes out with a more convincing, persuasive, and victorious power, from the life of a truly godly and humble Christian, than from the pen of the most learned rabbi or doctor of the law that ever lived, who wrote from the love of controversy. Truth, translated into action, has a power which it can never exert in the abstract form of propositions and aphorisms.

The preceding remarks, which have extended to a much greater length than we had anticipated, are no otherwise connected with our main subject than as they are naturally suggested by every attempt to examine and comprehend the opinions of a truly independent mind. In tracing the relations and developments of Platonism, and comparing its peculiar character with that of other earlier and contemporaneous systems, the question can hardly fail to arise, why did Plato take just such views of truth, and no other?

Whence the peculiarity which made him a Plato, and not an Aristotle, a Zeno, or an Epicurus? In following out this, and some collateral trains of thought, we have taken a somewhat wide circuit; but trusting to the good-nature of our readers to pardon the fault, if it be one, we shall, without

further apology, turn to Ackermann and his book.

Amidst the multitude of books that have been written about Plato and Platonism, there is no one within our knowledge in which the precise point here treated of, namely, the relation of Platonism to Christianity, is so fully and ably handled as in the present work. The spirit in which it is conceived, the general plan of its construction, and the ability, learning, and Christian feeling displayed in its execution, are equally admirable. Sensible of the inadequacy and impropriety of the method of investigation ordinarily employed on such subjects, namely, that of instituting a comparison between single passages and detached opinions, the author, after presenting some such points of resemblance, has abandoned this method for the genetic, described in the following passage: "An inward connection must unite all the subsequent points of our inquiry, and we must be led from one to the other by a spiritual necessity, so that the main idea of the investigation shall appear not as put together and drawn out by us, but as developing itself freely and spontaneously from the subject." How successful Ackermann has been in this attempt, is a point on which different minds will form a different opinion. The process of abstracting the true essence and flavor of a system, and presenting it in a definite shape, is a delicate one, and not likely to be performed so as to suit all minds. The fault with which he is most liable to be charged, is that of allowing too much merit to Platonism, and perceiving in it a nearer analogy to Christianity than really exists. Yet it is impossible to recognize, more distinctly than he does, the infinite disparity between every system of human invention and that scheme of revealed truth of which Jesus Christ is the foundation, subject, and end. Thus while the effect of his work is to impress us with profound admiration of the wonderful man on whom such light beamed amidst the darkness of paganism, it also strengthens our conviction that the highest efforts of human reason are powerless to provide a redemption from human guilt and misery.

The author has of course found it necessary to discuss

some preparatory and collateral topics of inquiry, before engaging directly in an investigation so difficult and so interesting as the one proposed. Passing over these, however, for the present, we prefer to enter at once upon the main question. What, then, is the peculiar essence, the intransferable element, first in Christianity and then in Platonism?

In prosecuting this inquiry with regard to Christianity, the author leads us to contemplate it in its relations to life. What does life aim at and strive after? It strives after perfect and free development, the complete and unhindered unfolding of all its capabilities, the satisfaction of all its tendencies and aspirations. In the life of nature we see something of this freedom and perfection. There is in it an inexhaustible strength, and fullness, and freshness; it is sound at the core, and all the hindrances and molestations it meets with come from without, and are things apart from it. All this, of course, is to be understood relatively, not absolutely; for nature itself, as St. Paul declares, waits and groans for redemption. Yet, relatively, it is true that the creation exults in the might of its sustainer. What a wealth of remedies and restoratives does nature reveal! What manifold resources for protection and defence! Meeting every injury with a counter healing influence, and filling the shell of the wounded muscle with pearls, and the clefts of the mountain with precious ores.

Human life, viewed from one side, presents a similar refreshing and satisfying spectacle. Every want calls forth a corresponding gratification. "For the body, grow without fail its nourishment and its covering; wounds and diseases attract from afar the healing balsam; the senses meet every where what suffices for their quickening and refreshment; to the fancy is never wanting the excitement of abundant images; to the creative spirit of art there is presented every where a wealth of materials to be elaborated; for the social impulse is provided companionship and conversation; over every dark sorrow hope arches her bright bow of peace; the heart every where finds love, and the mind its world of thoughts." But there is another side to life -- oh, how different! Yes, there is in life disappointment, regret, delusion, fear, abjectness, guilt, remorse, despair, death! To get at this view of the picture it is not needful to examine history; to search the annals of crime; to read of wars and persecutions; of tortures, bloodshed and imprisonment; of cannibalism and human sacrifices; we need only appeal to consciousness. For life is sensible of its want and degradation—it feels that it is not what it should be—what it was designed to be. "A gloomy pain often shoots across its joylit countenance; in the midst of its loudest jubilee is heard, not seldom, a low but heart-breaking wail of sadness.... It is the voice of a noble captive who sighs after freedom, and to whom, day and night, there is present an unsleeping thought—I am more than a beating pulse, a temporary tension of the nerves; I am a being made for life, and effort, and energy, destined to independent existence; but I am a disinherited and wronged heir, a poor fettered slave—to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not. Oh, wretched creature that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

Thus does life plainly give to be known its wants and its emptiness. It asks for the supply of its needs, and for deliverance from all these evils. Where is deliverance to be found? Who shall be its redeemer? Shall it be nature, art, philosophy, civilization? All these have been tried and found wanting. As a certain writer has expressed it, "Experience has perfected the faculties and increased the powers of man — a thousand inventions and discoveries have added to his natural capabilities—improvements of every kind, the growth of arts, the increase of knowledge, the experience of accumulated ages, all is indicative of progress to the present time; in one thing only there is no progression—man has found no defence, no security from sorrow." But cannot morality be a savior? Surely nothing is wanting to life but adherence to the rules of a pure system of ethics. But, alas! the evil is too deep to be reached by such a remedy. It needs an inward cure, not an outward law. "Morality stands like a dry twig in the midst of green, fresh life, hung with clattering, categorical imperatives, which certainly scare away some sparrows from the wheat, but make not a stalk to grow. An external harmony between the life and the commandment can morality produce, but no internal; it can only demand obediency, not work it in the heart. Not he who does right, but he who loves it, is the righteous man, and this love morality cannot produce."

Where, then, shall life find a saviour? If we turn to it,

[.] An allusion to Kant's system.

once more, and inquire on what side its misery and want are greatest, we shall find it to be on the religious side, that is, in its relations to God. Plainly, then, from that side must come its help; yes, from the living love of God alone can come restoration and redemption for man. In casting our eyes back on history, we discover one being who forms an exception to the rest of men — who seems of them and yet above them — who sheds around him illumination and healing, and yet whose life is, in one sense, a natural development and product of humanity. That being is Jesus Christ. "The world has seen no fresher, fuller, fairer, and purer Here, no sense of guilt troubles the clear mirror of consciousness; no impure thought, no bad act disturbs the inner peace. Here, the activity has nothing about it morose, lame, halt, weak; here, no good intention sighs over its nonfulfilment, no significant moment waits in vain for its filling up; here, on the contrary, is perfect fullness, harmony, truth, dignity, earnestness, joy; here is a clearly-stamped being and working—a life throughout true and up-grown to its Idea." It is the spontaneous development of an inner law a natural product of the hidden life—it is founded in freedom, and not in any thing forced, accidental, or external.

And what it is, that does it likewise produce. From Christ, as from a living centre, have flowed forth streams of heavenly influence over the whole earth. His life is not shut up in himself, it is diffusive, it has gone abroad, thousands have been partakers of it, and thus has been formed a community, bound together as one body. In this living union with the Redeemer the soul finds what it needed, protection from all evils, strength and help to all goodness. It finds healing, well-being, redemption. This is the prerogative of the religion of Jesus; the peculiar and distinguishing element of Christianity is found in its redemptive power.* The whole of scripture turns on the idea of redemption as on an axis.

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^{*} The author constantly employs a word in this part of his work which has no adequate representative in our language. It is keil, which means, literally and primarily, healing. The words restoration, recovery, redemption, are our nearest approximations to it, but none of them expresses it, uniting, as it does, the idea of present well-being, with that of deliverance from ill. The facility with which the German language admits the formation of compound words, gives it a vast advantage over the English, and enables the author to express, in a single word, what we are obliged to convey by a long periphrasis. Thus, when he would say that the Christian religion provides redemption, or healing, for man, that Platonism aims at it, and that Judaism expects it, he does it by the use of the three words, heilskraflige, heilbezweckende, and heilerwartende.

The Old Testament is the history of loss, ruin—of what constitutes the need of redemption, of departure from God; the New Testament describes the way of return, recovery, restoration. The text of the Old is, "The wages of sin is death;" that of the New, "but the gift of God is eternal A reception of the first truth is absolutely necessary as a preparation for the second. Therefore is it that Christianity insists so much on sin, and regards it in so different a light from that in which it is viewed by men, as not consisting in single outward acts, but as vested in the inner nature, and governing the affections and will. This state of subjection to sin, and of dominant sense, the scriptures indicate by the word flesh, in speaking of the individual; in relation to the common life of the species they call it world. Between the flesh and the world on one side, and Christianity on the other, there can never exist any other relation than that of irreconcilable hostility. The receptivity for spiritual and redemptive influences on the part of man, is faith; and the result of such influences, in other words, the object of redemption, is to bring the soul into a filial relation to God—to make it a partaker of the divine nature. This could never have been effected but through a personal, incarnate, living Redeemer: "The Word became flesh," says the evangelist. The historical facts relating to the person, miracles, life, death, and resurrection of our Saviour, are an integral, and absolutely essential part of Christianity; they are its very root and ground.

Let us now turn to Platonism, and see what elements can be traced in it congenial to Christianity. And here it may be necessary to caution the reader unacquainted with the subject, against expecting too obvious and distinct a resemblance. When we are told that Plato's writings were held in such high estimation by the early fathers of the church; that they observed so wriking a resemblance between many points in his system and the teachings of the Old Testament, as seemed to them to require the supposition of his having borrowed* from the Jewish scriptures, while Celsus reverses the allegation, and impiously declares that Christ has bor-

^{*} Justin and some others explained the fact in a different way. The more glorious manifestation of the divine logos, they said, was made in Christ, but long before his appearance in the flesh scattered beams of his light were diffused over the earth, enlightening not only the patriarchs of the old covenant, but the wise and pious among the heathen, and thereby fitting them for eternal life.

rowed from Plato—when the names of Justin Martyr, Clement, Origen, and Augustin, are found among his admirers, and when Eusebius names him "the only Greek who has penetrated into the ante-chamber of Christian truth"—we are prepared to find numerous and striking points of resemblance between the two systems, and to expect at least an imperfect fore-shadowing of the religion of Jesus in the doctrines of the divine philosopher. But it should be remembered, that the opinions of the fathers, especially those of the eastern church, were influenced by early studies. Educated in the Platonic philosophy, they naturally continued to regard it with indulgence after they had become acquainted with a purer system. Their very surprise at finding any harmony between the doctrines of a heathen sage and those of the founder of Christianity, would lead them unconsciously to exaggerate the resemblance. But the agreement we are to expect, as Ackermann leads us to observe, is one not of particular features, but in the general spirit. And it is not difficult to understand that Platonism, by the subjugation of sense to reason which it required, by the emancipation of the purely spiritual in man from the fetters of the material, and from the gross conceptions of the lower nature, which it demanded, and especially by its lofty requisitions of a pure morality, might have prepared the minds of its disciples for the still more spiritual and exalted requirements of Christianity; and that, notwithstanding, when adhered to with too pertinacious an attachment, and allowed to modify and remould the doctrines of Jesus, it might have interfered with a reception of them in their integrity and simplicity, and might have aided in the introduction of some of those "heresies" which were so liberally charged upon it. Yet it would be well to remember, that most of these errors are chargeable upon the new Platonists, and should by no means be confounded with the genuine doctrines of the original system.

To return now to our author. In his view, the resemblance and the difference between the two systems may be expressed by saying, that Platonism aims at what Christianity accomplishes. Christianity redeems man; Platonism seeks to redeem him. This feature of Platonism points to its teleological character, which is very strongly marked. Its whole aim, tendency and spirit, is teleological. To this it owes its elevated and noble character; for that system must needs be elevated, which, looking out upon the world,

passes over the objects and movements which fill up the foreground, and seeks and finds, in the distant horizon, the point towards which they all tend. It is this which makes the system of Plato so admirable, that it does not become a limit to its author to keep him from going farther; "His knowing and willing surpasses his power of thinking; his God is greater than his philosophy." The universe is one harmonious whole, in which every thing has its place, and this place is regulated by its relation of nearness or distance to God. Thus, in Platonism, too, as in Christianity, the teleological is immediately connected with the theological, and, indeed, passes into it. For the conception of an aim includes that of a will which proposes the aim. And since Plato's inquiring mind was directed, not merely to the knowledge of single ends in nature and human life, but to the one final end, towards which the great whole tends, he was naturally led to the recognition of the will which embraces this whole, and has moulded and guided it to its end. From this teleological view of the world, Plato deduces not only the existence, but the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Divine

Here, then, is the point where the inward relationship of the Platonic to the Christian theology becomes apparent. It looks out upon the world with a Christian eye, views the whole system of things as tending towards a divinely preappointed end, and seeks to advance that end. In this feature it stands quite alone; for it is almost the only system of philosophy that unites, with a genuine scientific character, a truly religious idea of its proper calling and aim. If the teleological cast of Platonism has thus introduced us to its theology, it has revealed to us the whole origin and development of its author's theory of redemption, and we can comprehend his ascribing such a regenerating power to the knowledge of the true and the good. For the same union which exists between power and wisdom in the Divine Being, must exist also in its human reflection; since wisdom is one and the same in its essence, whether it appear as an attribute of God, or under the form and conditions of human intelligence. From this point we discover, in their natural order and connection, the resemblances between Platonism and Christianity, in their starting point, their means, and their end.

1. The point of departure in both is the need of redemp-

tion. Plato is not deceived by the glittering outside of human life. Penetrating through this, he sees the want, the emptiness, the miserable hollowness within. Hence the deeply serious, often sad tone of his writings—a spirit so at variance with the light and gay character of Grecian philosophy in general. Nor does he regard this misery and guilt of human life as something superficial and temporary; on the contrary, he views it as an evil deep-seated and widely-spread. His doctrine of sin is most remarkably distinguished from that of any other heathen system. It agrees with Christianity, too, in regarding sin as a departure from God; the germs and tendencies to which departure he places in the creaturely life as such. The good is the original and primary, the bad is a degeneracy from it—thus we have a fall of man.

2. The means by which a restoration of the union between God and man is to be effected, is the power of divine love. Pure and perfect love is the single and eternal bond of the spiritual world. "In the form of perfect beauty she steps in as mediatress between God and man, between the visible and invisible, between spirit and matter; wakes, by her penetrating ray, the slumbering consciousness of the truly and unchangeably existent; and directs the fluctuating aspirations of the awakened spirit to that which alone can satisfy them - to God, the highest good." But before divine love can exert its healing and restorative influence, there must be a preparation for it, that is, a consciousness of need. must feel his guilt. Thus, like Christianity, Platonism does not first bring peace, but the sword. It seeks to humble, to empty, to abase. It welcomes the hungry and the lowly, but sends away the full and the rich. Peace must spring from anguish; the anguish of true self-knowledge and selfrenunciation. As the ideas of the flesh and the world are not foreign to Platonism, so neither are the opposite ones of the spirit, and the kingdom of God; the idea of which is plainly to be seen in the Republic.

3. As to the end which Plato proposes, it is, as we have seen, nothing less than the redemption of man; the emancipation of the soul from error and sin, and its introduction into the world of the True and Good. In reference to this end, death appears to him as the greatest benefactor of life. In death the spirit is loosened from the sensual and fleshly bands which had fettered it here; it follows unhindered the im-

pulses which lead it towards the eternal and divine. Thus death, as in the Christian system, is made the introduction to life. It is contained in the Christian idea of redemption, that man cannot accomplish it for himself. The same is true of Plato's doctrine on this point. It is true that he does not trace this work to the person and love of a divine Redeemer, but to heavenly influences, acting in and upon human life. The office of purification and reconciliation is intrusted to the eternal Ideas. He expects from them almost the same effects which Jesus wrought through the purity of his life and doctrine. "They form, through their inseparable connection, their inward vital union, so to say, that heavenly ladder, on which a significant dream saw the angels ascend Touched by them the illuminated spirit and descend. mounts from step to step, till the last and highest leads it to the perception of the living Godhead." The approximation of the soul to the Supreme Being through the mediatorship of Ideas, constitutes the highest point of redemption, or reconciliation. The reconciliation of opposites, or their resolution into a higher unity, marks the whole theoretical, as well as practical character of Platonism. The world is a system of energies and ends which continually assist and forward each other. The good is all-powerful, and the bad shall not only be forced to submit to it, but to contribute towards the same end - a discord which shall swell the mighty harmony. "Thus the whole history of the world, seen from the throne of the Eternal, is nothing else than an answer to the prayer for glorification through His light and love."— John xvii. 5.

Plato could not have presented so Christian a view in his philosophy, if he had not felt its power in his soul. His faith in the possibility of redemption for man was not a speculation merely; it was deep-seated in his convictions and feelings, and moulded his character. "He saw in spirit, like Abraham, the day of the Lord; he felt himself rooted and grounded in his spiritual being and striving, on a divine redemptive power, present, but invisible in the world; and this anticipation of the sovereign rule of the Eternal, in the fulness of time, was his star in the east, and the source of his spiritual strength and hopefulness . . . Almost might be say with John, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Certain it is, that "faith and love

are not less fundamental to the life of the soul in Platonism than in Christianity."•

Yet, after all that has been said, and justly, of the decidedly Christian tendency of Plato's writings, there yet remains a chasm which may well be called infinite, between his doctrines and those of the gospel. As far as human reason could go, he went; and farther, many will be ready to say, than it could have gone unassisted. But the doctrine which lies at the very basis of Christianity, is one which could never have been discovered without revelation, and to this he necessarily remained a stranger. It is the doctrine of the life and death of a personal Redeemer. It was for want of this knowledge, that his system, like all other merely human systems, remained so powerless; that it could not effect the good it aimed at. Had Ackermann failed to recognize this point with the same clearness with which he has brought out the Christian features in Platonism, his work would have been essentially defective. But he has not. The concluding chapter of his work begins thus: "A purer knowledge of the eternal and the beautiful than that contained in the Platonic philosophy, has not dawned on the heathen world. But to be the Life itself was not given to this light. (John i., 4.) And the shame-covered cross on Golgotha is yet a more splendid and triumphant theodicy than the sublime picture of a world filled with divine glory in the mind of the Grecian sage!"

But before entering fully on this part of the subject, Ackermann glances at some of the minor unchristian features in Platonism—points which we shall pass over to notice what he says on the pantheistic tendencies apparent in the system. The charge of Pantheism, it is well known, has been continually advanced against Plato, often, it may be presumed, by those who attach to the word no distinct and precise

^{*} The author anticipates an objection to the truth of this remark, from the fact that Plato speaks so contemptuously of **mores*. But it is not to words, he observes, that we are to look for the **malogou* of Christian faith in Plato, but in things. It is to be found in the inner direction and constitution of his mind — a firm and joyful conviction which inspirits the whole system of his philosophy. Without this he could not have been penetrated by so pure a love to the divine; for, as Augustin justly remarks, non potest diligi quod esse non creditur. It must be admitted, however, that such a spirit, admirable as it may be, forms but a very imperfect "analogou" to the Christian faith; and which, indeed, could not exist without a personal and divine Redeemer for its object. If Ackermann has somewhat overstated this point, as we think he has done in several other instances, an antidote will be found in what he has yet to say on the unchristian in Platonism. On these points see still farther the note infra.

meaning. Strict, consequent, systematic Pantheism, is one thing, and the occasional occurrence of pantheistic elements in a system, is another. In the former sense, the allegation, as it regards Plato, is wholly unfounded; in the latter, it is true. Nor can it justly be matter of surprise that a heathen philosopher has not been able wholly to escape the rocks which have proved so fatal to Christian theology. And who that has studied the history of the church will assert that she has ever been able to construct a complete and satisfactory system of theological truth, free from tendencies to Pantheism on the one hand, or to Deism on the other? As little doubt

can there be which of the two is to be preferred.

But, as was observed of the Christian element in Platonism, so now it may be said of the unchristian, that the true way to arrive at it is not by the comparison of scattered points. Its great defect is indicated by the expression already employed to describe its chief excellence—heilbezweckenden. It merely aims at redemption, but cannot accomplish it. The cause of this failure is to be found in the fact that it wants that which is the very kernel and soul, the living pulse of Christianity, namely, the person and work, or the life and sorrows of the Redeemer. For this is the chief point which essentially distinguishes, not merely heathenism, but every other form of faith and religion from the Christian. cannot contemplate the heathen systems without wonder at their often surprising resemblance to Christianity." The deeper we penetrate into the writings of the ancients, the less are we able to resist the conviction, that, on the side of doctrine alone, they are but little behind Christianity. They contain not only all the moral precepts and exalted teachings which the gospel has given us, but we find them often more sharply marked, and clothed with a more beautiful drapery than in the sacred writings; and those who know nothing better to extol in Christianity than its "incomparable doctrines," know not what they do and say. Truly, it is not in doctrine that Christianity is so superior to all which the history of the world has produced, in a religious point of view. Heathen sages have inculcated the noble and divine in almost the same pure and exalted form as the founder of Chris-

A remarkable confirmation of the position that much in heathen philosophy and religion is to be traced to primitive revelation — a view which is admirably stated and defended by Professor Lewis, of New York, in his address, entitled, "Natural Religion the Remains of Primitive Revelation."

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tianity. . . . But the incarnation of the divine Word belongs to no philosophy, and to no speculation, but to Christianity alone."

These remarks will enable us to understand the otherwise so incomprehensible fact, that in a system whose predominant character is supernatural and mystical, there should occur features of such mere rationalism.† We see, also, why Plato, in common with other heathen, had so feeble an impression of the holiness of God, an attribute on which, in the Christian system, is based the whole doctrine of atonement. Because the idea of God is not brought out into living reality and personality, the human and finite in heathenism is always predominant, while in Christianity the reverse is true. "In the former, the apotheosis of man—in the latter, the incarnation of God, is the summit of pious faith." And as the thinker is always higher than his thought, (see Eschenmayer, in Hegel's Reg. Phil.,) pride is the cardinal

* The reader will be reminded of S. Augustin's words: " Apud Ciceronem et

* In a reader will be reminded of S. Augustin's words: "Apud Ciceronem et Platonem, aliosque ejusmodi scriptores, mulla sunt acuté dicta et leniter calentia, sed in iis omnibus hoc non invenio, 'Venite ad me,'" &c.

† The author refers, among other things, to Plato's grounding the existence of the state in a sense of common need, and to his depreciation of the fine arts, especially poetry. Others might prefer a different solution of some of these facts. Rixner, Geschichte der Philosophie, p. 223, says, "That Plato thought ill of the popular poets, and refused to admit even Homer into his ideal republic as more than a travelling guest, is not to be misunderstood as if he did not recognize the original identity of poetry and philosophy: both of which live in the contemplaoriginal identity of poetry and philosophy; both of which live in the contempla-tion of the Ideal. But his censure was aimed at two things—the senseless and spiritless mode of treating mythology, which looked only at the literal signifi-cance of its fables and neglected their hidden meaning; and the frivolous and superficial productions of contemporaneous poets, who invented new fables quite

destitute of a spiritual meaning."

We perceive that Dr. Ritter, in a review of our author, refers to this passage We perceive that Dr. Ritter, in a review of our author, refers to this passage, among others, as a proof that Ackermann's book is pervaded by an exaggerated hostility to rationalism. "We have always, till now," he says, "held rationalism for an error in theology, and one peculiar to the last century. How is it that Ackermann finds it in the philosophy of Greece so long ago?" The grounding of the state, in a sense of common need, and the depreciation of the fine arts, seem to us far enough from rationalism. "One would almost think that the author seeks to charge upon it all possible crudities and errors, in order that he may obtain a more easy victory." Not so exactly; but Ackermann uses the word rationalism in a wide sense, to express a general tendency of human nature, not a particular and determinate system. Ritter, on the contrary, uses it in a strict scientific sense, and regards the error itself as a local and temporary one. This is not the only instance in which he censures our author, rather more severely than is necessary, we think, for a wide, and somewhat vague and indeseverely than is necessary, we think, for a wide, and somewhat vague and indeterminate application of terms, and for overstating a point in his anxiety to present it clearly. For our own part, we regard Ackermann's vindication of his method in such instances as satisfactory. "The writer who wishes to present a proposition in a clear light, can do it only by drawing a little too tight the proper strings; otherwise the tones flow into each other, and make no distinct impression," etc.

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virtue of the one, as humility is of the other. In his remarks on this point, just as they are, the author seems to contradict what he had before said of the humility and self-abnegation required by the Platonic philosophy. But, it should be remembered, that in both cases he speaks relatively, in the first instance, to other heathen systems; in the last, to Christianity. He goes on to observe, that to the pride of the human heart the self-exalting system of personal merit and ability is undoubtedly most pleasing, and quotes a remark from Goethe to the effect that there are plenty of heathens in the Christian church. The following passage is equally just and beautiful:

"Oh, it is, indeed, much sweeter and easier, with a Platonic flight, to soar to the height of the divine idea, than in quiet simplicity to follow Christ, and bear after him the cross of self-renunciation! On which account the wise world of modern times, also, so soon as it has arrived at the conviction that some sort of striving after God is indispensable to human excellence, far rather chooses the easier and more brilliant way of thinking God, than the toilsome and painful way of the cross; and accordingly prefers an æsthetic-Platonic, or philosophical-moral system of religion, to the Christian.

"But be it as it may, so much is clear from the view of the Platonic and Christian anthropologies, that the gain to human dignity, in the former, is only apparent, and the loss real; in the latter, on the contrary, the loss is apparent, and the gain real. How comes it that classic heathenism, with all its exalting, yea, almost deification of human nature, has never been able to construct any adequate notion of freedom and personality; while Christianity, which appears almost to degrade man, by denying to his virtue any merit in the sight of God, is the one religion from which the doctrine of man's true dignity, personality and freedom, has most nobly developed itself? How comes it that the heathen philosophy, even in the excellent Plato, in spite of all its soaring, can never escape from a miserable fatalism; and, consequently, that it takes away with the left hand of religion, what it gave with the right of morality? Plato shows us man surrounded with a divine splerdor; yet, alas! bearing the dark chains of a blind necessity.

There is, again, an apparent contradiction between Ackermann's remarks in this place, on the Platonic ideas of sin and redemption, compared with what he has previously said on these points. The resemblance of the Platonic to the Christian redemption, he observes, is rather apparent than real, consisting in a deliverance from error and delusion, the

defects of the thinking faculty. Indeed he could not do otherwise, consistently with the doctrine that virtue is in-

separable from wisdom.

The bad, or moral evil, has, according to him, no real, positive, and efficient existence; it is a mere delusive appearance, incapable of perpetuating itself, or of maintaining any permanent and successful conflict with goodness.* Besides this point of difference, it may be added, that a redemption attainable only by the philosophic few, could be of little interest or value to the mass of mankind. a "limited atonement," indeed! Pity, that having seen so far, the great philosopher should have seen no farther! That to the light of his own mighty intellect—mighty in comparison with the powers of ordinary minds, yet how powerless to discover the mysteries of the kingdom of God—there should not have been added the brighter light of revelation! One cannot wonder at the feeling which gave rise to the tradition, in the early days of the church, that Plato was met by our Savior when "He descended into hell," and received from him illumination, and pardon, and eternal life. Ackermann concludes his work thus:

"But is Platonism, as we have seen in so many ways, by its stamp of ideality, its religious elevation, and the exceeding beauty of its dialectic form, so adapted to awaken the admiration and enthusiasm of the reflecting mind, and to win over to itself the hearts that yearn after the divine - how great, how infinitely great, must be the hidden might of that homely word which flowed from the poor life of Jesus! For, dispensing with the aid of those circumstances which have given to Platonism so attractive a power, it yet drew together, in a short time, a larger church than Platonism could ever assemble; and, moreover, triumphantly outlasted, in Platonism itself, its worthiest and most powerful rival. And if there is confessedly, in the whole philosophic literature of ancient and modern times, no system that can be compared to Platonism, either for æsthetic perfection of form, depth and richness of ideas, or for the lofty soarings of a divinely-kindled spirit, which we see in it - how incomparably high stands the despised religion of Jesus, when we find the noblest product of human art and wisdom so far beneath it!"

^{*} This Platonic idea of the negative character of moral evil, has re-appeared in various other systems, both ancient and modern. See the writings of Origen, S. Augustin, Schleiermacher, and the third and fourth volumes of Coleridge's Literary Remains, passim.

Deeply interesting is it to contemplate the struggles of human reason after an end which it was destined never to attain; to see its dim and partial guesses, its earnest and repeated yearnings after the truth, which was hidden from it; to mark how it sometimes seems to approach the very verge of discovery, and then, as if drawn back by an unseen hand, to recede from it again, only to be anew shrouded in darkness! Such an interest, sad and painful, it is true, is excited by every attempt to scan the records of heathen antiquity, and to penetrate through the outward manifestation to the inner life. What wonders may lie locked up in those myths and mysteries, if we had but the key to unlock them! What revelations might be made to us by those seemingly fantastic and meaningless fables, if we could but see through them! And if, in the more plain and simple myths, we find a relation to human life, and a representation of human feelings and passions—as in the stories of Sisyphus and Tantalus, of Ixion and Prometheus—how reasonable is it to suppose, that in the more obscure fables there is also a distinct and profound meaning!

But to return to Plato. We have exhibited the general course of the investigation pursued by Ackermann, and the result at which he arrives. In conformity with our original design, we should be glad to retrace the path, and dwell more minutely on some points in the inquiry; but finding this course inexpedient, by reason of the length to which our remarks have already extended, we shall content ourselves with noticing one or two points in regard to Plato as a writer, which may be of interest to those unacquainted with his

works.

It should be understood, that, in the preceding view, Ackermann has given us what may be called the concentrated essence of Platonism. It is not the product which would be obtained from a single reading of Plato's writings, or even from a repeated reading; but is rather the result of a double-refining process, requiring for its attainment not only a thorough and diligent study of the Platonic writings, but a power of penetrating into its very core, and laying bare its hidden germs, and half-developed tendencies. Let not, then, the unskilled reader imagine, that by taking down and turning over a volume or two of Plato's works, or even by reading them all, he shall attain at once such a view as has been here presented, or, indeed, any clear and definite view at all.

Much more likely will he be to doubt whether Plato had any system himself, or whether, if he had, he meant to make it known. For he will find himself plunged in confusion and uncertainty. On most points, the opinion of the philosopher is to be got at, not from a single, detached passage, but from a careful collation of many different ones, scattered here and . there through the different dialogues, often contradictory,* and which are to be put together and reconciled as well as may be. Then there are pages upon pages of the dialogue, in which the only business of one of the interlocutors is to vary the forms of saying yes and no; pages more in which the argument does not seem to advance a single step, but rather to return upon itself; and others still where the subject of discussion is so trivial and common-place, that we are ready to fancy ourselves in the company of the school-men in the days of Duns Scotus and Abelard. Moreover, it is often the case that these discussions terminate in nothing, and leave us as wise as they found us, so far as any definite result is concerned, breaking off in the midst, just as our hopes are the strongest of a satisfactory solution.† All these things prove great stumbling-blocks to the beginner in Plato, as we can testify from our own whilom experience, and as Ackermann himself is quite willing to admit.

"The feeling of extraordinary greatness will hardly be the first impression produced on us by the reading of Plato. Rather will it be that of deceived expectation. For it is generally the case, that the impression produced by objects whose renown for greatness or splendor is familiar to us, falls behind the expectation with which we approach them. Many persons, it is true, will not make this avowal, either to themselves or others, because they are ashamed to look without interest or emotion at objects which awaken a transport of enthusiasm in others. And this false shame

† There is one very convenient mode of getting rid of the difficulties in such a case, without loss of one's reputation for discernment—a mode which has been tried upon other writers besides Plato, e. g., S. T. Coleridge. It is to declare that the author in question has no system.

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^{*} Tennemann enumerates some of these in his System der Platonischen Philosophie. "In the Protagoras it appears as if he held the good and the agreeable for identical; in the Gorgias this opinion is combated." In the Cratylus he appears to favor the opinion that outward means of purification avail to the benefit of the soul; elsewhere he denies it. In the Hippias, he says, that those who lie and steal deliberately, are to be preferred to those who do it without thought; but elsewhere he asserts the opposite. In one place he says, that an action is good when it has good consequences; and in another, that we must do what is right, without reference to consequences.

becomes only too easily an occasion of untruth; one counterfeits to himself and to others, emotions which he has never had."

A sin, alas! of which Plato is not the only occasion. This lying to oneself that we may lie without remorse to others, is but too common. But suppose that one has honesty enough to let his true sentiments be known, and moral strength enough to persevere in the study of Plato, in spite of the first unfavorable impression, it is certain that many of the repellent features we have mentioned will disappear entirely, all of them in a measure, and some will begin to appear as excellences and attractions. On this point we will hear Ackermann. What will be the first feature in Plato, he asks, which will rekindle the disappointed expectations of the reader? With the Germans he thinks it likely to be his moral earnestness and greatness, his love of the true and the good, his indignation against the base and the unworthy.

"To this first little germ of admiration or appreciation of the morally great in Plato, other elements are soon added, by the aid of which we attain to a better comprehension of his greatness as a writer and a philosopher. He who in a favorable state of mind enjoys a full and fresh contemplation of that incomparable image in the Phædrus, of the span of horses, in the representation of the heavenly life of the soul, and who, with an undivided and unfettered spirit, surrenders himself to the impression which the wonderfully splendid and yet mysterious pomp of this image is suited to awaken will be not feel himself powerfully excited, and his whole soul penetrated as by spirit and fire? The high flight of the Platonic inspiration of which we have heard — here we feel its living presence and power. The poetical fulness and beauty of style which appears to be wanting in some of his works, here meets us in all its splendor. The spiritual depth of his thoughts, which we do not so clearly perceive in some other parts of his writings here it is revealed to us at once with an almost unfathomable richness.

"What a successful overture is to a good piece of music, that is the Phædrus to Plato's works. If the meaning and spirit of this dialogue has become clear to us, we shall soon find ourselves at home in the region of the Platonic spirit and striving, and learn to understand its peculiar excellences. For the deeper we penetrate into the contents of the Phædrus, the more plainly shall we perceive that it is by no means either the lofty enthusiasm or the poetically beautiful diction which exclusively or principally affects us, in the reading of this dialogue. Were it not so, our emotion would be rather a transient ebullition than a constantly increasing satisfaction

and enjoyment; but the latter is the case. With all the fire and flow of thought, what a collectedness and calm security! With this stream and pressure of images, what a clear and comprehensive course of thought! With all the deep earnestness of those old myths and philosophemes, what a fresh charm and grace in the representation! In these creations of fancy, what truth! what nature! It is impossible that the inward state of one under the influence of love should be more truly, vividly and accurately described, than is done in the Phædrus. It is as if the consciousness of a lover had unfolded to us its hidden depths."

It is the less necessary, however, to adduce testimonies to the superlative beauty and grace of Plato's style, inasmuch as this is a point universally conceded, even by his opponents. More to the purpose is it to remark with Ackermann, that this formal beauty is not a mere accidental circumstance, an external ornament, which might or might not be present, but a necessary growth of the inward spirit of Platonism. least, so would Plato himself have regarded it, for it was a part of his belief that every spiritual power constructs for itself its body or outward manifestation; and that in proportion to the plastic force of the spiritual principle, will be the fitness and perfectness of the form in which it clothes itself. In contrast with this chaste harmony of development, which makes even the slightest ornament an organic product of the inner life, Ackermann dilates, with a warmth which he often exhibits on the same theme, on the faults of many modern writers, who, if they happen to possess any native fire, think proper to exhibit the whole on every occasion, in order that the spectators may be dazzled and overpowered by their brilliancy; and who, worse still, if they have not, contrive to make as great a blaze, and as much whizzing and fizzing with their few borrowed rockets, as if they had all Etna at their command. He who has suffered from such exhibitions is prepared to appreciate the simple and chaste beauty of the old classic style.

As to the question on which so much has been written to so little purpose, why Plato adopted the dialogistic form, Ackermann gives a very simple solution thereof, namely, that he could not help it.

"Most writers upon Plato, even modern ones, express themselves upon this subject as if they regarded the form of the Platonic dialogue as a matter of arbitrary choice, or a particular fancy of the

But this form is with Plato by no means a mere result of preference, it is the product of a philosophical necessity; it is so conditioned by the spirit of Platonism, and hangs so organically together with the whole essence of its philosophy, that this would have been essentially different, had it been presented in any other form. One need only reflect upon the significance of the Platonic dialectic for his whole system, in order to see this point clearly. Is thinking, according to Plato's view, an inward conversation, the record of it of course becomes a dialogue; is dialectic the ground and summit of all philosophy, then can philosophy appear in no fitter form than in that of dialogue; is philosophy a living power, which, battling the false and unworthy, goes through life aiding the true and the good to obtain appreciation and victory—then can this power and this conflict appear to advantage in no other species of style than in that which affords, by its mobility, a type of the living spirit, and which gives free scope to exposition and contradiction."

The fact, also, that Plato's dialogues so seldom lead to any satisfactory solution of the question proposed for discussion, admits of an equally clear explanation. His object was not to communicate truth whole, as it were, and in lumps, but to stimulate the minds of his readers to find it out for themselves by thinking. This observation, so essential to the comprehension of Plato, is one which we owe to modern commentators,* as well as another, no less important one, that the Platonic dialogues form an organic whole, and are not to be regarded as separate and detached productions. Schleiermacher was the first, we believe, to recognize this truth; and Ackermann, as might be expected from the character of his mind, presents it with great clearness. In the following passage we perceive a new instance of his willingness to depreciate, not, perhaps, unduly, the moderns in comparison with the ancients.

"That Plato had to do with the truth, and the whole truth, and

^{* &}quot;Of Plato's works, the larger and more valuable have all one common sad, which comprehends and shines through the particular purpose of each several dialogue; and this is to establish the sources, to evolve the principles, and to exemplify the art of method. This is the clue, without which it would be difficult to exculpate the noblest productions of the divine philosopher from the charge of being tortuous and labyrinthine in their progress, and unsatisfactory in their ostensible results... But with the clear insight that the object of the writer is not so much to establish any particular truth, as to remove the obstacles, the continuance of which are preclusive of all truth, the whole scheme assumes a different aspect, and justifies itself in all its dimensions."—The Friend. Compare, also, Schleiermacher's Introductions.

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that he did not set off upon the chase after so-called truths, and as soon as he had brought down one, diligently serve it up to the public in an ornamented dish, with an inviting (appetitlich) sauce, that he does not do this is the source of the calm power which pervades all his writings, and gives them a peculiar worth and meaning; for it knits together all the separate and detached parts into one great and rounded whole. In order to feel the full peculiarity and excellence of such a mode of composition, let us look at the originating cause of most works of our modern writers. They commonly write upon whatever runs across their path or through their thoughts; the first subject that presents itself will answer, so it be adapted to exhibit their talents or acquirements in an advantageous light; whether their single productions sustain any relation to each other, whether their works are a necessary birth of their inward thinking and knowing - this gives them little concern. They hit upon this or that subject, according as an impulse is given from without; they construct out of their full magazines now here and now there a stately wall; but when they have built long and much, yet at the end nothing is done: there are long and broad bits of masonry, extending in different directions, but no perfect and finished whole.

Far otherwise is it with Plato's works! They fit together by unobserved connections, and appear so related to each other and to their common end, that they form at last a magnificent temple, which receives its light from above through the arched ceiling.* It is this distinguishing peculiarity of his works which prevents most readers from sympathizing at first in the admiration which ancient and modern times have awarded him. One rarely attains to the understanding and enjoyment of single dialogues, polong as they are read singly and successively. On the contrary, one often feels that he knows not what to make of them; on which account we find among scholiasts and commentators of all times such wide and irreconcilable differences of opinion, as to the roper aim and ground-thought of each dialogue. The under anding of single parts in Plato becomes possible only from the anderstanding of the whole. Only when one has gained the point where the threads from different directions meet and unite, an one explain those directions and find out where he is (sich in ihnen orientiren.) It is with Plato's works as with every great and noble symphony; we do not perceive its worth and beauty till we contemplate it as a symphony, in its whole and perfect life; for its single parts, played by different instruments, are not only misunderstood, but often impress us disagreeably, because we do not perceive the meaning which they have in relation to the whole. Nor is it otherwise with

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^{*} It is to be understood, of course, that this unity is to be found in the general spirit rather than the minute parts of the whole, and that it is a product of Plato's genial power rather than of a distinct determination and effort.

the greatest of all symphonies, that of the world's history. The eye which contemplates the All of things, rests with pleasure on the moving picture, the single and out-jutting points of which confuse and harass us short-sighted creatures."

But that which, after all, ought to recommend Plato most strongly to all those who have a horror of mere "unprofitable speculations," is, that his philosophy was designed to be eminently practical, and to mould and remodel life. does not philosophize for the sake of philosophizing, or seek truth that he may lock it up in a casket and boast of the possession.* He philosophizes in the interests of morality, and it was only because he believed a complete system of speculative truth to be essential to the highest attainments in virtue — because he believed that knowledge is power, in a far higher and deeper sense than is commonly given to those words, that he expended so much time and thought on the completion of such a system. Believing, as he did, that the knowledge of the good necessarily leads to its practice, that sin is the result of error, and that if all men could be enlightened, all men would become virtuous, he could not do otherwise than seek to prepare the way for the dissemination and reception of truth. In support of this opinion we quote the following passage from Tenneman's System der Platonischen Philosophie:

"The consideration of the corrupt manners, the prevalent evils and disorders of civil society, and the distractions of the state—which had kept him back from political life—excited his mind unceasingly to the investigation of the causes of this evil in human nature, and of the means by which it might be remedied. A continued reflection led to the conviction that not Ahens alone, but all other states known to him, needed a reformation which should not merely improve this or that part, but should extend itself through the whole constitution of the state; because the laws, the customs, and the moral and religious convictions implanted by education, had lost their purity and their influence. From all these investigations came this result, that without philosophy such

^{* &}quot;Plato's system," remarks Dr. Ritter, "did not differ essentially from some other of the heathen systems, those of the east, for instance, in the end which it proposed to itself, namely, the restoration or regeneration (keil) of man, but in the means by which it sought to accomplish this end, namely, by an active practice of virtue, rather than by secluded contemplation of the Divinity, and ecstatic raptures in solitude.

a reform was not possible; that the ills of humanity never will cease, until, through philosophy, the principles of right and wrong, both as respects individuals and states, are unfolded and established . . . Plato regarded the establishment of a science of ethics, which he names the science of the good, or of the bad, as the highest and weightiest aim of philosophy. Yet he did not exclude the interests of theoretical knowledge from those of practical reason, but united both by subordinating the first to the second . . . Thus all his thinking and philosophizing set out from, and aimed at, one point. He sought to bring all departments of practical knowledge into a systematically arranged whole."*

In quoting from a work like the present, one hardly knows where to stop. We should like much to make still farther extracts; to present to our readers Ackermann's remarks on Plato's power of consecutive thinking, on his irony, his alleged sentimentality, and on the true meaning of the muchabused Platonic Ideas. Not that the author undertakes to give a neat and comprehensive definition of these same ideas, which shall make all plain, or, in his own words, to "drop the quintessence of the matter into a definition-spoon and

^{*} The popular error respecting Plato is directly met and refuted in this passage, to which it would be easy to add others, of similar purport, from various writers. Indeed, no one acquainted with Plato's works would hesitate to admit the position here taken. Yet how often do we hear the Platonic philosophy described as a mystical and shadowy system, made up of abstruse and useless speculations, and entirely theoretical, not to say visionary in its character. If by practical, and useful, be meant that which contributes alone to the physical comforts or necessities of man, there is justice in denying to Platonism any claim to such epithets. But may there not be practical benefits of a still higher nature—benefits rendered to the soul instead of the body? We confess that we have been surprised to find a man of so much genius as Macaulay, drawing a parallel between Plato and Lord Bacon, very much to the disadvantage of the former, because he did not discover a cure for the toothache, or invent the safety-lamp. "To sum up the whole," he says, "we should say that the aim of the Platonic philosophy was to exalt man into a god. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to provide man with what he requires while he continues to be man. The aim of the Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The former aim was noble, but the latter was attainable." It may be so; and if so, we can but say, with one of old, malo cum Platone errare. We would rather aim unsuccessfully at a higher object, than attain a low one. To aim at a lofty end ennobles. It is better to fly towards heaven, even if our wings fail us before we reach it, than to grovel on the earth. And we conclude with another passage from the same parallel which we have just cited, regarding it as the highest eulogy which can be pronounced on the Grecian sage. "He (Plato) was not content with deterring from t

administer it to the learner — a process which, if it were possible, would make the study of philosophy very convenient and easy." But for the very reason that he does not attempt this, and gives us only a "few finger-points" towards the right path, his directions are the more valuable and trustworthy.

In quitting our subject, we would say, to those of our readers who have leisure and ability for the prosecution of such studies, and who feel impelled to seek a farther acquaintance with Plato-go on. Even if you do not at first find that help from him which you seek, yet you may surely take the word of thousands who have gone before you, that a persevering study will furnish those aids to thoughtfulness, self-acquaintance, and true wisdom, which you may require. We are not deterred from saying this by the recollection that there are minds so inveterately Aristotelian that they will find no congenial elements in Platonism; because it may be safely taken for granted that such persons will not be induced, either by our exhortations, or by any other excitement, to pursue the study. In the meantime, there is one consolation which may support us under the grievous affliction of not being able to make all men see with our eyes; namely, that "the truth endureth, and is always strong; it shall live and conquer for ever more."

4. Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Grammar. Part IV. Prosody. London: 1823. 8vo.

ART. III.—1. The Anglo-Saxon Poems,—Beowulf, The Traveller's Song, and The Battle of Finnes-burh. Edited by John M. Kemble, Esq., M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: 1835. Second Edition. 12mo.

A History of English Rhythms. By Edwin Guest, Esq., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. London: 1838. 2 vols. 8vo.

^{3.} Rask's Anglo-Saxon Grammar. Part V. Of Versification. Copenhagen: 1830. 8vo.

WE propose, in the following paper, to direct our inquiries to the very earliest age of English poetry—to the time, even,

when the Angle roamed in his native wood on the continent, and hence it may be necessary for us to state, as briefly as possible, some leading historical facts, in order that the reader who is not familiar with Saxon history, may see that we are fairly entitled to claim all the Anglo-Saxon remains as English, even though written before they left the continent.

The foundation of the Anglo-Saxon confederacy was laid by these tribes, speaking the Low German, as it is now some-(1.) The Jutes, who gained a foothold in times called. Kent, and some of the islands on the coast, about A. D. 449. They afterwards obtained possession of a part of Hampshire. (2.) The Saxons. These laid the foundations of three kingdoms: (a) the South-Saxons, or South-Sax, now Sussex, about A. D. 491. (b) The West-Saxons, or West-Seaxe, including Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and a part of Hampshire and Cornwall, about A. D. 519. East-Saxons, or East-Sax, now Essex, including Essex, Middlesex, (Middle-Sax,) and a part of Hertfordshire, about (3.) The Angle, or Engle, who gained a foothold in Britain, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Angle, since East-Anglia, including Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and a part of Bedfordshire, about A. D. 527. Other kingdoms were subsequently established, until the whole of what now forms England had been subjected to the rule of these foreign invaders.

The Angles migrated so numerously, as to leave their former country destitute of inhabitants. They gave their new residence the name of Engla-land, subsequently contracted to England. The Angles, or Englen, became, therefore, extinct on the continent; and consequently the present English are their only successors. All remains of the literature of that tribe, may, therefore, with the utmost propriety, be called After the migration of the Saxons to Britain, those in Britain were called Saxons, and those on the continent, Old Saxons. Subsequently, on the union of the several kingdoms, the two leading tribes, the Angles and the Saxons, gave name and character to the whole, and have since borne the title of Anglo-Saxon. Hence, also, it follows, that all the productions of the Saxons anterior to their migration into England, belong equally to the English and the Saxon. The remains of the early literature of these tribes are few, but such as have come down to us, are clearly entitled to a place among the early English productions. At present we are

only concerned with English poetry and poets, among which we rank the Angle, the Saxon, and the Angle-Saxon.

But at the very outset of a history of poetry and poets, the inquiry presents itself, What is poetry? To this inquiry various answers have been given, some quite suitable to our purpose, and others wholly foreign to the object of our present inquiry. We shall state, therefore, distinctly, but briefly, what is that characteristic to be found in all poetry, which will be the main object of the brief history contained in this article. But to do this, we must attend a moment to the philosophy and manner of its production.

If we carefully consider the manner in which the voice proceeds from the glottis, we shall find that it does not continue to flow in a current of uniform size and force, but that it comes out in waves, or swells, so to speak. This is dependent, partly, at least, upon the process of inhaling and exhaling; perhaps, partly on the intermittent muscular action of that mechanism which produces vocal sounds. Now, it will be evident, at first sight, that a word spoken on the wave, or in the swell of the voice, will be uttered with greater force than one spoken in another part of the column of vocal sound. Such a syllable is said to be accented. More properly, it would be said to receive a syllabic emphasis. These accents naturally occur at regular intervals; generally on every other, or at farthest, on every third syllable, producing a measured cadence, which is called rhythm. Hence we derive the following definitions.

RHYTHM, or POETRY, is that arrangement of heavy and light, or accented and unaccented syllables, which causes them to succeed each other in a systematic order, generally by twos or threes. In other words, poetry is the genuine language of animated nature, expressed in words whose heavy and light syllables correspond with the natural waves of the voice. Hence why it is so universally admired—why it abounds to such an extent in the literature of half-civilized nations; and also, why we may be interested in the recitation of poetry of which we do not understand a word.

RHYME is made when the words or syllables of certain corresponding rhythmical measures agree in sound.

But rhythm is of two kinds. First, that which depends upon the quantity or time of the syllables, as in the Greek, Latin, and Sanscrit; second, that which depends upon the accent, as in the Gothic languages. In the accentual rhythms, rhyme is

always found, and no nation, it is believed, has adopted the first, without also adopting the last. In the accentual rhythm there are three elements of rhyme: first, the vowels; second, the initial consonants; third, the final consonants; or, uniting all, fourth, the whole word. The different position of these syllables has given rise to several species of rhyme, all of which we shall briefly notice.

1. Perfect Rhyme is made when all the three elements of a rhyming syllable are combined. This is called rich rhyme by the French, and is much sought after. It is also desirable with them, that some of the letters of the preceding syllables

should be alike.

"Then feir nocht
Nor heir nocht."—King James.

"Je vous veux devant elle expliquer sa naissance; Vous verrez s'il le faut remettre en sa puissance."—RACINE.

The perfect rhyme is generally discountenanced in English, except in double or triple rhymes, when the light or unaccented syllables should rhyme perfectly.

"Then come | ere a min | ut's gone,
For the long summer's day
Puts her wings | swift as lin | nets on,
For hieing away."—CLARE.

2. Alliteration is when only the initial sounds of words correspond. This pervades all the earlier Saxon and English poetry. The rules for regulating this species of verse are thus laid down by RASK, (A. S. Grammar, § 423-432.) In every alliterative couplet there must be three (and no more) syllables beginning with the same letter, two in the first section, and one in the last section. It is also to be observed, that the rhyming letters must always begin accented syllables. The rhyming letter of the second section is called the chief letter, and must be the first accented syllable in the section. The others are called sub-letters, and must begin the accented syllables of the first section. Thus Beowulf, 2: 17.—

" þá Wæs æfter Wiste Wop up-a-hafen. Ther was | after the feast A cry up-raised."

But if the chief letter is a vowel, the sub-letter must also be a vowel; yet, if possible, not the same. Thus Beowulf, 1: 118.—

"Eotenas and Ylfe and Orceas.

Giants and elves and spectres."

This account of the principles of Anglo-Saxon versification, of which Rask supposed himself the discoverer, is but little, if any thing more, than a transcript of the rules given by Olaus Wormius, (a learned Dane, who died 1654,) in his Literatura Danica, for Icelandic verse. And the same rules, in substance, had been given in the Hattalykill, or "Key to Versification," by Snorro Sturlson, three hundred years before. It was, however, suggested, soon after the appearance of Rask's grammar, by Rev. Dr. Bosworth, (A. S. Grammar, 8vo. London: 1823,) and it has since been proved by Guest, (Hist. Eng. Rhyth.) that this account is better suited to the Icelandic, than to the Anglo-Saxon. A better account of the matter is given by Guest, in the work which stands at the head of this article.

(a) Every alliterative couplet has two accented syllables, with the same initial consonants, one in each section.

(b) Often, especially in the larger couplets, the first section has two such syllables. This custom grew up gradually, but after the ninth century may be considered as a law.

(c) Sometimes, though rarely, the second section has two such syllables. This point is denied by Rask, but it is clearly

proved and sustained by Guest.

(d) The absence of consonants satisfies the alliteration; consequently no correspondence was here sought. Whether an effort was made to avoid it, as Rask declares, is a matter of doubt.

3. Vowel Rhyme occurs when the vowels agree in sound, no regard being paid to the consonants. This has never been used in English, but was common in Hiberno-Celtic.

4. Consonantal Rhymc occurs when the consonants agree in sound, no regard being paid to the vowels. When both the initial and final consonants correspond, it is called full consonantal rhyme.

5. Modern Alliterative Rhyme. This has been confounded with alliteration, but it differs from it, as that regarded only the initial consonants, while this regards initial syllables.

6. Final Rhyme. This is made by the agreement of the vowels and final consonants; and constitutes our common rhyme. It forms a principal characteristic of the middle and modern English poetry.

The origin of final rhyme is involved in much obscurity, and has given rise to considerable discussion. Rask tells us that final rhyme has been used in Anglo-Saxon up to the earliest

periods; but the evidence is insufficient to sustain the position. The only Anglo-Saxon poem in which final rhyme is observed, is known among Saxonists as "Conybeare's Rhyming Poem." It is supposed to belong to the tenth century. We make a single extract, to show the manner in which this singular poem was constructed:

"Gold Gear-wade:
Gim hwearf ade:
Sinc Sear-wade:
Sib near-wade.

Gold decked me, Gems flew about me, Weallh made a bulwark, Kinsmen closed around me."

Some instances of final rhyme are found in earlier English poems, but in none is it generally observed. The earliest poem in any Gothic dialect, known to have final rhyme as a general characteristic, is Otfrid's Evangely, written in Old German about A. D. 870. This was first published at Basle, 1571, and subsequently at Bonn, 1821, and again in 1831, under the title of Krist:

"Séhet these fógala,
This hiar fliágent óbana.
Zi ákare sie ni gangent,
Ioh ouh uuíht ni spinnent.

See these fowls, That here fly above, To the field they no gang, And also aught no spin."

But there were rhyming poems written in Latin, by Englishmen, considerably earlier than this. They are found in Aldhelm, Boniface, Bede, and Alcuin, from A. D. 700 to 750, which shows that this species of versification was then universally known. In other words, the final rhyme was frequently used in Latin poetry, long before its introduction into any Gothic dialect; hence it must have been copied from the Latin of those days into English. One of the earliest specimens of final rhyme of which we have any knowledge, is found in one of the Cottonian manuscripts, in a letter ascribed to Pope Damasus, who lived in the fourth century; it has an interwoven rhyme in addition to final rhyme:

"Cartula nostra tibi portat, Rainolde, salutes; Pauca videbis ibi, sed non mea dona refutes: Dulcia sunt animæ solatia quæ tibi mando, Sed possunt minime nisi serves hæc operando," etc.

At a later period this interlaced rhyme was carried still further, as in the following extract from the works of Theodatus, in the tenth century:

"Pauper amabilis et venerabilis est benedictus,
Divis inusilis insatisbilis est maledictus," etc.
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But where did those who wrote in Latin, obtain final rhyme, as it does not belong to the classic period? This question can only be answered by probabilities, as there is no history on the subject. It seems probable, then, that the Latinists of that age borrowed it from the Celts. The earliest Irish poems, some of which are more than twelve hundred years old, have all final rhyme, and we know that the Welch used it as early as the sixth century. We give a single verse from the life of Patrick, written about 600, in which every line has the same rhyme:

"An cath fechto i m-Beatron,
Fri tuait Canan la mac Nun,
Assuith in grian fri Gabon
Asseadh at fet littre dun.

The battle fought in Bethoron, 'Gainst Canaan-folk by McNun, When sat the sun over Gabaon. As Scripture records to us."

These rhymes have been carried to a wonderful extent by the Welch; so that we sometimes find as many as thirty lines rhyming to the same syllable, and yet having no two syllables alike. Now, we know that the Celts used the final rhyme at least two centuries before the Goths; that the Anglo-Saxons were the first Gothic race that employed it; that they were in immediate contact with the Celts; that their language is deeply tinged with Celtic words, and that their grammar has been influenced by the Celtic. And why not, then, their poetry? Every presumption is in favor of this conclusion; and as nothing contradicts the supposition we must regard it as proved.

(7.) Middle rhyme is that which exists between the last accented syllables of two sections of a couplet. At one period it was very popular, but has now pretty much gone into disuse, except in the lightest kinds of verse. Yet Coleridge

has sometimes employed it with great effect:

"And now there came both mist and snow,
And it grew wond'rous cold;
And ice | mast-kigk | came float | ing by,
As green as emerald.

The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around;
It crack'd | and growl'd | and roar'd | and kowl'd |
Like noises in a swound."

(8.) Line rhyme, or, as it is sometimes called, sectional rhyme, is that which exists between the syllables contained in the same section. This species of rhyme seems to have been an addition to the old Gothic mode of alliteration; and

the law observed was, that consonantal rhyme was sufficient in the first section or couplet; while in the last both vowels and consonants must correspond. This species of rhyme admits of an immense number of varieties. Only a few were known to the Anglo-Saxons, and we have not space to describe the rest. The first and most simple form of sectional rhyme, was made in sections of two accents:

" Sar and Sor | ge: Sust prowedon. Pain and sorrow
And sulphur bore them."—CEDMON.

" Frod | ne and god | ne: Fæder Unwines. The wise and good
Father Unwin."—CEDMON.

"Skill | mixt with will |: is he that teaches best."—Tusser.

"Light | ly and bright | ly: breaks away
The morning from her mantle grey."—BYRON.

"They rush'd | and push'd |: and blood out-gush'd."—BURNS.

" ha Wæron gesette: Wide and side.

They were y-set A-wide and far."—CEDMON.

"Ofer Lichomen:
Læn | ne and sæn | ne.

Over the body

Weak and sluggish."—ALFRED.

"Good husbandmen: must moil | and toil."-Tusser.

—— "And said he wolde Hire lemmen be: whether she wol | de or nol | de."—CHAUCER.

9. Unaccented rhyme. We have seen, that, as a general principle, every rhyming syllable must be accented. This, however, cannot take place when the rhyme is double or triple in short sections. Thus, in some of the later Anglo-Saxon poems, we find final rhyme, middle rhyme, line rhyme, and alliteration, all crowded into sections with only two accents:

"Flah | -mah Fli | teö:
Flan | man hwi | teö,
Burg | sorg bi | teö:
Bald | old þwi | teö,
Wræc | -fæc wrið | að:
Wrað | áð smi | teð.

The arrow-man fighteth,
The archer-man rageth:
The burrow-care biteth,
The bold elder wasteth,
The vengeance-hour tort'reth,
The anger-oath smiteth."
"Conybeare's Rhyming Poem."

Instances of this kind, also, occur in Cædmon, and the earlier Saxon-English poets. In such cases, the second rhyming syllable does not receive any accent. When this occurs in modern English poetry, the unaccented syllables

should rhyme perfectly. This, however, is to be understood of the pronounced, not of the written syllable, as many vowels change their sounds when rendered light by a preceding accent.

10. Doubly accented rhyme. This name has been given to rhymes in ation and ition, and some other suffixes, when the chief accent of the rhyme was on the root, with a secondary accent on a syllable of the suffix.

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"What ne | deth gre | ter: dil | a-ta | ti-on | ?
I say by treatise and ambassatrie,
And by | the po | pes: me | di-a | ti-on |
They been accorded."—Chaucer.
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"When they | next wake | : all this | di-vis | i-on |, Shall seem | a dream | : and fruit | less vis | i-on |."—Shakspeare.

"Skip | per | stand back | : 'tis age | that nour | ish-eth | But youth | in la | dies eyes | : that flour | ish-eth | ."—SHARSPEARE.

11. Inverse rhyme is that which exists between the last accented syllable of the first section, and the first accented syllable of the second section. It is doubtful whether this ever occurred in the Anglo-Saxon, but it is common in Higgins, and Spencer, and Baldwin, and Shakspeare, and others of an early period. It is probably an invention of that age.

"These steps | doth reach |:
And teach | ther shall |
To come | by thrift |:
To shift | with-all | ."—Tusser.

These several species of rhyme are the foundation, it is believed, of all the different rhymes in our language. In all, the following rules have been observed:

1. The accents, or heavy syllables of a couplet, must be separated by one or two light, or unaccented syllables, but never by more than two; nor begin or end with more than two unaccented syllables.

2. No section can have more than three, nor less than two accents.

These rules are at variance with some laid down by Rask for Anglo-Saxon poetry; but being founded in the very nature of speech, and flowing from the philosophy of utterance, it is impossible they should not be correct. Thus in the following section, which has five accents:

"CEn | ne hæf | de he swa | swith | ne geworht | ne."

One had he so mighty wrought.

Rask would give but one, telling us to pronounce the first six syllables without any accent, and giving the alliterative syllable swith the only accent of the line. Yet the utterance of the line in this manner is wholly impracticable. In some instances two accented syllables occur in connection. But in these cases, the sense of the passage, as well as the ease of reading, requires a suspensive pause between them.

The rhythmical pauses of our poetry are, three; the final, the middle, and the sectional. In Anglo-Saxon the rhythmical pauses, or stops, were identical with the grammatical, or emphatic pauses, and the final or middle stop always coincided with the end of a sentence, or a member of a sentence. And though this rule is often violated, it is founded in good sense, and ought to be regarded. The middle pause was marked in the old poets, and is now found in the MSS. of Chaucer. It has no visible index in the present mode of writing poetry.

Another point deserving of particular notice in a history of poetry, is the character of our rhythms. In pronouncing an accented syllable, more time is employed than in pronouncing a light or unaccented syllable. Consequently, the greater the number of accents, the slower the motion of the verse; and the less the number of accents, the more rapid is its motion. Hence the triple metre is much better adapted to light and quick movements than the common measure. It was a want of attention to this fact that led Pope to suppose that his long lines represented swift motion. His favourite example was:

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"Not so | when swift | Camil | la scours | the plain |;
Flies o'er | th' un-ben | ding corn |: and skims | along | the main |."
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With which compare:

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"Mer | ri-ly mer | rily shall | I live now |,
Un | der the blos | som that hangs | on the bough | ."—Shakspears.
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And also contrast the following, in which the common measure begins with an accented syllable:

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"When | the Brit | ish war | rior queen | ,
Bleed | ing from | the Ro | man rods | ,
Sought | with an | indig | nant mien | ,
Coun | sel of | her coun | try's gods | ," etc.—Cowper.
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The flow of our poetic lines is also influenced very much by the literal elements of which the lines are composed, and which depends upon the aptitude of certain articulations to express certain ideas. This point has been examined to a considerable extent, but yet offers an unexplored field. The fact has been observed, but the reason of it remains to be shown. And this must probably be sought in that foundation-question in language—Why do words mean as they do, and not otherwise?

The earliest Anglo-Saxon rhythms were few and simple, the verse seldom containing more than four accents. In the seventh century, however, the verse of six accents had become common. In Beowulf, and other Anglo-Saxon warsongs, it is very rare indeed that more than four accents occur in a verse. And it is here we see the benefit of initial rhyme, or alliteration, to the best advantage. In these, the second section almost invariably begins a sentence, and the line itself with an alliterative letter, and consequently takes an accent, giving those rhythms an abrupt and forcible character. This peculiarity made the end of the first section of a couplet a suitable and convenient place for the close of a sentence; and accordingly we find more sentences in the Anglo-Saxon war-songs ending in the middle, than at the end of a couplet. This alliteration is now seldom, if ever used. And even in the middle English the rule for the regulation of metrical pauses seems to have undergone a change, so that we find the final pause of a couplet marking the end of the sentence, instead of the middle pause, as in Anglo-Saxon. There was abundant time for such change, as we know of no alliterative poem in English, for more than two centuries before William and the Werwolf, written about A. D. 1360.

The "psalm metres" of the present day, seem to have been derived from the old church hymns, written in Latin, from the fourth to the middle centuries. The main difference between the two consists in the addition of final rhyme. The oldest of these metres date back as far as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and ordinarily consisted of seven accents, four in the first section, and three in the last section of a couplet. The "common metre" of our hymn books is the lineal descendant of this ancient and general, whence it has been called, common metre. In the sixteenth century another accent was added to this metre, giving four accents to each section of a couplet, and thus gave rise to our present long metres. The Alexandrine, or verse of six accents, came into use in the twelfth century, and was a very popular mode of

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versification in the succeeding centuries, and many of the romance writers employ it to good effect. Out of this arose the "short metre," soon after 1500. The verse of five accents, which very generally prevailed in the fourteenth century, seems to have been copied from the Romance of the Troubadours. At any rate, it had been used in the Romance of Oc, at least two hundred, and as Raynouard supposes, three hundred years before its introduction into English poetry. The metre generally known as blank verse, is a metre of five accents without rhyme. This we owe to Henry, earl of Surrey, who probably introduced it from Italy. It has been immortalized by the genius of Milton.

These are the principal, if not all of the ancient metres. But there are a few others, though more modern than the works of any poet we shall have occasion to mention, yet deserving of notice even in this brief sketch of English poetry. The leading verse not mentioned, is that sometimes called the tumbling metre. This is thus described by King James in his "Reulis and Cautelis:" "Ze mon obeserve that thir tumbling verse flowis not on that fassoun, as the otheris dois. For all otheris keipis the reule, quilk I gave before, to wit, the first fute short, the second lang and so furth. Quhairas thir hes twa short and one lang through all the lyne guhen they keip ordour; albeit the maist part of thame be out of ordour, and keipis na kynde nor reule of flowing, and for that cause are callit tumbling verse." This metre was common in some of the psalm metres of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Out of the preceding kinds of verse arose the stave, which is a portion of a song or poem, containing a given number of verses, arranged according to some given law, and ending with a period, or at least with some important division of a sentence. When two or more staves are knit together into one, the compound stave is called a "stanza." There was no proper stave in the Anglo-Saxon, owing probably to the mode in which the metrical pauses were distributed, and the subserviency of the final to the middle pause. But it was introduced, or grew up, perhaps, in the tenth century, and was used to some extent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Out of this arose several species of verse; as the "ryme cowee," as it was called by Robert Brunne, or "tail-rhyme," as it is now called. This seems to have been originally written with two short lines within a brace, and a third short

line without the brace. The verse of six lines, rhyming the first and second, the fourth and fifth, and the third and sixth, seems to have grown out of this "cowee." Also the "ryme entercance," of the same author, in which the first and third, the second and fourth syllables rhyme with each other, and so on. Out of the same, also, arose that species of verse known by the name of the wheel and burthen. By the burthen is meant the return of the same words at the close of each stave; and by the wheel, the return of a marked and peculiar rhythm. A very short and abrupt wheel and burthen is sometimes called a bob.

Having taken this brief view of the external history of English poetry, we shall proceed to give an account of those English poets that lived anterior to the time of Chaucer. A few of them deserve, and at some future time may receive, a more extended notice than can be given in this place. Our present object is to give an account of each in their chronological order. We begin with the

ENGLISH POETS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

THE TRAVELLER'S Song. — This poem professes to record the wanderings of a certain Gleeman, who describes himself as the cotemporary of Eaormanic, the celebrated king of East-Goten, and Ætla, king of the Huns. Now as Eaormanic died A. D. 375, and Ætla did not come to the throne until 433, these wanderings must have lasted nearly or quite sixty years, and consequently the song have been written or completed when the author was about eighty. The Gleenan was not by birth an Engle-man, but belonged to the Myrgings, a Gothic race, dwelling on the confines of the Engle and the Swese, neither of which had then migrated, but held their position on the Baltic, as in the days of Tacitus. At an early age the Gleeman accompanied Ealdhild, daughter of Eadwine the lord of the Myrgings, to the court of Eaormanic. Here his skill on the harp brought him into notice and gained him great favor. While there, he visited the lords of East-Goten, and such of the Slavish and Finnish tribes as were subject Subsequently he visited Italy with Ealfwine, a son of Eadwine, as it would seem, under Alaric when be made his inroad into that country, about A.D. 401. From thence he travelled east, visiting the Medes, Persians, Assyrians, Idumeans, and even the Hindoos.

But though the Gleeman was not an Engle, or Englishman, by birth, he lived on the very borders of the Engles, and wrote his poetry in English, or, as we now call it, Anglo-Saxon. The introduction to the poem is the work of another hand, an Englishman who had not left the continent, and it is preserved in an English manuscript. The presumption, therefore, is, that he spent much time among the Engles, and that his descendants joined in the invasion and settlement of Britain.

The rhyme of this poem is alliterative and very uniform, few lines occurring without it. The accents of the verse are five, three in the first section and two in the second, though the order is inverted in some instances. Line rhyme and unaccented final rhyme are occasionally met with in this poem, as also in Beowulf and the fall of Finnes-burh; but whether accidental or not is uncertain. The text of this poet has been printed by Conybeare, with a literal version in Latin, and also by Thorpe, in his edition of Beowulf; and a portion of it is given by Guest, in his second volume. An English translation was made by Conybeare, but he did not live to publish it, and his version is quite faulty. A peculiarity of this poem is the air of probability and the seeming historical accuracy which pervades it. We see here none of the fable which soon afterwards enveloped the names of the persons mentioned.

BEOWULF. This poem, in its present form, belongs to this century, though the manuscripts contain a few passages supposed to relate to a subsequent period. These passages are references to Christianity, which was introduced among the Saxons after they came to England. That these allusions are the work of a later date is possible, and, perhaps, probable; yet by no means certain. The author of the work is also unknown, and the time of its composition is variously assigned, from the first to the sixth century. The internal evidence points to Angle as its place, and to about A. D. 450,

as the probable time of its composition.

But there is a serious difficulty connected with the authorship of this poem, and the time of its composition. This arises from the fact that scholars are not agreed whether it is a mythic epic or a real piece of history. Most scholars, however, seem to consider it as a historical legend. This was the opinion of Mr. Kemble, the latest editor of Beowulf, in 1835, when he published the text; but in 1837, when he

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published a translation and glossary, he renounced that opinion, and devoted fifty pages to disprove it. Mr. Kemble has brought a large mass of evidence from the northern mythology to sustain this opinion, and, as it seems to us, very appropriately. But the strongest evidence, to our minds, of its mythic or allegorical character, is the poem itself. Regarded as a piece of veritable history, it belongs to about 450—regarded as a myth, it probably received its present form about 450, though treating of things which transpired a long time before, or which are, perhaps, imaginary.

The style of its composition is like that of the Traveller's Song. It is alliterative, but very many of the first sections have only one alliterative letter, and not unfrequently it is altogether wanting. The rhythm is short, abrupt, bold, and expressive, and much of it highly sublime. We can give

only a brief extract:

"Be-boorh the bone bealo-nis, Beo-wulf leofa, secg betsta, and be but selre ge-coos, ece rædas; ofer-hyda ne gym, mære cenepa; nu is pines mægnes blud ane hwile, est sona bis but bec adl, obbe ecg, cafočes ge-twæfeč, obbe fyres feng, obbe flodes wylm, obbe gripe meces, obbe gares fliht, ošše atol yldo, obbe eagena bearhtm. for-sites and for-sworces; semninga bið þæt þec, dryð-guma, death ofer-awyðeð.

Bear from thee this baleful strife—Beloved Beowulf—First of warriors, And choose for thyself Eternal benefits; Care not for pride, Illustrious champion, Now the glory of thy strength, Is for a little white, But soon 'twill be That from thee, sickness, or woord, Thy valor parteth, Or clutch of fire, Or wave of food, Or gripe of sword, Or flight of dart, Or ills of age, In the lwinkle of an eye, Will delay and darken (thee); Suddenly will it be That thee, O friend, Death shall overcome."

This will serve as a specimen of a poem, which no man can read without interest, and, in many cases, admiration. Beowulf, in its present form, contains three thousand one hundred and eighty rhyming sections, or six thousand three hundred and sixty lines, as printed by Kemble. The Traveller's song has two hundred and eighty-six lines, or one hundred and forty-three rhyming sections, and the Battle of Finnes-burh, as it now appears, has one hundred lines, or fifty rhyming sections. These are all contained in Kemble's edition of Beowulf.

BATTLE OF FINNES-BURH. The Battle of Finnes-burh belongs to the same age as Beowulf, and treats of the same subject as one of the songs of the Skalds in Beowulf. It is short, but interesting in connection with the larger poems to which it properly belongs, and also as being comprehended in the Angle-cycle of early English poets.

SIXTH CENTURY.—The English and Britons were too much occupied during this century in conquering and defending the country, to allow them much time for poetry or the fine arts; and this accounts for the fact that we have no English

poem that can fairly be assigned to this century.

SEVENTH CENTURY.—CEDMON. If the sterner energies, brought out by martial conflicts in the sixth century, left no room for poetic genius to manifest itself, it seems to have been gathering strength and force, to break out anew, with redoubled lustre, which it did in the person of Cadmon. He was the keeper of the flocks belonging to the monastery of Whitby, founded in the time of Edwin, king of Northumber-His early history is not certainly known, being adorned in the habiliments of fable; but from what we do know, it appears that he had a dream, in which some person seemed to appear to him and bid him sing. He made the attempt and sung a hymn, which he repeated the next day to the monks, who were astonished at the performance. He was afterwards shorn, and the scriptures were expounded to him, which he turned into verse that has rendered his name and memory immortal.

Cadmon was the first Englishman, if not the first poet of any Gothic race, who cast aside the gorgeous imagery of the northern mythology, and turned to the sublimer strains of revelation; who forsook the praises of Thor and Woden, and the songs of the Edda, for the praises of Jehovah and his Redeemer, and the songs of Zion. And so complete was the revolution he produced, that the earlier Eddas have almost entirely disappeared. Cædmon was one of those master-spirits whose minds give character to many succeeding ages; and from the seventh century to the time of the Norman Conquest, he was the model which all seemed desirous to imitate, but which none could equal. He was the Milton of his age, who struck out for himself a new path; who entered a new field, and there signalized himself beyond all competition.

Many of the works of Cædmon are lost, but six of his

poems have come down to us. These are, (1) the creation; (2) the fall of man; to which is added a general account of the events recorded in the book of Genesis, down to the time of the offering up of Isaac; (3) the flight from Egypt, and the destruction of Pharaoh; (4) the story of Daniel; (5 and 6) the torments of the damned; Christ's descent into hell, followed by his ascension and glory.

The MS. containing these poems was presented to the Bodleian Library by Archbishop Usher, and was published at Amsterdam, by Francis Junius, in 1655. It has since been republished by Thorpe, with an English translation and notes, 8vo. London, 1832. Copious extracts are also given by Guest in his History of English Rhythms. We give an extract from his account of the creation, which, for sublimity of thought, and beauty of expression, has hardly been surpassed by any uninspired pen:

"Na was her tha giet
Nymbe heolster-sceado
Wiht ge-Worden.
Ac bes Wida grund
Stod Deop and Dim,
Drihtne fremde
Idel and finnyt.

On bone eagum what, Stis-friks eining
And ba Stowe beheold
Dreama-lease.
Geseah Deore gesweore
Semian Sinnihte,
Sweart under roderum
Wonn and Waste
Os bet beos Woruld-gesceaß
burh Word ge-Wears
Wuldor-cyninges.

Her ærest gesceop Ece drihten, Helm eall-wihta, Heofon and eorðan; Rodor arærde, And þis Rume land Ge-Stath elode Strangum mightum. Frea ælmihtig.

Folde was ha gyt Græs-ungrene, Gar-secg heahte Sweart Sinnihte Side and wide Wonne wægas. Nor was there as yet, Save the shadowy vault Aught existing. But the wide abyss Stood deep and dim— Strange to the Lord, Idle and useless.

On it, glanced with eyes The unchanging God, And the place beheld All joyless. He saw the misty dark Compose eternal night—Black—under heaven—Wan and waste—Till this world's creation By the word was made,—Of th' all-potent King.

Then first created,
The eternal Lord—
(The head of all things)—
The heaven and earth.
The sky he lifted up;
And this broad land
He 'stablish'd also—
By his strong might—
The Lord Almighty.

Earth was as yet
With grass not green'd;
The ocean (yet) concealed,
With dark eternal night,
(Both) far and wide,
The dismal pathways."

We add a short extract from our author's speech of Satan, after his condemnation into hell:

"Round me extend the iron-bonds,
Presseth on me the fetter's link. I am realm-less!
Holdeth me so hard, the clamps of hell
Fast surrounding. Here is a mighty fire
Above and beneath! Never saw I
A more hateful landscape; the flame ne'er dieth
Hot over hell. Me hath the ring's clasp,
The hard-polished link, disabled from departing,
Prevented my feet from moving."

It is impossible, in the brief space of this article, to give the reader a distinct idea of the beauties of this poet. Nor, indeed, can they be fully appreciated without a knowledge of the original. Perhaps no poet has ever managed his rhythm in a more masterly manner than *Cædmon*. In English certainly he has no superior, perhaps no equal. His accent always falls in the right place, every heavy syllable is followed by a corresponding light one, and the movement of his verse is always in unison with the thought.

EIGHTH CENTURY.—ALDHELM, nephew of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, probably belongs to this century. He wrote several songs, and some pieces of devotional poetry, one of which was sung in the days of William of Malmsbury.

NINTH CENTURY.—ALFRED THE GREAT, better known as a profound philosopher, a wise statesman, and a heroic warrior, was also a poet. The only poetical work of his that has come down to us is a version of the metres of Boethius, and which, though it does not contrast very favorably by the side of Cadmon, shows him to have been something of a poet.

Tenth Century.—Archeishop Wulstan. This prelate was translated from Worcester to York, A. D. 1003, and was the second Archbishop of York bearing this name. His writings are better known by his Latin name, Lapus. About fifty homilies, or sermons, are extant, which have been ascribed to this author. They contain many poetical paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer, doxologies, &c., which are also supposed to be his. These furnish the earliest evidence of the subordination of the middle pause to the final, and the first distinct recognition of the final rhyme. But the only influence of this rhyme, at first, seems to have consisted merely in changing the punctuation.

THE BRUNANBURGH WAR-Song also belongs to this cen-

tury. The name of the author is unknown, but it celebrates the victory of Athelstan over the united forces of Wales and Scotland, aided by sixty thousand Northmen, in 937 or 938. Athelstan commanded a hundred thousand Englishmen, who fought for independence, as well as for victory, and the song and the victory are alike worthy of their authors. The song is found in all the copies of the Saxon Chronicle, but with many variations. It is also copied at length by Guest, and is the first piece in Ellis's Specimens of Early English Poets.

To this century belong, also, Edgar's Coronation Song; two songs which commemorate the death of this monarch, a splendid fragment relating to the defeat of Byrthnoth at Mal-

don, A. D. 993, and probably the tale of Judith.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.—This century produced a much larger number of English poets than any of the preceding. But though many of their works have come down to us, the names of most have been lost in oblivion.

ALFRIC PUTTOCK, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, from 1023 to 1050. His earliest productions were Lives of the Saints, in three parts. These have been mistaken for prose, though written with the regular alliterative couplet. The Life of St. Martin contains one of the earliest specimens of the Alexandrine rhythms, but written in Latin. His works are valuable, especially in a theological point of view, inasmuch as he openly impugned the Romish dogma of transubstantiation.

Harold-Harefoot and Hardy-Canute. He was the author of a poem which contains one of the earliest examples of that versification called the burthen. Guest has given us a

specimen of this poem.

HEGRAN seems to have been a poet in the days of Edward the Confessor; and it is not improbable that he might have been the author of the "Confessor's Death Song," which also belongs to this century, and which possesses considerable merit.

WULFWIN CADE was also a poet of the eleventh century. He made a version of the Psalms, partly in prose, and partly in verse.

"Conybeare's Rhyming Poem," so called from the name of the editor, probably belongs to this century. The peculiarities of this poem have already been noticed.

THE ROMANCE OF HORN is certainly as early as this

period, though it may have been put into its present form since the Conquest. In the Harleian MS. it is entitled The Geste of Kyng Horne. It is often called the Romance of Horne Childe. Part of it has been published by Price, and

Guest has made an extract of considerable length.

TWELFTH CENTURY.—This century was characterized by an unusual display of intellectual vigor and mental energy. But England had been subjected to the arms of the Norman invader, and most of the productions of this cycle were in Latin, or Norman romance. Still, English poetry was not wholly neglected.

GODRIC, the saint and hermit of Durham, left three short hymns. One in Latin is copied by Guest. He died A. D.

1174.

LAYAMON. This poet was an inhabitant of Ernly, in North Worcestershire, a priest, and, as would seem, patronized by the "good knight" of the place. He wrote a British history, in metre, for the edification of "the nobles," but in the peculiar dialect of his country. In one point, however, this dialect corresponds with all others; and that is, in confounding the characteristic endings of the Anglo-Saxon. In the dialect of Layamon there is a frequent use of n, as a case ending in declension, where it was not used in Anglo-Saxon, and where it is used by no other dialect. The personal endings of Layamon's verbs also differed from the Anglo-Saxon. This seems to have been caused by conforming the endings of the indicative mood with those of the subjunctive. The adjectives also show evident marks of change.

Layamon's rhythms have, generally, either alliteration or middle rhyme, sometimes both. But he often gives false accents, in order to bring them on to both the alliterative and rhyming syllables. A part of Layamon's history is printed in Guest, and a part of his translation of Wace's

Brut in Ellis's Specimens.

Breakspear, afterwards Pope Adrian, wrote a metrical version of the Lord's Prayer, which is printed in STRUTTS' Manners, Customs, etc. He also versified the Apostles' Creed, which was for some time used in the English churches.

Ormin. This poet was a regular canon of the church in the last half of this century. He wrote a sort of Harmony of the New Testament in verse of seven accents; four in the first section, and three in the second, or in the "common metre." What now remains of this work brings down

the history to the imprisonment of John. The work is called Ormulum, "because Ormin made it." Guest regards it as "the oldest, the purest, and by far the most valuable specimen of our old English dialect, that time has left us." Ormin is uniform in his orthography. He always doubles the final consonant after a short vowel, and consequently a single final consonant always denotes a long vowel. There are also several other peculiarities of interest, but which cannot be noticed in this place. Ormin was evidently a man of deep piety, but of great firmness, and his doctrines were remarkably free from those errors which had become so rife at that time.

ARRECK. This poet translated the Life of St. Catharine from Greek into Latin, and subsequently into English. There are also some reasons for suspecting that the Life of St. Mar-

garet was written by the same author.

The Grave, an Anglo-Saxon poem, supposed to have been written about 1150, is the latest specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry we are acquainted with. In this, as in all other English of this period, the Anglo-Saxon participial prefix ge, is written i-, or y-. It has been published both by Thorpe and Conybeare.

"A Leetel Sermun," contained in the Layamon MS., has a specimen of poetry of the species called the burthen, with

final rhyme.

To these we must add the names of a few English poets who used the Norman romance as the medium through which

to communicate their thoughts.

PHILLIPPE DE THAN was the first Anglo-Norman poet of which we have any knowledge. He wrote a poem in French called *Liber de Creaturis*, about 1107; another called *Le Bestiare*, about 1121. His verse has six accents, and rhymes the final syllables of the different sections.

Samson de Nanteuil soon after made a metrical version

of the Book of Proverbs in verse of four accents.

GEOFFROI GAIMAR wrote a metrical History of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, about A. D. 1146. This too was written in sections of four accents, and is said to possess uncommon facility and elegance.

Maistare WACE was a native of the isle of Jersey, but educated on the Continent. He wrote several pieces, but the Brut d'Angleterre, composed about A. D. 1155, is most celebrated. It is a history of Britain, from the time of the

imaginary Brutus to the reign of Cadwallader, A. D. 689. His other works were: (2) A History of the two Irruptions of the Normans into Neustria and England; (3) Roman du Rou, or Rollo; (4) Life of William Longsword, son of Rollo; (5) Romance of Richard, son of William; (6) History of the Dukes of Normandy; (7) Compendium of the same; (8) History of the Origin of the Feast of the Conception; (9) Life of St. Nicholas; (10) Roman du Chevalier au Lion. Wace seems to have exceeded all his cotemporaries in the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, and in the beauty and facility of his versification.

Benoit was cotemporary with Wace, and wrote a History of the Wars of Troy, in a poem of about twenty thousand verses. He is also supposed to be the author of the

song on the Advantages of the Crusades.

Guernes wrote a metrical Life of Thomas à Becket about 1177. His verse is a stanza of five Alexandrines, all having

the same rhyme.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.—John of Guilford was the author of a poem entitled, Le Passyun of Jesus Crist. He is also supposed to be the author of the Hule and Nightengale, (Owl and Nightingale.) In this alliteration is wanting, but final rhyme is universally regarded.

HENDING, son of Marcolf, was the author of a song which employs the kind of versification called the wheel. The song is

printed in Guest's History of English Rhythms.

ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER was the author of some portion of

the Chronicle, written in verse.

KENDALL seems to have been a native of Westmoreland. He left one poem, the story of Sir Tristrem, which has been

preserved.

MICHAEL OF KILDARE, though a native of Ireland, was yet an English poet. He was a friar of Kildare, and wrote a song, or rather, hymn, which is printed in Guest. He was also the author of a most satirical ballad, on monks, merchants, and butchers. He seems also to have been the author of a most biting piece of satire on the monks, called The Land of Cockaygne; or perhaps we ought to call it a glowing picture of their licentiousness. It is printed in Ellis's Specimens and Hickes's Thesaurus. There are also extant many single pieces of poetry, which were evidently written in this century, but of which the names of the authors are unknown. A part of one, on the Assumption of

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the Virgin, is printed in GUEST; the romances of Ipomydon, Richard, and King Alisaunder, printed in Weber's Metrical Romances; Havelok, edited by Sir F. Madden; and the

Harrowing of Hell, published in the Archæologia.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.—ROBERT MANNING OF BRUNNE, and hence sometimes called Robert de Brunne. He was author of the Rhyming Chronicle of England, the first of which is a version of Wace's Brut, and the second was a translation of Langtoft's Chronicle, a work written in French by Peter de Langtoft, of Yorkshire. He is also said to have made a metrical version of a work written by Robert Grostête, the ever memorable Bishop of Lincoln, entitled Manuele Pecche, or a treatise on the decalogue and the seven deadly sins. The work of Grostête was in French metre. Adam Davie, marshal of Stratford-le-bow, was the author of certain Visions, preserved in MS. in the Bodleian Library; and, probably, of the Siege of Jerusalem, printed in Guest; the Legend of St. Alexius, Scripture Histories, and Life of Alexander. Part of the last is in Ellis.

WILLIAM OF SHOREHAM is also said to have written considerable poetry in the early part of this century, but we are

not aware that any of it has been published.

RANDAL HIGGENET was the author of the Chester Plays. They appear to have been written about 1327, but were not published until the author had visited Rome three times, to obtain permission.

RICHARD ROLLE of Hampole made a translation of the Stimulus Conscientia, or Prick of Conscience. A metrical paraphrase of the book of Job is also ascribed to him, as also of the Lord's Prayer and the seven penitential psalms.

GILBERT PILKINGTON, Rector of Tottenham. He wrote the Tournament of Tottenham, and a poem on the Passion of

the Lord Jesus Christ.

WILLIAM HERBERT make a collection of Hymns and Antiphones, which were preserved for a long time.

THOMAS VICARY of Wimburne, Dorsetshire, wrote the ro-

mance of Apollonius of Tyre.

WILLIAM, patronized by Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, translated the romance of William and the Werwolf.

This brings us to the days of LANGLAND, GOWER, and CHAUCER, who lived about the same time. And here we take leave of the subject for the present. It would have been a pleasant task to have gone more into detail on very many points, to have described more fully many of the An-

glo-Saxon poems, their peculiarities and contents; but this would have extended our article far beyond our limits. We trust, however, that the brief account we have been able to present our readers will give them a bird's-eye view of the field, and the objects contained in it, and that it will spur some of them forward to explore the beauties which lie hidden therein.

ART. IV.—Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625. Now first collected from Original Records and Contemporaneous printed Documents, and illustrated with Notes. By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and J. Brown. 8vo. pp. 504.

IT is the unlucky fate of men who involve themselves in religious controversies, that they draw a veil over their own virtues. Considering that the worst enemies of the English puritans have never charged upon them any immoralities, we might be at a loss to account for the opprobrious epithets which have been attached to their names, their opinions and practices, in English literature. In the sequel of our remarks we shall endeavor to explain this wonder. At present we may say, that the weaker party in a religious controversy, always, for the time, loses the credit of even its most meritorious qualities. It is put forward on the field of observation as engaged in a quarrel, as in a militant posture, as oppugning, destroying and insulting what others reverence; and thus while its own language is never as gentle as it might be, it provokes abuse from its opponents. Meanwhile, whatever of devotion, affection, or virtue, may properly belong to the party, is known only to its own members. They who are familiar with its secret counsels, with its private relations and communions, can rightly stimulate the honest and worthy motives which actuate it. If this statement be true, and it would admit of a various, not to say a tedious proof, then it is plain that justice can be done to a religious sect only after time has softened its harsh features, and exposed its private history, its individual memoirs. When in the tranquil retrospect of long years we can make the long past present before us by the pages of faithful history, we shall judge not only more charitably, but far more truly of the extravagances

and the excellences of the contending sect. This fair judgment is not to be expected from contemporaries. For not only do their own prejudices and opinions hinder it, but, as we have said, the antagonist attitude of the dissentients brings into use the weapon of fight, rather than the olive branch. It is on this account we are always pleased to receive as among the treasures of our library, all those memoirs and histories of modern publication which are compiled from the private records of ancient sects. We feel that we are enabled to divest ourselves of our prejudices, to do justice to those who may have been wronged, and, what is most desirable of all, to judge each vexed cause after full knowledge and impartial study. Good service is done to any sect, at any time, by affixing its name to one or more volumes of accurate narrative or biography, in which it may begin, pursue, and complete its defence, without interruption or clamor. service Mr. Young has performed for the "pilgrim fathers," restricting the use of that term to those who have the sole title to it, the original settlers or planters at Plymouth Colony. It is but little to say of the book before us, that it has wiped off from the page of history some odious slanders which had become attached to the characters and proceedings of those devoted men. It has performed a higher service for them, and for us, in giving us, from their own pens, some minute and most ingenuous narratives of their private and social life. As we have read its pages, we have more than once felt ourselves as mingling in the company of that austere, but by no means cheerless band of exiles. We have read of their sour visages, their bigoted and fanatical zeal, their obstinacy and spiritual pride, but in the pages before us not a single statement, opinion, action, or occurrence, has verified or confirmed the prejudice which dwelt in our minds concerning them. We do, indeed, observe, (p. 349,) that on a fast day which they kept on occasion of a drought in their plantation, their exercise continued "some eight or nine hours," and under present circumstances we cannot pretend that the length of the service would not be irksome to us, yet they had willing spirits, and thought that a special service on their part would ensure a special providence from God; their expectations being most remarkably fulfilled in this instance by a copious and fruitful rain. We do not hesitate to say, that there never was a body of men who more solemnly and cheerfully realized the near presence of God, and found more

instant comfort in prayer, than those pilgrim fathers. felt themselves not only to be pilgrims through this wilderness, but pilgrims to a heavenly country, and they often spoke as if with their hands they grasped the staff which the Almighty stretched forth for their guidance. Every occurrence presented itself to their minds in a religious aspect. They knew of no such thing as an accident. Though the bond by which they were limited together in their perils, and trials, and prayers, must have been one of intense affection, yet the survivors of the first year at Plymouth scarcely speak with regret of the half of the company who within that year were gathered to their rest. The successive deaths are chronicled-" This month there died six"-" This month there died eight;" but there is no lamentation, no bitterness of mourning. They were believed to have been mercifully delivered from evil to come, to have been translated after a brief trial, and they were envied rather than mourned. When "the burial hill" became as populous as the dwellings of the living, they found a new attachment to the spot which they seemed to have visited on their way to heaven. There was no weak point in their faith, it was in reality "the substance," the solid, palpable "substance of things hoped for," not a vague and unstable shadow. It was this complete and undoubting piety which bore up their spirits under a weight much more heavy than those which had frustrated every former attempt upon the part of the English to plant a flourishing colony upon this continent.

We conceive that the general effect which the book before us will produce upon all its readers, will be to demand from them an allowance of all the merit which religious heroism may claim to the pilgrim fathers. They will stand clear from all unworthy imputations in the eyes of the world. the infinite variety of manifestations which the religious sentiment has made of itself, their mode of piety will not require an especial vindication, nor a peculiar indulgence from charity. Sincerity, consistency and faithfulness to professed sentiments, go far to excuse the eccentricities of a religious sect, and there certainly should have been a place in Christian history for the exhibition of that aspect of faith. prevalent assumption that obstinacy or bigotry was the moving impulse which induced the pilgrim fathers to cross the ocean, and plant a colony in Virginia, is an equal wrong to them, and to the facts of history. It is remarkable that the undisturbed enjoyment of their own peculiar fancy, or faith, is not mentioned even as one among the many reasons which induced them to come hither. Nor could they have been by any means assured, that after their arrival here they would have been undisturbed. The mercantile company of whom they purchased their own privilege, was not pledged in any way to regard their religious motives or prejudices, but viewed the company of emigrants only in the light of adventurers for trading or fishing. The pilgrims knew that it was not in their power to decide who their next neighbors might be, when their purpose was gained. Indeed it so happened that the feeble colony was soon troubled by the proximity of a disorderly and irreligious company whom they were obliged as Englishmen to defend against the animosity which, by injustice, had been excited against it among the Indians. Those settlers at Weymouth were no credit to their country, and the fact that the territory around them was thus open to settlers of any character, must even have induced the Plymouth colonies to fear that they might have worse neighbors in the new world than they had left behind in the old.

Their perseverance and success after their arrival here, prove that obstinacy could not have been the impulse which guided them; for obstinacy is one of those unworthy passions which, after leading men into difficulties, leaves them there, without helping them out from, or sustaining them under their burdens. If they had come hither with no better furniture in their breasts than misanthropy and bigotry, their passion would have been cooled on the Atlantic, or at least by their houseless endurance of a New England winter immediately after their arrival, and they would have seized the opportunity of the return of their vessel in the spring to have gone back to their homes. But in no record that they have left behind them is there any expression of regret at the step which they had taken—any suggestion of a conditional purpose to abandon their enterprise, even should death reduce their number to two individuals. They were able, in spite of hardships and reverses, which our imaginations cannot paint, to carry out their plans, even to realize more than they had hoped, and, therefore, we must allow that purposes of noble and devoted sincerity entered with them upon their Imputations upon their motives reached their ears, and they do not seem to have been anxious to answer them,

save incidentally. It would not have been wise for them to have attracted observation and discussion in reference to their measures, for their situation was at best precarious. The singular traits which composed their characters are worthy of patient investigation, for while we must ascribe to them a measure of common human imperfections, we shall not find it easy to point out any moral failings, or to condemn the extravagances, which originated as much in their wilderness exile, as in their religious sentiments. They have stamped everlasting memorials of themselves upon the institutions of their colony, and in justice to them it must be allowed, that in matters of religious controversy the early settlers of Plymouth colony were less chargeable with the coarse and dogmatical bigotry of puritanism than their neighbors of Massachusetts.

If we were compelled to indicate what appears to us to have been the prominent feeling of those pilgrims, we should be inclined to utter, in a gentle tone, the word selfishness. The unmolested enjoyment of their own peculiarities was constantly in their minds. They desired such an entire and complete indulgence of their own forms, and modes, and discipline, as was not consistent with the presence or the practice of any variation from their order. We can liken their conduct in this respect only to that of a child, who, when amusing himself with the construction of a house from a heap of blocks, or cards, before him, all of which he cannot possibly put to use, will fret and complain if another touch a single one of his toys. The pilgrims could not conceal, though they might disavow, their real hostility, as well as their conscientious objections to the forms and ceremonies which suited the religious sentiment of others. They longed for that entire liberty in their own worship which would include a silencing even of the echo of a different strain. They would so fill the ears of the Majesty of Heaven with their extemporaneous prayers, that those read from the servicebook might not be heard. Of course this kind of selfishness was ennobled, as far as it might be, by its union with a glowing piety. Nor were their privations and trials which they voluntarily endured, inconsistent with the imputation of this We know that eccentricity, self-love, failing to them. jealousy, and conceit, will often purchase indulgence at a heavy cost, and if the pilgrims met the privations of a wilderness, they enjoyed the silence of forests, and the seclusion of a sanctuary, divided by an ocean from priests, temples, and organs. In thus gently designating where Adam's nature, after the fall, appeared in them, we utter all the censure which we believe is their due. Probably they would have remained in England if they could have been un:no-lested, but, as dissenters there, they never would have been the men and women which they were as pilgrims here.

Mr. Young's book professes, on its title-page, to be a collection "from original records and contemporaneous printed documents, illustrated with notes." Though only a small portion of the text of the volume is now presented in type for the first time, yet we may regard the whole as original, because its parts are now first presented, complete and accurate, so united as to serve for a history of successive years, and so minutely illustrated as to answer every question which is prompted by the curiosity of the reader. The notes by themselves would make a volume of no ordinary interest. They are the acquisitions of wide study and laborious research, of personal observation and diligent inquiry, comprehending history and biography, the geography and natural history of the territory explored and occupied by the Plymouth settlers, and a very careful correction of some erroneous statements which have crept into the most accurate

The period embraced in the volume begins, in 1602, with the origin of the pilgrim fathers in John Robinson's congregation, and ends with their prosperous settlement at Plymouth in 1625, and all the documents are from their own pens. The first of these documents is the most important part of a history of the Plymouth people and colony from 1602 to 1647, originally written by William Bradford, the second governor of the colony, in two hundred and seventy pages. Morton, Hutchinson, and Prince, in their New England histories and annals, quote from and refer to this document, and the manuscript was known to have been deposited in the tower of the old south meeting-house in Boston, where it disappeared while the British troops occupied that edifice during the revolutionary war, so that the complete history has been lost, probably irrecoverably. Mr. Young, on a visit at Plymouth a few years since, found the most important portion of that history in the records of the First Church of that town, in the hand-writing of Secretary Morton, the nephew of Bradford. A comparison of these pages with the copious extracts in

Hutchinson and Prince, professedly made from Bradford's history, and the note of Morton, the copyist, that "this was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, governor of New Plymouth," the real authorship of the document was established. Hazard, supposing it to be written by Morton, had printed imperfectly this document, which he could not accurately decipher, in his State Papers. Morton, it seems, copied his uncle's narrative no further than to the settlement at Plymouth, referring the reader then to his own memorial; so that the remainder of the original, with the exception of the extracts scattered through Prince and Hutchinson, is lost. This loss, however, is supplied by other original documents. The portion of Bradford's history which Mr. Young has thus been enabled to present, so accurately copied, and so co-piously illustrated, is a perfect treasure to the antiquary, and as a mere narrative of adventure, of trial, of perseverance and constancy, it is attractive even to the readers of the lightest literature. We will briefly present the principal incidents in the story which it chronicles.

Governor Bradford commences with the first beginnings of this church and people, which he traces to a consistent carrying out of the principles of the reformation in England. In the spirit of the times, and with a temper for which we shall by-and-by offer what little may be said in its justification, he confounds episcopacy with popery, and attributes to Satan the "number of vile ceremonies, with many unprofitable canons and decrees," which were an especial scorn and bugbear to those called puritans. During the bloody days of Queen Mary, about eight hundred individuals, whose purpose was to free themselves from all ecclesiastical and ceremonial oppression, fled from England, and formed congregations on the continent, at Wesel, Frankfort, Basle, Emden, Marburg, Strasburg, and Geneva. As might have been expected, these exiles carried with them the elements of mutual strife, and fell into contentions. The dislike which they entertained to church ceremonies and clerical vestments, was shared by some of the most eminent churchmen of Elizabeth's time; such as Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, and Nowell. In 1602, some of the most rigid of the separatists, in the north of England, united in a covenant, or church estate, looking for freedom from ceremonial restraints, and promising to walk by the light which should gradually reveal itself to them. As they extended over three counties, these men

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divided themselves into two companies, for the convenience of frequent religious intercourse. One of these, under the ministry of John Smith, settled at Amsterdam, where it became a party to the dissensions of an independent church, which previously existed here. The other company, or church, is the subject of the chronicles before us. Mr. Richard Clifton was its first minister, and Mr. John Robinson was his successor. Its members suffered extreme hardships in England from spies and informers, from fines and imprisonments, from midnight watchings, from loss of occupation and means of living, and from separation from their families. Undoubtedly they were obstinate in their conduct, and abusive in their language. Each reader of their history is at liberty to decide bow the blame of these errors shall be divided between their own tempers and the spirit of their persecutors. They went from house to house on the Sabbath, but most frequently were entertained by their elder, William Brewster, who, it would seem, was a man of much consideration among them. Their sufferings suggested to them the thought of a voluntary exile to Holland, which was then a refuge for all sorts of consciences. But the prospect which a removal presented before them was dreary in the extreme, made up, as it was, of a strange language, a new mode of life, a subjection to the Spanish hostility to the Dutch, and an ignorance of means of earning there an honest maintenance. Yet they resolved upon a removal, which, however, they found it very difficult to effect, as spies tracked their steps, as the English ports were closed against their exit, and an exorbitant price was demanded for their passage.

In 1607, a large party of them in Boston, Lincolnshire, hired a ship for themselves, and agreed with the master to transport them on a certain day. He came after the appointed time, took them on board, and then villanously betrayed them to officers and searchers, who, after rifling their goods, imprisoned them for a month. Seven of the principal men among them, one of whom was Elder Brewster, were bound over to appear at the assizes; the rest were dismissed to their

homes.

Some of this same party, in company with others, made a second attempt at removal in the spring of 1608, by agreeing with an honest Dutch captain. A part of the company, principally the males, had gone on board, when they were discovered by spies. The captain drew off with the portion

he had secured, and after an exceedingly stormy passage of fourteen days, he landed them in Holland. The females who had been intercepted, thus separated from their husbands, were treated with inhumanity and indecency, but after a while the whole company was safely transported, and united together, having made new friends by their perseverance. Robinson and Brewster having remained to aid the weak, went over

with the last of the party.

After spending one year at Amsterdam, in order to escape a participation in the contention in which Smith's church had become involved, they removed to Leyden. There they passed eleven years in pleasant communion and harmony, enjoying unmolested the peculiar dispensation of religion which suited their own idiosyncrasy, obtaining an honest livelihood, esteemed by the Dutch, and honoring with zealous affection their devoted pastor and elder. They never had any difficulty with the magistrates or with the people, and though during their sojourn the great Arminian controversy was waged, and Robinson disputed against Episcopius, they were so well esteemed that on their first intention to cross the water, the Dutch desired them to settle in their colony. The reasons which induced them first to cherish the purpose of passing the seas were all prospective, having reference to their future interests. Their hard and precarious mode of life deterred others from joining them, and thus while old age and heavy burthens had enfeebled them, they feared that their cherished sentiments and discipline might fail of support when they were in their graves. They dreaded the corruption and degeneracy of their posterity, and they had a strong desire to plant the Gospel in a remote and heath-These reasons with others beside, such as a wish en land. to live under English laws, to educate their children as Englishmen, and to see the Sabbath religiously consecrated, induced them seriously to count the cost of another and more distant exile. America being then the land of fancy and of faith, was the proposed destination, and they set themselves to a solemn deliberation of the measure. Difficulties rose before them in the sea, the change of climate, the danger of famine, and in the savage red men, who roasted their captives Those formidable fears, which were of course exaggerated by the imagination, were calmly surveyed, and religious hope vanquished them. The major part of the company concluded upon a removal, and then it was necessary to

decide upon some preserable spot on this extended continent. Romance, rather than reason, first suggested Guiana, but the heat of the climate and the dislike of the Spaniards deterred them. A settlement in Virginia was then proposed, but there the church of England already had power. It was finally decided to seek a refuge in the northerly and distant part of the territory included in the Virginia patent. Great influence was used in their favor to solicit of the king a promise of civil and religious liberty, but their utmost success was that they might expect their intentions would be winked at. They proceeded to treat with the Virginia company of merchant adventurers. The company being then divided with dissensions, their business was much impeded. At last they succeeded in forming a kind of partnership in trade, and made preparations for their emigration. They despatched their affairs, and after many solemn meetings and prayers, the smaller part only being able to begin, the undertaking was accompanied by Elder Brewster, Robinson remaining to come with the residue, and the Speedwell, of sixty tons, freighted with the burthen of a Christian empire, sailed from Leyden for Southampton on the twenty-second of July, 1620. Robinson's farewell letter has a simple and touching interest:

"LOVING CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

"I do heartily and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me, in the mean while, as of a man divided in myself with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdom you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation to them, that run well already; if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty,

"And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown sins and trespasses, so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of our ways in his sight; lest he, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the

same to be swallowed up in one danger or other. Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up unto a man's conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

"Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that end, watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence, being given by others. We be unto the world for offences; for although it be necessary (considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption) that offences come, yet wo unto that man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ. And if offences in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teacheth, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honor of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

"Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves, by the grace of God, from giving offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them, when they be given by others. For how unperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences, as the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties, or, lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth; as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, which have nourished this touchy humor. But, besides these, there are divers motives provoking you, above others, to great care and conscience this way. As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way; lest, when such things fall out in men and women as you suspect not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity, for the covering and preventing of incident offences that And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself; which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store we up therefore patience against the evil day; without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works.

"A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, that with your common employments you join common affections, truly bent upon the general good; avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any manner of way. Let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general conveniency. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God, which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other

oppositions, at the first settling thereof.

"Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; nor being like the foolish multitude, who more honor the gay cost than either the virtuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how mean persons soever. And this duty you both may the more willingly and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are, at least for the present, to have only them for your ordinary governors which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

"Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words. But I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things; there being also divers among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily, incessant prayers unto the Lord, that He who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of water, where providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children, for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you, and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in Him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest

An unfeigned well-wisher of your Happy success in this hopeful voyage,

John Robinson.

"This letter, though large, being so fruitful in itself and suitable to their occasions, I thought meet to insert in this place."—pp 89-96.

The Speedwell was joined by the Mayflower, of one hundred and eighty tons, and both set sail in company on the fifth of August. They were twice obliged to put back, first to Dartmouth and again to Plymouth, on account, as was supposed, of the unseaworthiness of the Speedwell, but in reality on account of the deceit of its captain and some of its crew. The Mayflower finally started upon her voyage alone, on the sixth of September, and made Cape Cod on the ninth of November, after a boisterous passage.

Governor Bradford's history closes with the arrival at Cape Cod, but the history is here taken up by another document, which has been heretofore known as Mowet's Relation. Mr. Young thinks that G. Mowet, who signs the preface, was George Morton, the father of the secretary, and that this document, which he printed in London in 1622, is a journal by Bradford and Winslow. It presents a history of the first settlement of Plymouth colony in a minute diary of events, from the arrival of the Mayflower, on the ninth of November, 1620, to the return of the Fortune, on the eleventh of December, 1621. Of course this document continues the history begun in the former. There is a pilgrim's loneliness, a wilderness air, in the narrative, which makes it to us the most interesting of all tales of danger and adventure. We know that every word of it is simple truth. The journal commences with the dropping of the anchor of the Mayflower in Cape Cod harbor, on the eleventh of November, with a description of the beautifully curved and wooded promontory, and of the whales that played in their sight. Before the pilgrims left their narrow cabin, they entered into a solemn political compact, and drew up the first instrument of its kind which history has recorded. Just one hundred persons were parties to this compact, and as the scene of the signing of it in the cabin of the Mayflower, is to be the subject of one of the great national paintings in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington, we will quote the short but comprehensive instrument.

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves

together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, anno Domini 1620."—p. 121.

The account of the first exploring expedition, near the head of the promontory, is very graphic; one cannot pause in reading it till he has come to its close. They examined with the interest of men whose life depended upon the search, every rock and hillock. They noted the soil and the water, the trees and the shell-fish. They were obliged to wade from their shallop over the shoals to land, and thus many of them contracted the severe diseases which, within a year, They regarded resulted in the death of half their number. with intense interest the first Indians whom they saw at a distance, but failed to bring them to a parley. They found some corn buried in a kettle belonging to some wrecked European mariner, and while gladly securing this grateful provision for their necessities, they note that they are to reimburse the lawful owners if it is ever in their power. After three expeditions, a midnight alarm from wild beasts, an attack from the Indians, and a very thorough examination of the country around them, they landed on Plymouth rock, on the eleventh of December, corresponding, in the change of the calendar, to the twenty-second of the month now, the day honored by their descendants as "Forefathers' Day." The rock upon which they first trod was afterwards covered by a wharf; it was split in an attempt to remove it in 1774, and the upper part now stands as a cherished relic in front of the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth. They returned to their vessel, which they had left across the bay twenty-five miles distant, having decided to settle upon the spot where they last land-They were pleased with the spacious harbor of Plymouth, and with the fruitful growth of trees and plants, and at once began to cut their timber for building upon the bank. They laid out their house lots in the midst of rainy and tempestuous weather. It is while he is following them in these their first attempts to explore a country wholly unknown,

that Mr. Young illustrates their journals by his most valuable notes, the fruit of his own close imitation of their inquisitive expeditions. They were obliged, meanwhile, to keep a lookout for the Indians, and to send a party in search of them. The following extract will present a vivid picture of their situation:

"Friday the 12th we went to work; but about noon it began to

rain, that it forced us to give over work.

"This day two of our people put us in great sorrow and care. There was four sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning; and two of them, John Goodman and Peter Browne, having cut thatch all the forenoon, went to a further place, and willed the other two to bind up that which was cut, and to follow them. So they did, being about a mile and a half from our plantation. But when the two came after, they could not find them, nor hear any thing of them at all, though they hallooed and shouted as loud as they could. So they returned to the company, and told them of it. Whereupon Master Carver and three or four more went to seek them; but could hear nothing of them. So they returning, sent more; but that night they could hear nothing at all of them. The next day they armed ten or twelve men out, verily thinking the Indians had surprised them. They went seeking seven or eight miles; but could neither see nor hear anything at all. So they returned, with much discomfort to us all.

"These two that were missed at dinner time, took their meat in their hands, and would go walk and refresh themselves. So going a little off, they find a lake of water, and having a great mastiff bitch with them and a spaniel, by the water side they found a great deer. The dogs chased him; and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way back. They wandered all that afternoon, being wet; and at night it did freeze and snow. were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons but each one his sickle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down, and could find none of the salvages' habitations. When it drew to night, they were much perplexed; for they could find neither harbour nor meat; but, in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed and the element their covering. And another thing did very much terrify them; they heard, as they thought, two lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third that they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree, as their safest refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging. So they stood at the tree's root, that when the lions came, they might take their opportunity of climbing up. The bitch they were fain to hold by the neck, for she would have been gone to the lion. But it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild beasts came not. So they walked up and down

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under the tree all night. It was an extreme cold night. So soon as it was light, they travelled again, passing by many lakes and brooks and woods, and in one place where the salvages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, and even. In the afternoon, it pleased God from a high hill they discovered the two isles in the bay, and so that night got to the plantation, being ready to faint with travail and want of victuals, and almost famished with cold. John Goodman was fain to have his shoes cut off his feet, they were so swelled with cold; and it was a long while after ere he was able to go. Those on the shore were much comforted at their return; but they on shipboard were grieved at deeming them lest." — pp. 174-177.

In their intercourse with the natives they followed the strictest principles of integrity. We should be glad to extract their interview with Samoset, and their treaty of peace with Massasoit. They found a valuable servant in Squanto, or Tisquantum, an Indian who had been seized by some earlier adventurers and carried to England, and had been so fortunate as to return hither. On the 5th of April, the Mayflower sailed upon her homeward voyage; but notwithstanding the sufferings through which the colonists had passed, not one of them used this opportunity of going back to England. While some of the company were engaged in their first attempts at planting Indian corn, four expeditions were planned and carried through, of which we have interesting details.

The Fortune, a small vessel of fifty-five tons, sailed from London in the beginning of July, but did not arrive at Cape Cod till the ninth of November. She brought over thirty-five persons, including some who had put back in the Speedwell. On her arrival, she found that exactly half of the hundred first comers had died, Governor Carver and his wife being

among them.

The next document is a discourse delivered in Plymouth, 1621, by Robert Cushman, one of the company—"Of the state of the colony and the need of public spirit in the colonists." Its title is a fair index of its scope; its lessons are judicious, and suited to all times. The fourth document is Edward Winslow's relation, or "Good news from New England," which continues the former journal down to the tenth of September, 1623. This was originally printed in London in 1624, and has since been known in an abridgment or in fragmentary portions, but now appears entire. The interest of this narrative, as of those which precede it, consists in its

minute and most disingenuous detail of the adventures of the colonists. It commences with describing the apprehension which they felt of an attack from the Narragansett Indians, the enemies of their ally Massasoit, which by prudent management was soon quieted. They were brought to great suffering by a scarcity of provisions, and undertook expeditions in their neighborhood, and to Massachusetts Bay, for relief. They succeeded in purchasing corn of the Indians around them, and by honest dealings they made friends, while by exhibiting a courageous resolution, they intimidated the artful and faithless portion of the savages. Winslow's narrative of his visit to the sick sachem Massasoit, and of the mode of treatment by which he restored him, is full of romance and of Christian philanthropy. Only a very honest man could have resisted the temptation to seize the opportunity of working upon the superstitions of the savages by pretended medical charms.

While the Plymouth settlers had trials and occupations of their own enough to occupy their thoughts, they were compelled to engage in an expedition against the Indians of Wessaqusset, or Weymouth, who threatened Master Weston's colony there. This colony was in a most wretched state; its members were indolent and unprincipled, and had provoked the enmity of the Indians by great abuses. Still it seemed to be necessary to quell any hostile movement on the part of the savages, and this was effectually accomplished by the expedition under Captain Standish. In the midst of great trials the Plymouth people retained their spirit; the lands were parcelled out, and each was to labor for himself. arrival of two more ships in July and August, 1623, greatly encouraged them, and secured the triumph of their endeavors. Winslow adds some very pleasant sketches of the manners, language, government, religion, and employments of the natives, and closes with some excellent advice to all who intend to come over, and especially to those who entertain unreasonable expectations. We extract his last paragraph:

"As, for example, I have heard some complain of others for their large reports of New England, and yet because they must drink water and want many delicates they here enjoyed, could presently return with their mouths full of clamors. And can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops, or fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands?

If thou canst not live without such things, and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art; for as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand, be here intolerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable. If therefore God hath given thee a heart to undertake such courses, upon such grounds as bear thee out in all difficulties, viz. his glory as a principal, and all other outward good things but as accessaries, which peradventure thou shalt enjoy, and it may be not, then thou wilt with true comfort and thankfulness receive the least of his mercies; whereas, on the contrary, men deprive themselves of much happiness, being senseless of greater blessings, and through prejudice smother up the love and bounty of God; whose name be ever glorified in us, and by us, now and evermore. Amen."—p. 374.

The next document is also by Winslow, and is entitled, "A Brief Narration of the True Grounds or Cause of the First Planting of New England." It appeared in London in 1646, as an appendix to his answer to Gordon. No copy of this book is known to exist in this country, and Mr. Young prints from a manuscript copied for him from the printed volume in the British Museum. This document may be considered as the gem of his book, being equally important Winslow here vindicates his brethren and interesting. against the imputations which their enemies at the time cast upon them, of having quarrelled among themselves, while they agreed in spurning the faith and sincerity of all other professed Christians. He proves that Robinson, their pastor, did not deny communion and fellowship with members of the English Church, though he had a strong dislike to episcopacy and the liturgy. Winslow thinks that his brethren approached nearer to the primitive model of the Christian church, and he is anxious to show the distinction between their opposition to an exclusive communion which professed to enclose all the true members of Christ, and their readiness to acknowledge every true disciple, whatever his differences from them might be. He has preserved the parting advice of John Robinson to the exiles, which was as follows:

""We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord hath appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ;

and if God should reveal any thing to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their Reformation. for example, the Lutherans, they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them; a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he puts us in mind of our church covenant, at least that part of it whereby we promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare it and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth before we received For, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"'Another thing he commended to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of Brownists, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious and the professors of it to the Christian world. And to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you before my coming; for, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom. And so advised us by all means to endeavour to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz. how near we might possibly without sin close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loth to take another pastor or teacher, saith he; for that flock that

hath two shepherds is not endangered but secured by it.'

"Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us. But these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of church government in the kingdom of England,) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised church of Christ, now at New Plymouth in New England, but formerly at Leyden in Holland, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the churches of Christ, especially those that are Reformed."

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Something resembling this vindication of the religious peculiarities of the pilgrims, is found in the next document, which Mr. Young copied from the records of the Plymouth Church. It was written by Governor Bradford, and is called, "A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England, and sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and Old England." The young men propound the objections to the course pursued by their fathers, and ask many close questions relating to their opinions, proceedings, and eccentricities, which are answered to their

satisfaction, at least, by the elders.

There is likewise a brief memoir of Elder Brewster, written by Governor Bradford, and copied by Mr. Young from the records of the Plymouth Church. That faithful elder deserves this memorial, for he bore "his part in weal and wo, with this poor persecuted Church, about thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness." He had been at court in the service of Davison, the secretary of state under Queen Elizabeth, and was a good scholar. The disgrace of the secretary put him out of employment, and his heart being with the separatists, he soon joined them. He supported himself in Holland by teaching and by printing. In the government of the church, and in the office of teaching upon the Sabbath, in the want of their pastor, Brewster was highly acceptable to the pilgrims, and his ministry was blessed. He lived to the age of eighty, and dying in 1644, was favored with a cheerful fulfilment of the hopes which he entertained for the colony.

Mr. Young's volume concludes with six letters taken from the records of the Plymouth Church, and from a portion of Governor Bradford's Letter-Book, which was rescued from a grocer's shop in Halifax, about fifty years since. Two are letters of Robinson, one to the church at Plymouth, the other to Elder Brewster; the rest are from brethren at Leyden to Bradford and Brewster. In one of these is an account of the death of the pastor, Robinson, on the first of March, 1625. His long-cherished hopes of joining his friends here were disappointed. Many others who had been left behind failed, not from disinclination, but from inability, to unite with the portion of their church in the wilderness.

In the slight sketch which we have given of these memorials of the pilgrims, we have reserved for especial mention a few particulars which may now be stated. In three im-

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portant matters the documents before us, with the notes of the editor, triumphantly vindicate the pilgrims from aspersions that have been cast upon them. The first relates to the original cause of their removal from Leyden. It was said that they had quarrelled among themselves, and were obliged to divide and put an ocean between the two parts of the church. This insulting calumny had not the least foundation in fact. We have already stated the reasons which induced the whole church to think of a removal to some place beyond the seas, before any particular location had been selected. The most entire harmony marked all their deliberations upon the subject. It was decided, as a matter of policy, that a part should go first and prepare the way for the remainder. If so be the larger part went first, the pastor was to accompany them, but if the smaller part went, they should take with them the elder. Those who first went were bound by a solemn obligation to help over the residue, and those who were left behind longed for the opportunity of following. Many were disappointed by death, by opposition, and by poverty, but the hopes of others were gratified. Here is nothing that appears like quarrelling. Indeed, Robinson, Bradford, and Winslow, bear witness to the tender love, the uniform peace of the brethren in their connec-They were more united than might have been extion. pected.

Again, the pilgrims have been ridiculed for undertaking to carry out the Utopian theory of a community of goods and This reflection upon their good sense, though repeated by many historians, and even by Chief Justice Marshall, is wholly erroneous. The pilgrims were obliged to enter into a most disadvantageous partnership with the merchant adventurers in order to secure the means of being transported. They threw their own property into a common stock in order to furnish provisions for the voyage, and the materials for planting a colony. But the very moment that their common necessities were answered by the erection of an edifice, emphatically called "the common house," they at once divided the land, parted off house-lots, and labored each for himself. Winslow is very explicit in mentioning this partition of the land, and the liberty and obligation of each individual to provide for himself. He gives as good reasons as we can give now against a community of goods, namely, that self-love instigates a man to the greatest exertion for his own private interest, and that drones will take advantage of a general partnership to live on the labors of others.

A third reflection has been cast upon the pilgrims even by Baylies, the historian of Plymouth. He speaks of their conduct in digging up and appropriating the corn which the Indians had buried in baskets, as "inexcusable," and as "compromising their consciences." This would be rather a severe censure upon men in their condition, even if they had never had the intention of paying the rightful owners of the corn as soon as they could find them. But at the first mention of their discovering the buried treasure, they declare their determination to pay for it at the first opportunity. They kept this determination in view, they frequently repeat it in connection with their search after, and their interviews with the savages, and within six months they had paid the Nauset Indians, to whom the corn belonged, double its esti-The pilgrims were equally scrupulous in all mated value. their dealings with the savages, and with just pride their writers assert that they purchased of the natives, in fair bargain, all the land they occupied.

For three or four years previous to the arrival of the pilgrims, a most destructive pestilence raged among the Indians from the Penobscot to Narragansett Bay, almost depopulating the intervening territory, and leaving, in many places, only a bare vestige of human life. It was computed that the Massachusetts Indians were reduced from thirty thousand to three hundred fighting men. The settlers, in different portions of New England, regarded this driving out of the heathen

as a providential preparation for them.

The intention of the Plymouth colonists had been to settle south of Hudson river, or in its neighborhood, as their patent did not extend north of the fortieth degree. As they happened to make land at Cape Cod, and after their long voyage were anxious to go on shore, and as the season was so far advanced, they concluded to remain. Morton, in his memorial, first brought the charge against their captain, Jones, of being bribed by the Dutch to land them above the Hudson. But Mr. Young does not think the charge is correct. None of the original settlers mention it, and moreover they imposed great confidence in Jones, which is inconsistent with the charge.

One of the most interesting characters among the Plymouth

colonists was Captain Miles Standish, their military leader. There is something singular in his connection with those severe men, for he was not a member of their church, nor does he appear to have been particularly interested in their religious principles, unless we take the confidence they reposed in him as a sufficient proof of the fact. He was by birth a gentleman of Lancashire. He was one of the soldiers sent over by Queen Elizabeth to aid the Dutch against the Spaniards. Thus he fell in with Robinson's congregation, and attached himself to it. By his own inclination, or at their request, he embarked with them for America. He was at once made their captain, and headed their military expeditions. Though a short man, he was so strong and courageous that the Indians over a wide neighborhood were afraid of him. He seated himself in Duxbury, (which he probably named from the home of his ancestors,) at the foot of Captain's Hill, so called after him.

By an attentive perusal of the text, and the notes of the volume before us, we may form some faint idea of the hardships and trials which the pilgrims endured in the feeble beginnings of the colonies. A faithful picture, in which a group of that desolate company should appear in deliberation, labor, or worship, would affect us even to tears. They had come over but poorly provided for the deprivations they were to undergo, and even without the means of availing themselves of some of the advantages within their reach, such as good boats, fish-hooks, and nets. They tell us of the loss of their "common house" by fire, immediately after its erection. In the list of articles which they recommend to those who think of joining them to bring over from England, is "oiled paper" for their windows; a strange provision this for the cold blasts of a New England winter! They speak of building a little house for the sick, who were more numerous than those whose duty it was to aid them. The hardest and poorest fare, if they had had a sufficiency, would have satisfied them, but more than once they were in danger of absolute starvation, as appears from their seeking powdered corn of the Indians by the spoonful. They had no cattle, and of course no milk, and only the relics of the butter and cheese from their vessel. They desired, above all things, intercourse with the Indians, yet were obliged to keep a most careful watch upon their movements, to compel them to leave their bows and arrows at a distance when they en-

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tered the settlement, and to shorten their visits, to the discredit of English hospitality, lest they should all starve out-"The day of small things" need never be despised henceforward by any human beings, to whatever straits they may be reduced. The Plymouth pilgrims, landing at the beginning of winter, upon the rocky and sandy shores of Cape Cod, have proved to us that Providence will never desert the faithful. But in their loneliest and most desolate hours, in the midst of their shivering penury, and their houseless hunger, they never forgot their God, their morning or evening prayer, their Sabbath worship, their humiliation or thanksgiving. Yet these men are far from standing as heroes in the estimation of the world at large, or even in the current literature of the English language. There is, indeed, a prevalent feeling against them, their names and sentiments are associated often with ridicule and with sneers. The original English puritans, as a body, and their successors of the times of the English commonwealth, have, till very lately, been the objects of a too indiscriminate scora and satire. There have been three prominent causes which have brought about the prevailing estimation of the English separatists.

The first of these causes is, the disgust which is so easily and yet so unfairly excited by the ludicrous exhibitions that may be made of religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. The descendant, and even the champion of those austere and enthusiastic men, will allow that there was something hard and repulsive in their doctrines when contrasted with a reasonable morality, and especially with the genial license of Roman Catholic times. There are many ridiculous stories recorded of the puritans, some founded in fact, some drawn from the sermons or works of heated fanatics, and some as well the creation, as the food, of a spirit of satire. The attacks which the puritans made upon "the profane stage, that rock of offence and stumbling-block to the godly," have subjected them to much ridicule. Philip Stubbes said, that "music allureth the auditorie to effiminacie, pusillanimitie, and lothsomeness of life, much like unto honey." William Prynne, the most voluminous writer against the stage, affirms, in his book to "Scourge Stage Plaiers," that he has herein "cited against them no less than fifty-five synods and councils, seventy fathers and Christian writers, before the year 1200; one hundred and fifty foreign and domestic, protestant and

popish authors since, and forty heathen philosophers and poets."

Another rock of offence was the luxury of dress, especially "the ungodlie vanities of silk and satin divines." The Reverend Thomas Hall, writing in 1654, on "The Lothsomeness of Long Hair," said, "Look abroad into the world, and see whether the vilest men do not usually wear the longest locks. Tell me whether ragged rascals, nasty varlets, raggamuffin soldiers, tinkers, crate-carriers, gaol-birds, etc. etc., are not partakers with thee in this ruffianly guise." The stern and unvielding spirit with which the puritans resisted all the ceremonies of the established church, however innocent those ceremonies were, subjected them to ridicule. Scott says, that his master, Nehemiah Solsgrace, preached a sermon of three hours' length before the parliament, on a thanksgiving occasion. As these parliamentary sermons happen to be printed in several quarto volumes, any one who wishes may falsify that anecdote, for there is no sermon in that collection the delivery of which would occupy two The puritan divines, or, as their opponents termed them, "dry vines, and dissembly-men," were in the habit of snuffling and whining in their delivery, and the congregation expressed their applause by humming. But what dissenter would not gladly prefer to bear his part of this reproach, than to be the author of the foul and blasphemous description of these sounds which is given by Dean Swift in his "Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit?" The eccentric and fanatical preachers naturally subjected all their brethren to a promiscuous scorn. Here, as an example, is an extract from a sermon by Master John Dickson: "Ask of our old dying wife, if she has any evidence of salvation; she will say—'I hope so, for I believe the apostles' creed, I am taken with the Lord's Prayer, and I know my duty to be the ten commandments.' But I tell you these are but old rotten wheelbarrows to carry souls to hell. These are ideas which the false prelates have set up to obstruct the covenant, and the work of God in the land." There was likewise an overstrained morality professed by the puritans, of which Baxter's confession of his youthful sin in eating apples, is a remarkable instance. The singular names adopted by the puritans subjected them to derision. Cleveland, the satirist, said, "Cromwell hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour

by the names in his regiment. The muster-master uses no other list but the first chapter of Matthew." These individual eccentricities and extravagances could not fail to draw ridicule upon a whole party, and hence have originated many of the low and vulgar associations indissolubly con-

nected with the puritans.

A second cause of the indiscriminate prejudice against the English separatists, is the almost total engrossment of the current literature by royalists and churchmen. We mean that literature which at the time was most captivating and popular, and which continues to be read. Ben Jonson, in his "Bartholomew Fair," has made foul sport of a puritan under the name of a "Banbury man." In his play of the "Alchemist," he introduces a character in derision of the puritans. After the restoration the presbyterians were introduced in the same manner; their language and looks were grossly caricatured. The wits Cleveland, Butler, and others, hung around the court at Oxford, and sent forth their satires. Butler's Hudibras, and the Hudibras Redivivus, by Edward Ward, one of its thousand imitators, contains some very characteristic scenes, describing the puritans, and their sermons, with much quaint humor. And, besides these works of wit and fancy, we are to remember how many scandals, railleries, jokes, and common sayings, have been handed down among the people in ridicule of the bigoted, morose, and austere religionists of the seventeenth century. There are likewise some observances of a more dignified character, which bear down the reproach of the party of which the Plymouth pilgrims must be regarded as members. consecration of the thirtieth of January, for instance, when, by way of sermons, panegyrics are pronounced upon "the blessed martyrs, King Charles I. and Archbishop Laud," has served as an outlet for much exaggeration and misrepresentation. In the meanwhile, the only vindication of the puritans is to be found in their own dry, repulsive, and most tedious pamphlets, which it is easier to collect by bushels, than to read through one by one.

The third prominent cause of the general reproach which attaches to the English separatists, is the popularity of the great historians Clarendon and Hume. This is a point which does not require to be enlarged upon. The spirit of republicanism, which in his time was almost identical with religious dissent, was a sufficient provocative of the courtly

arrogance of Clarendon. He wrote by request of his humbled and suffering king, that the cause of royalty might have its advocate, and he wrote in seclusion and disgrace. He was also a most sincere disciple of the English Church. Under these strong influences he composed his history, and through them it is what it is. Though cumbered with some tedious prolixities, and state papers, it is a most enchanting work, showing, in its delineation of characters, a model for every author; a delineation which, though by no means exhibiting an impartial or charitable judgment, yet displays such a knowledge of human nature, as to present the traits which require illustration, and which form the soul of every character.

Hume could not feel, and, therefore, could not appreciate the power of that religious spirit which really worked in the midst of the fanaticism and the worldliness of the times. Of course, therefore, he misinterprets its origin and its instrumentality.

These three causes, taken in connection with a multitude of others which might be specified, have perpetuated the memory of all those obnoxious qualities which really disfigured the puritan character, and have left its stern virtues without a memorial. In honest truth, a reproach must attach to both the religious parties of those times, but it has its palliatives alike for either. Bunyan feared that his age would be characterized by posterity "as one which talked of religion the most, and loved it the least." Baxter, with much force, enters a solemn protest. "I know you may meet with men who will confidently affirm, that in these times all religion was trodden under foot, and that heresy and schism were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages that they take heed how they believe any while they are speaking for the interest of their fashions or opinions, against their real or supposed adversaries." It would have been well if Baxter had followed this wise rule, for, pious and devoted as he was, he was not wholly free from the spirit of bitterness.

That the separatists were, for the most part, men of unquestionable sincerity, is evident from their continued opposition at the expense of their interest. This credit their enemies generally allowed to them. "The puritans," said Burleigh, "are over squeamish and nice, and yet their careful catechizing, and diligent preaching, lessen and diminish the papistical numbers." Bacon said, that the bishops

should keep one eye open to look upon the good that those men did. It cannot be questioned that the majority of the preachers were under the influence of piety, purity, and virtue, though they were heated and virulent, in part from the wrongs which they had suffered, in part from natural fanati-The mass of their converts could have been but partially informed in the scriptures, and in the true essence of religion, for the mass had scarcely shaken off the tyranny and ignorance of popery. The multitude of sects which sprung up immediately after the settlement of the reformation in England, is to be ascribed to causes which had long been working—to the roused spirit of humanity, to the binding influence of a bright light suddenly poured upon the great interests of the people—to the rash and earnest questionings of the design of government and religion, and, most of all, to the oppression of the preceding times, which had offered dead ordinances as the food of craving hearts and minds. None of the extravagances of the times confound or By the most natural of all processes two princiamaze us. pal parties were formed, the one distinguishing between reformation and revolution, retaining, in politics and religion, some of the characteristics of the preceding times, the other pushing forward the reformation to such a length that their measures seemed to threaten lawless confusion, and the overthrow of all order. Power, wealth, talent, and all social advantages, were on the side of the Church of England. He does not deserve the honor of being a descendant even of a puritan, who will not acknowledge the integrity, the spiritual strength, the Christian purposes of the leading churchmen of the times. They felt that the interests of Christianity were in their sacred keeping, and required caution, reserve, and resistance, on their part. When the puritans complained of the ceremonies and impositions to which they were subjected, the church insisted that then, when the reformation was in progress, it would not be wise to leave religious doctrine and discipline to the vagaries of individual speculation and fanaticism.

And what was the ruling motive, the strong leading idea of the separatists in resisting the measures of the English hierarchy, and enduring all indignities, imprisonment, and exile, rather than bow their wills or their consciences? Many of them were men of the best education the times could furnish, of high social standing, and of good common sense.

They must therefore have known that the Deity could not take offence at a read prayer, a crosier, an organ, a mitre, a surplice, a candle burning on the communion table, which was placed at the eastern end of a church, and called an altar. They must have known that some of their own cherished practices were really as much non-essentials as any of those to which they objected. Why should they then have carried their obstinate resistance to an exile in the wilderness, rather than acknowledge a bishop or wear the clerical habit? seems to us that their regard for one doctrine, and their fear of one dreadful evil, will explain their conduct. The doctrine was, that the Christian church had no visible head, but that its invisible and sovereign head was Jesus Christ, who had not delegated his authority to any human being. trine they deemed most sacred and essential; Robinson, especially, laid great stress upon it. It constituted in their eyes much of the awful mystery which attended the mystical union of the members of the body with its head. This doctrine they believed to be endangered and set at nought by the establishment of an hierarchy; and believing, as they honestly did, that bishops were not of God, they ascribed them to The fear which filled the imagination, and mastered even the reason of the separatists, was, lest popery might once be reinstated in England. Did space permit and necessity require it, we are satisfied that a strong and well-nigh invincible plea might be put in for the separatists by merely following out this suggestion. The puritans had suffered much in the first successful attack upon popery, and in its temporary revival under Mary, after the loss of every thing else, they had fled to save their lives. Returning to England at the accession of Elizabeth, they found the reformation still upon a very precarious footing, its stability depending upon her single life, which was threatened by disease and by enemies. Knowing as they did the evil fruits of popery, and suffering its inflictions, they had a right to dread it. felt it to be their solemn duty to establish protestantism securely while opportunity offered, so that a popish successor to the throne, by legitimate succession, could not subvert it with a To effect this mighty purpose, they labored to root out every vestige of popery, every form, rite, ceremony, title, service, robe, and image, which in the minds of the common people had been associated with the older faith, and which, by lingering around the churches, the firesides, or the

sports of the people, would have facilitated the restoration of popery. Let this suggestion be candidly considered in connection with the fact, that just at the time the pilgrim church was formed at Leyden, popery, reviving its energies, was triumphantly winning back its lost territory. Let the suggestion be illustrated by the history of the period, and the pilgrim fathers will not stand charged with the want of common sense.

- ART. V.—1. Opere di Torquato Tasso, colle Controversie sulla Jerusalemme, posta in migliore ordine, ricorrette sull'edizione Fiorentina, ed illustrate dal Professore Gio. Rosini. Pisa: 1826–1832. Appresso Niccolo Capurro. Tomi XXXIII. 8vo.
- 2. Saggio sugli Amori di Torquato Tasso, e sulle cause della sua prigionia da Gio. Rosini. Pisa: 1832. Appresso Niccolo Capurro. 8vo. pp. 102.
- 3. Lettere di Torquato Tasso a Luca Scalabrino ora per la prima volta pubblicate da Bartolommeo Gamba. Venezia dalla Tipografia di Alvisopopoli: 1833. pp. 62.
- 4. Cavedoniane di Giovanni Rosini, in risposta alle accuse del Signor D. Celestino Cavedoni da Modena. Pisa: 1834. Presso N. Capurro, e com. Fasciola Ia IV.
- 5. Lettera di Giovanni Rosini al Sig. Desendente Sacchi a Milano, sul saggio annunziato della causa finora ignota delle stenture di Torquato Tasso. Del Signor Marchesa Gabtano Capponi. Pisa: 1837. Presso Niccolo Capurro.
- 6. Risposta di Giovanni Rosini alla lettera del Signor Gaetano Capponi. 1838. pp. 11.
- 7. Trattato della Dignità ed altri inediti scritti di Torquato Tasso; premessa una notizia intorno ai codici manoscritti di cose Italiune conservate nelle biblioteche del mezzodi della Francia ed un cenno sulle antichità di quella regione del Cavaliere Costanzo Gazzera. Torino Stampena Reale: 1838.

- 8. Manoscritti inediti di Torquato Tasso, ed altri pregevoli documenti per servire alla biografia del medesimo, posseduti ed illustrati dal Conte Mariano Alberti, con incisioni e fac simili per cura di Romualdo Gentilucci. Lucca: 1837–1839. Dalla tipographia Guista.
- Sulla causa finora ignota delle sventure di Torquato Tasso. Saggio del Marchese Gartano Capponi. Firenze: 1840. Dai torchi di Luigi Pezzati. Prima dispensa del primo volume.

We cannot agree with some continental critics, that the United States never can have a national literature, for want of an original language. Neither can we carry our notions of exclusiveness as far as some of our own patriots, who wish us to abandon the English tongue altogether, or modify it by Americanisms until it shall be English no longer. Nevertheless, we do regret our servile adoption of British opinions in regard to the authors of other countries—our neglect of foreign languages—our impolitic duty on books printed in them—our want of an international copy-right law, and the consequent inundation of our country by all the trashy productions of the British press.

With a view of contributing our mite to reform this state of things, by reminding our readers that taste and genius are not confined to one nation, that polite literature is successfully cultivated by many, and that it is a great folly to limit our vision to a single district of the Republic of Letters, however rich and highly cultivated it may be, we shall continue from time to time to cast a glance beyond the channel, and have chosen as a topic for our present article the author of the Jerusalemme Liberata, and a controversy now going on in

Italy touching some portion of his life and writings.

Torquato Tasso, whose epic all Christendom, except Great Britain, ranks next to Virgil's, was born in Sorrento, a village on the Bay of Naples, on the eleventh of March, 1544. His father Bernardo, himself a poet of no small merit, descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors in Bergamo. His mother, Portia Rossi, was a noble Neapolitan lady, whose beauty, virtues and misfortunes, have been celebrated by her husband and her son, in language so full of truth and tenderness that it is impossible to read it unmoved. Tasso's

^{*} Serassi vita, 63-65; Lettere di B. Tasso; and Torquato Tasso's Canzone. NO. XVIII.—VOL. IX. 54

father was confidential secretary to the Prince of Salerno, chief of the Neapolitan aristocracy, who were at enmity with the Spanish viceroy, Toledo. The political intrigues in which this nobleman became involved, drew down upon himself and his followers a sentence of attainder.

Bernardo Tasso, like the rest, was banished, and his property confiscated. His young and lovely wife, prevented by the interference of her relations from sharing the exile of her husband, shut herself up in a convent, where she died prematurely of grief, and her brothers possessed themselves of her property, which they withheld from her children. quato in his boyhood was thus deprived of home and fortune. His earliest instruction he received under the paternal roof; afterwards in the school of the Jesuits at Naples, and two years before his mother's death his father sent for him to Rome, and thence transferred him to Pesara, where he became the companion of Francesco Maria della Rovere, afterwards Duke of Urbino. From Pesara he was removed to Padua, his education being continued under able masters, by whose lessons he profited so well as to be soon remarkable for his proficiency not only in the learning, but in the exercises and accomplishments of the time.

In obedience to the wishes of his father he began the study of the civil and canon law, but his heart and his leisure were given to the muses, and the fame won by his Rinaldo, composed at seventeen, induced Bernardo to abandon all

thoughts of opposing his son's inclinations.

Love increased young Tasso's devotion to poetry, and Laura Seperara, as we learn from Rosini, received the homage of his verse. Cardinal Louis of Este, brother of Duke Alphonso II., became his patron, under whose protection Torquato came to Ferrara in 1565. His reception was flattering. The court of Alphonso was a splendid one, of which the princesses, his sisters, a few years older than Tasso, were the most distinguished ornaments. Lucretia and Leonora both favored the young poet, and between the latter and himself there sprung up, it is alleged, a romantic affection, whose mysteries, not yet thoroughly penetrated, literary curiosity is still eagerly investigating. On the one hand, it is contended, that this passion was serious, mutual, and the source of all Tasso's persecutions and misfortunes. On the other, it is utterly denied, or held to be merely poetical and

Platonic, and his imprisonment is attempted to be otherwise Whether the poet subsequently lost his accounted for. senses, or only affected madness, is another open question of great interest; and if the perusal of some of his own letters leaves us with a strong impression that he labored under strange illusions, our curiosity to ascertain the true character of a malady consistent with such extraordinary powers of composition as he exhibited, is rather increased than diminished.

Theories the most opposite, many of them plausibly supported, have divided the biographers of Tasso, and produced several of the works whose titles will be found at the head of this article, of which the most interesting is Rosini's, and the most recent the Marquess Gaetano Capponi's.* To crown the whole, and complicate the mystery, Count Alberti's facsimiles of manuscripts alleged to be original, have given rise to a new warfare.

Manso, Tasso's first biographer and personal friend, towards the close of his life, hints, but in terms somewhat guarded, his love for the Princess Leonora, yet speaks (if the text has not been falsified) of the poet's imprisonment as an act of humanity necessary for his cure.

This is the more singular, because, in regard to Torquato's state of mind, the author elsewhere is evidently puzzled, and at a loss whether to believe him inspired or insane.

The authenticity of this work, however, is controverted. Tiraboschi and Serassi (no mean authorities) recognize it as genuine; but the Marquess Gaetano Capponi warmly disputes That Manso did write a life of Tasso is unquestionable, for Milton refers to it. The future bard of Paradise, during his visit to Italy, enjoyed the hospitality of the octogenarian nobleman, who thus became the friend of the two greatest epic poets the world has known during eighteen centuries, a piece of good fortune, in all human probability, never to be equalled. But though Milton's Latin lines establish, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Manso did write a life of Tasso, this does not so completely identify the work published under his name, as to remove all ground of cavil,

^{*} This personage is not to be confounded with the Marquess Gino Capponi, well known to every lover of Italy for his patriotism, talents, profound historic studies, and urbanity to all who engage in similar researches.

† See Manso Vita di T. Tasso, vol. xxxiii. of Rosini's edition. Contrast pages 167, 168, 169, with 170, 171, 172, and these again with 173, 174, 175.

and it certainly contains opinions, and forms of expression, which awaken an unpleasant suspicion that the publisher

may have tampered with the manuscript.

Serassi's life of Tasso was evidently compiled with great care and industry from the most authentic sources. Written, however, under the patronage of a princess of the house of Este, its dedication, and the spirit of some remarkable passages, admonish us to be upon our guard. The author, it is evident, was too much under the influence of a family who seem always to have imagined their honor received a stain from the homage which has rendered Leonora immortal. One would suppose that the lapse of nearly three hundred years, the extinction of the direct line, and the matchless poetic renown of her adorer, himself a noble, might have tranquillized the too sensitive pride of ancestry in all who claimed participation in her blood, whether legitimately or illegitimately transmitted. But it is not so. No sooner had Rosini's essay appeared, the scope of which is to prove that Tasso was a favored lover, than Don Celestino Cavedoni attacked it stoutly.

This worthy ecclesiastic is, or was, we believe, the librarian of Modena's most absolute duke, and the motive which induced him to enter the arena cannot be doubtful. His simplicity, and his zeal for the fair fame of Leonora, may be commended, but it is impossible to compliment him on his

logic or discernment.

As a specimen of the latter, we may mention that Rosini had quoted, though without laying any great stress upon it, a madrigal, said to have been an original of Tasso's, which an English gentleman, Mr. Dawson Turner, of Norfolk, acquired, in 1825, from the library of Prince Falconieri at Rome.*

Cavedoni, instead of urging, as he well might have done, that sufficient evidence of authenticity was wanting, insisted, that in the MSS of Tasso in the library of the Duke of Modena, (inaccessible to all the world, but his highness and Don Celestino,) this identical madrigal is found directed to Lucretia, Duchess of Urbino, the sister of Leonora, and wife of Tasso's friend.

Indeed, the dilemma to which Serassi, as well as Cavedoni, and all others of the same school, find themselves re-

Rosini Saggio, p. 97.

duced, and their mode of extricating themselves from it, is amusing. "As between the two princesses," says Serassi, "Tasso always showed most inclination for Lucretia." The same opinion is adopted by Black, Alberti, and Capponi. It does not seem to have occurred to any of them, that the honor of the house of Este is not much advanced by transferring the poet's love from the single to the married sister. With Italians the mistake is natural and pardonable; but in the Englishman, whose heavy volumes, though little more, and no better, than a translation of Serassi, are still considered the standard life of Tasso in our language, the blunder is ludicrous, considering the high pretensions of his nation to morality. The scandal, if it be one, of Tasso's love for the princess, is not of modern invention. It was current during his lifetime, and is alluded to very distinctly in works published shortly after his death. Even in Serassi's account of the matter, there is so evident a struggle between the author's convictions and his loyalty, that there exists a difference of opinion whether he wilfully shut his eyes to the fact, or ingeniously allowed the evidence of it to escape, even while pretending to refute it. Rosini taxes him with concealing the truth, and Alberti, still more cruel, contends he betrayed, under color of denying it.

Rosini takes up the question as Ginguené had done, on the internal evidence afforded by Tasso's poems, and the known incidents of his life, and has woven them into an exceedingly interesting little essay. The general results of his reasoning it would be difficult to controvert, and the investigation, as far as it goes, has been conducted with reasonable industry, ability, and good faith. Some faults there are undoubtedly. When he insists, for example, that Tasso was in love both with the princess, and with Laura Seperara, at the same time, and for some years, he violates all probability. In adducing among his proofs of this double passion, a canzone, which he supposes to have been written on the marriage of the latter, he overlooked, most inexcusably, its publication eleven years before. Torquato's supposed attachment to

^{*} In the Rime of the Eterei, an academy to which Tasso belonged, p. 141, second edition, 1588. We have never seen a copy of the first edition, in 410. without date, but Serassi thinks it must have been printed in 1566, and the preface to the second says, "about twenty years before;" i. e. 1567, or 1568. The Rime of the Eterei were not unknown to Rosini, for they are mentioned in his essay, [p. 30.] and he himself places the marriage of Laura Seperara in 1579.—Saggio, p. 13, 14.

Leonora, Countess of Scandia, he has admitted hastily, without adequate grounds, and other slight errors and inaccuracies might be pointed out. In spite of all these blemishes, however, Rosini's essay is one of great merit, and in Italy at least, is generally considered as having done more towards settling the controversy than any thing yet published.

Tasso, after accompanying the Cardinal d'Este to France, where they quarrelled, returned to Italy, and, through the intercession of the Duchess of Urbino, was taken into the service of her brother, Alphonso II., Duke of Ferrara. There he applied himself to the composition of his immortal epic, producing, in the meantime, a vast number of short occasional poems, many of which were openly addressed to the royal sisters, and some, evidently written for one or the other of them, to which it would have been madness to affix the real inscription. The period of his greatest fame and favor was the beginning of his misortunes. His dramatic pastoral, the Aminta, the great prototype of Guarini's Pastor Fido, and Milton's Comus, raised his reputation, and the envy of the courtiers, to the highest pitch. His absence on a visit to the duke and duchess of Urbino, gave full scope to the machinations of his enemies. His servants were corrupted, his letters intercepted. A treacherous friend named Maddalò gained access to his private papers by means of false keys, and, it is probable, removed some of grave and dangerous import. Among these were, perhaps, a few of his poems to the princess, and his correspondence with Gonzaga, who sought to draw him into the service of the house of Medici. A quarrel and a duel followed. Maddalò ab-The duke's outward demonstrations of favor to sconded. the poet continued, but Tasso, notwithstanding, fell into frequent fits of profound melanchely. Jealousy—apprehension of heing poisoned—religious doubts—fear of the holy office, and vexation at the objections to his poem, are alleged to have unsettled his reason. The first public manifestation of his mental infirmity took place in the apartments of the Duchess of Urbino, where he drew a knife on one of her servants. On this charge he was arrested and confined in the castle; afterwards removed to the duke's villa of Belriguardo, as if for his health, and then sent, at his own request, to the monastery of San Francesco. His letters at this period are rambling and incoherent. From San Francesco he escaped, and fled to Naples, by the wild and dan-

gerous road of the Abruzzi. After many perils he reached Sorrento, and presented himself in disguise to his sister Cornelia, as a messenger from her brother, whose life was threatened, and whose condition he described so touchingly that she fainted. This proof of her affection obliged him to undeceive her gradually, lest sudden joy should prove fatal. He continued some months in her house, always longing to revisit Ferrara, and recover his manuscripts. He wrote to Duke Alphonso, to the Duchess of Urbino, and the Princess Leonora. The two former returned him no answer, and the latter gave him to understand that from her he could expect nothing. In despair he resolved to return at all hazards and throw himself upon the duke's clemency. His hopes of recovering the royal favor were quickly dissipated. He was given to understand, as he himself says, that it was the duke's pleasure he should aspire to no praise of learning or fame in letters, but should lead an idle and sensual life in the style of Epicurus. He made various ineffectual attempts to obtain an audience of the duke, or the princesses, and, finally, abandoning his books and manuscripts, turned his back once more upon Ferrara. He wandered to Padua, Mantua, and Venice, and from the latter city endeavored to obtain the protection of Francis the First, grand duke of Tuscany. Failing in this, he sought refuge in the dominions To him he wrote a of his early friend the Duke of Urbino. long letter on the subject of his misfortunes, but in the most guarded and mysterious language. Becoming dissatisfied at Urbino he journeyed to Turin, travelling oftentimes on foot. There he was kindly received by the Duke of Savoy. But again his fatal destiny drove him back upon Ferrara. Through the interposition of the Cardinal Albano, he was assured that if he returned, on the occasion of the approaching nuptials of Duke Alphonso with Margerita Gonzaga, his MSS. should be restored to him, together with the means of honorable subsistence. He returned, was denied access to the duke and his sisters-found himself treated with contumely or neglect by the courtiers—lost all command of his temper, and spoke in disrespectful terms of the royal family. He was arrested, and sent to the hospital of St. Anna, an asylum for insane paupers, and confined there for seven miserable years. His cell, even in its present improved state, little better than a felon's, is still mournfully and reverently trod by the passing stranger, and rises before us, as we

write, with all its thrilling associations. During his imprisonment he composed many admirable works in prose and verse, all bearing the stamp of much learning, great genius, and the soundest reasoning powers. In the latter part of his confinement, however, he was tormented with various bodily infirmities, and harassed by imaginary sights and sounds, which he describes in some of his letters, and attributes to witchcraft and evil spirits. Notwithstanding these afflictions, we find him consoling himself with the reflection, that the devil has no power over his will; that he could think and compose as usual, and this he justly considers the true test of a sound intellect. In the second year of his seclusion the Princess Leonora died. During the first he addressed to her, to her sister, and the duke, several poetic appeals for liberty, among the most pathetic in the world. They were fruitless. From 1579 to 1596, the poet who, in modern times, has no rival but Dante, lingered out his life in prison. His own exertions, and those of a few faithful friends—the intercession of the city of Bergamo, and of the prince, and through him the duke of Mantua, at length put an end to his tedious confinement. It is a mistake, however, to suppose he was even then unconditionally released. He was given in ward to the Duke of Mantua, who apparently became surety for his conduct in several particulars, and, among others, that he should write nothing against his ancient patron and recent jailor. Broken in health and spirits, the rest of his life was a variety of wretchedness. Long endeavoring to recover some portion of his mother's property, usurped by her relations—appealing ineffectually to royal clemency for a reversal of his father's sentence, and the restitution of his patrimony-condemned to seek a patron in vain, and to see himself defrauded by the surreptitious publication of his poems—quickly pirated on all sides—poor Tasso, in a fit of sickness, was once reduced to the extremity of voluntarily seeking an abode in one of those asylums of poverty and misery to which he had formerly been involuntarily committed.

At the close of his life fortune smiled on him deceitfully for a moment. The lawsuit for his mother's estate was compromised so as to allow him a subsistence. He obtained the

[•] V. Serassi, p. 381, 382; 391, 382, n. 4, and Manso, 185, 186, 187. The last condition is not expressly mentioned by his biographers, but Tasso's letters leave no doubt of it, and none that he was still a sort of prisoner on parole.

The war

favor and protection of Cardinal Aldobrandini. Preparations were made for crowning him with laurel in the capitol. Before the appointed day, however, he retreated to the monastery of Sant. Onofrio, which overlooks the imperial city, and there death laid him gently in the dust. He died on the twenty-fifth of April, 1595, having little more than completed his fifty-first year, and the monastery where he breathed his last still preserves his ashes. The humble cell where he died—the simple tablet consecrated to his memory—the elevated site, and unpretending architecture of the building—the cypress trees around—the sky above, and Rome beneath it—give to the religion of the spot a solemnity and grandeur which the heart acknowledges in silence, and whose description the pen shrinks from in despair.

ence of certain inedited MSS. of Tasso was announced, which promised to throw much light on this portion of his history. Their possessor, Count Mariano Alberti, pretended to have purchased them from Prince Falconieri of Rome, and offered them for sale to the grand duke of Tuscany. A liberal price was agreed on, if they proved genuine, and many of the literati expressed opinions more or less favorable to their authenticity, but when they came to be examined by experts, the judgment of the latter was not sufficiently favorable, and the purchase was abandoned. Alberti then subjected

between Rosini and Cavedoni was still raging, when the exist-

To return to our authors, and their controversy.

the judgment of the latter was not sufficiently favorable, and the purchase was abandoned. Alberti then subjected some portions of these papers to the inspection of keepers of the public libraries where the poet's hand-writing is preserved, and to other competent and impartial judges, and having thus authenticated, as far as possible, the pieces so submitted, announced an intended publication. This, it was presumed, would comprehend all the MSS., and was looked for with the most ardent curiosity. It was given out that he had been refused permission to publish his work in Rome, Florence, Naples, and Milan, and public impatience was more

and more inflamed by the delay.

In the meantime, he freely read to natives and foreigners of his acquaintance, some parts of his collection, giving, at the same time, the history of their acquistion. It was our fortune to be present more than once at these readings, and the impression made upon us is not yet effaced. The prejudice since created by the count's manner of proceeding, injudicious in the highest degree, to say the least of it, is now

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so strong among Italian critics, that we dare not venture to express the conviction then entertained. Still, as to many of those which we heard, we must be allowed to say, after years of reflection and investigation, that if indeed they are forgeries, they are more extraordinary ones than those of Chatterton and Ireland. Several of them have a beauty, truth, and energy, that fiction rarely or never displays. Among others is a sonnet addressed to the duke, equal or superior to the best of Tasso's known productions, and Tasso, as a lyric, is excelled among his countrymen by Petrarch only. There are, or were, also, some verses alluding to the hopes the poet had conceived from a promise of marriage, and their dissipation by the anger of Jove the thunderer. A billet from Leonora acknowledges the receipt of these lines, the beauty of which she praises, but reproves her lover for hinting at such a subject, and admonishes him, when Jove thunders to beware the lightning. There was another of her notes, written, it may be presumed, after some of his private papers had The particular one alluded to does not appear, been stolen. but it must have been such as to compromit him seriously. She reproaches him with a mixture of tenderness and severity for keeping in his possession matter so deep and dangerous. She tells him his imprudence is more like that of a boy than a man, and wonders how he could preserve on paper what should have remained for ever buried in the silence of their own bosoms. She points out to him the peril he might incur from the holy office, and hints that the charge of heresy would be a convenient cloak to cover his punishment for other offences. With the promptness for which her sex has been famed, of finding remedy, or at least counsel, in every emergency, she urges him to hasten to Bologna, and there avert at least a part of the evil, by a voluntary confession and recantation of religious doubts, " O vera o finta." That he did so is matter of history. These papers, indeed, as far as we heard them read, and could examine them, tally so exactly with the known events of the poet's life, they connect

[•] Many such may be found in his sonnets and madrigals, if we suppose they referred to the princess; but the one most exposed to the mixed charge of irreligion and lasciviousness is the sonnet, "Odi Filli chè tuona." Sonnet 165, page 88. vol. iii. edition of Pisa. The last line, in conjunction with the preceding ones, would do to give cognizance to the inquisition. In justice to Tassa, it should be noted as a solitary instance. Despite of his doubts, his poems are generally orthodox, and though not quite so Platonic as Petrarch's, nearly as free from all taint of grossness or indecency.

facts, explain doubts, and support each other in so extraordinary a manner, that it is as difficult to believe them feigned as real. A third billet of Leonora's we remember to have seen, urging the great unfortunate to fly, written, as it may be presumed, on the eve of his arrest, and betraying haste and agitation in the tremor of the hand. Among the poetry, was the original of that affecting sonnet in which Tasso invokes the spirit of Duke Hercules to intercede for his pardon, and soften the heart of his son. Upon this is found, in what purports to be the Duke Alphonso's own hand, the following short, stern, cold, dreadful answer. "When the shade of Duke Hercules appears, his prayer shall be heard." Upon the admirable, indeed wonderful sonnet first mentioned, in which Tasso retracts his promise to feign madness, and asserts his sanity in language such as scarce any but himself could use, there was also a memorandum purporting to be the duke's. It was to the following effect: "After this production, there being no longer any doubt of the insanity of Ser Torquato Tasso, he is committed to the custody of the guardians of the hospital of Sant' Anna, to be strictly and rigorously watched, and carefully attended, until he shall be cured." In a note of Leonora's there was an allusion, as Count Alberti supposed, to this sonnet. The princess acknowledges the receipt of a letter, through the same channel as that by which she sends her answer, a friar of the monastery, [of San Francesco,] and in reference to this, or some other indiscreet step of his, proceeds to say: "Assuredly your excellence, if you have not lost your senses, must have lost your judgment, in thus not only destroying all possibility of serving you, but drawing down additional evils on yourself and others."

The supposition that Tasso agreed to feign insanity at the instance of the duke, is favored by several passages in his discourse to Gonzaga; and the belief that his madness was not real, certainly prevailed in his life-time. Alessandro Guarini, son of Battista, who must have had the best means of information, plainly hints as much in a dialogue published only fifteen years after Tasso's death, but not hitherto noticed in this controversy.* This is Rosini's theory, and evidently

^{*} V. Il Farnetico Savio ovvero il Tasso Ferrara, 1610. The interlocutors are Cæsare Caporale, and Tasso himself. The former asks, page 47: "Per qual cagione vi avete finto, e tutta via vi fingete farnetico?" Tasso says, page 48: "Io di farnetico ho prese nome e sembianza," etc. And again, page 49: "Deliberai di fingermi forsennato."

the true one, if the Alberti papers are to be credited. Among these curious memorials, curious whether true or false, documents of a more serious official and authoritative character than any heretofore mentioned were not wanting. was a letter purporting to come from the Duke of Mantua to Alphonso, urging Tasso's release. Duke William, beyond question, did interpose in his behalf, and if this letter is not the one actually written, it is most probably not at all inferior to it. He tells his brother duke that it concerns not only his honor, but the honor of all the princes of the time, that so great a man should not linger out his life in prison without the nature and certainty of his offence being known; and he entreats that the facts may be investigated and made public, that so, if innocent, he may be released, and if guilty, they may be justified by the proof and heinousness of the crime. Alphonso, thereupon, directed, as it would appear from another instrument, that "all the papers sealed up in his private archives, relating to this subject, should be entrusted to Guarini, his secretary, whom he charges to draw up a report of the truth, showing how little ground of complaint there was respecting the treatment of one whom even his clemency could not have allowed to live, except as a madman." There was even, if we remember rightly, the heads, or rough draft of Guarini's statement, in obedience to this order, acquitting Tasso of guilt, and taxing him only with imprudence. In this report, if these papers can be relied on, he must have softened the truth to effect poor Tasso's release, and it concerned him deeply that the originals should not rise in judgment against him. Accordingly, Count Alberti imagines that he abstracted them from the ducal archives, and that this circumstance was connected with his sudden and mysterious flight from Ferrara, and with the extraordinary and relentless persecution he afterwards experienced from Al-In support of this conjecture, there is a letter from Guarini to Tasso, offering him these papers, to be preserved as conclusive proofs to the world, and all posterity, of the falsehood and cruelty of the charge of madness. Tasso's answer to the man whom he had deemed his rival and his enemy, but who would seem to have perilled life to save him, appeared to us one of the most touching specimens of human eloquence. If this, and the sonnet "Giurai Signor," are literary forgeries, they are not unworthy of the pen which produced the "Jerusalem," and the "Discourses." A

spirited translation of the sonnet would go far to confirm this assertion with all who cannot understand the original, but who can hope to do it justice? Such an idea was once dropped in conversation with Count Alberti. "For that," quickly replied an Italian lady who was present, "you would want Lord Byron."*

The first reading of these manuscripts which we witnessed, was a scene not easily forgotten. All the rest of the company were of those whose mother tongue is Tuscan, and who gave themselves up to their feelings with the unreserve that belongs to their country. One of the number was a noble lady, enthusiastic and highly educated, whose sweet expressive face, when once moved from its habitual calm and lofty melancholy, reflected every emotion of the soul as quickly and distinctly as a mirror gives back the passing images that flit over its polished surface. A finer exhibition of true, deep, natural sensibility, is rarely seen, never, perhaps, out of Italy. The French character is too artificial too much for display and effect—too full of the egotism of vanity to admit of it. The English are too stiff and cold, too dignified and petrified. Besides, it is, or was the fashion to be blazé and ennuyé, and weary of every thing except one's self, and one's own sullen silence or drawling inanity, and an Englishman would as soon be out of the world as out of the fashion. Gain, religion, and politics, absorb nearly all the enthusiasm of our own beloved countrymen, and, moreover, like all of Anglo-Saxon race, we are too discreet, too much shut up in established conventional decencies, to think of showing our hearts or our faces in full action. The Italians alone, of all civilized people, exhibit freely, and without simulation or disguise, except where church or state are concerned, the full sway of the passions, and especially their instinctive and intense love of the fine arts. As the lecture proceeded we found ourselves more deeply affected than it would become our critical gravity to avow, albeit unused to the melting mood, and no longer " Nel mezzo del cammin di We should have been ashamed of the emotion we were betraying, if a glance round the room had not informed us that every one was as much, or more agitated, than ourselves. The countess especially seemed inspired.

^{*} A notice of the Alberti MSS. appeared some time since in the Knickerbocker magazine, from which we have borrowed freely, as it corresponds pretty much with our own recollections of them,

She had more of the divinity of Apollo and the Muses, in her appearance and gestures, than Rosa Taddei, the celebrated improvisatrice whom we had listened to some nights before, or even, as we supposed, than Corilla herself. When she spoke, her observations were strikingly original and energetic, conveyed in the fewest, but choicest terms, of the most beautiful language that harmony ever lent to speech. Her very silence was eloquent, and her manner, whether speaking or listening, had all the inimitable grace of nature. Whether she smiled or wept, whether her face flushed, her eyes kindled, and her high spirit burned with indignation at injustice and oppression—her heart melted at the sad and tender strain of Tasso, or her sensitive and generous soul warmed with admiration at the good sense and delicacy of Leonora—at every vicissitude of the eventful story which these papers plainly told, a light or shadow passed over her fine features, as naturally and unconsciously as clouds and sunshine over the ever-changing landscape of her own lovely country. Nothing could be more charming, because nothing was ever less designed to fascinate. She was evidently absorbed with Tasso, Leonora, Alphonso and Guarini, and utterly unmindful of herself. Had a painter been able to transfer that head to canvass, with the full expression of any one of its deep emotions, Guido would have been surpassed, and Raphael no longer without a rival in his art. Could many of our levely girls, who torture nature for effect, have seen it, a still greater miracle would have been accomplished from that instant, they would have forsworn affectation.

We have indulged ourselves in this description to show the character of these documents by the impression they produced on others. But such pleasant reminiscences must beguile us no longer. Our critical duties recall us to a far

less grateful task.

Count Alberti having at length obtained permission from the duke of Lucca, began his publication in 1837. In about two years six numbers were issued, and there it terminated. Who would believe, that in these six numbers none of the above-mentioned pieces are to be found? Instead of these, or others, perhaps equally important, which every one expected, and had a right to expect, we have been favored with fac-similes of a few of the most uninteresting sonnets, madrigals, and letters, several wretched engravings, and the similitudes of two pieces of embroidery, one a picture, and the

other the cover of a book; the first said to be the work of Lucretia, and the latter that of Leonora.

This failure on the part of Count Alberti to answer the reasonable anticipations of the public, and the promises of his own prospectus, caused a general burst of indignation. The most unworthy motives were attributed to him. He has been severely handled by some of the leading journals of Italy. A suit has been brought, or threatened, to test his pretended originals, alleging them to be impostures; and it is denied, as we are informed, that he ever purchased any MSS. of Tasso from Prince Falconieri.

All this he has certainly brought upon himself by a course of conduct not to be justified. Whether he intended to dole out his sibylline leaves little by little, at several successive publications—to sell the most important at a high price, in consequence of the general recognition of the others, or to secure a rich reward for their suppression, the design was disreputable, and has been utterly frustrated. his huckstering has been to discredit almost entirely the Alberti MSS. A few, a very few persons only, though among them some whose opinions are entitled to the highest respect, venture to suggest that he ought not to be condemned too hastily, the restrictions on the press in Italy, and prudential reasons connected with his own safety, possibly excusing him. One paper only among these fac-similes deserves a passing notice. It is a memorandum of articles left by Tasso, most probably at Rome, among which are the portraits of his father, mother, and brother. This is the first intimation known to us, that Bernardo Tasso had another son. not aware of the least allusion to such a being in any book or manuscript which has fallen under our notice. What then are we to think? On the one hand, can it be supposed that the fabricator of false documents, in other respects most carefully executed, would hazard the introduction of a person totally unknown to history? This would be to insure his own detection. On the other, can we be expected to believe a fact so singular as the existence of a brother of Torquato, never heard of until now?

Without designing to undertake Count Alberti's defence to express any definitive opinion on his MSS., or to deprive him of any excuse he may have, arising from the unhappy political condition of his country, we will offer some reasons that persuade us there must be genuine literary remains of Tasso in existence, other than those heretofore given to the

It is a well known fact, that Count Foppa acquired, from various sources, an extensive collection of Torquato's papers. He published three volumes of prose and poetry before inedited, and the introduction expressly admits, that all the lighter pieces were not inserted, but only a selection from them. This publication contains none of the poet's correspondence. When Serassi wrote his life of Tasso, [1785,] this collection of Foppa's, including, as it is shown, some unpublished poems, and two volumes of letters which Serassi mentions, and from which he extracted what he thought proper, were in the library of Prince Falconieri. There is no room to doubt it. Serassi is esteemed an author of veracity. and his copy of the letters and extracts has been thought worthy of preservation in the library of the grand duke of Tuscany.† What then has become of these two volumes of letters, and the remainder of the poems not published by Foppa? Prince Falconieri should not think this question unworthy of an answer, and the literati of Rome ought not to let it sleep. The honor of both is concerned. French pillage, a convenient excuse which answers all troublesome inquiries in Italy, as the burning of the capitol does in Washington, will not suffice in this instance. Mr. Dawson Turner, it is evident, did obtain in Rome, during the year 1825, an original inedited madrigal of Tasso's, whose authenticity Don Celestino Cavedoni has unwittingly verified. Where else in Rome were such manuscripts preserved, except in Prince Falconieri's library? Is it possible they have been retailed as merchandise, with or without the owner's knowledge? In general we recognize the rights of private property to their utmost limit, and the exemption of every

† "Oltre alle accennate Poesie Latine si trova altresè presso i medesimi Sig. Falconieri qualche numero di Rime Toscane tuttavia inedite, e due volume in fogl. di lettere bellissime e molto importanti, alcune delle quali si sono opportanamente inserite nel decorso di quest, opera." Serassi Vila di T. Tesse, paga 537. The Falconieri MSS. are repeatedly referred to in the course of his work. Pages 180. 183. 235. and 533. Foppa, and his acquisition of Tasso's MSS., are mentioned, page 2, n. 2.—page 134. n. 2., and pages 519, 520, and 595.

^{*} Ses "Opere non più Stampate di Torquato Tusso," in the observations to the reader prefixed. "Nel volume delle Poesie, chè è il terzo nell' ordine. si leggono prima le stanze in lode della casa Gonzao, che fanno quasi un intere canto di un poema; e seguono dapoi le canzone delle quali, per la loro eccellenza, non se n'è rifiutata niuna, e grande ardire sarebbe stato il farlo. Ma ne' sometti, per non eser tutti frà sè pari, benchè in tutti vi traluca l'arte del Maestro, e si vegga alcuna cosa degua di lui, s'è falta la scella, etc. Tom i.

1 "Oltre alle accennate Poesie Latine si trova altresò presso i medesimi Sig.

one from impertinent interrogation about their own affairs. But surely such a case constitutes an exception to the rule. The world has an interest in the fame and works of Tasso. Even we tramontane and transmarine barbarians feel it. If these manuscripts exist, we assert, in the name of letters, a right to know it; if not, a right to know when and how they Nor should the alleged originals of Count disappeared. Alberti be lost sight of. Until that matter is sifted to the bottom, the Italian literary character suffers. Slight difficulties in clearing up these doubts, and tracing the Falconieri MSS., if they have disappeared, should not discourage any Such papers are not likely to be entirely lost. As an example, we remember to have made earnest and repeated inquiries on the spot, for a letter of Tasso's to Orazio Capponi respecting Maddalò's treachery, which was formerly in the Albani library at Rome, and were unable to get any satisfaction. That it disappeared with the French was the most plausible conjecture. The industry of Cavaliere Costanzo Gazzera, has since ascertained its existence in a public library of Montpellier, together with the hitherto inedited " Trattato della Dignita," both of which he has given to the public; but in the original letter we again encounter the ominous blank that roused and baffled our curiosity in the printed copies.*

A word or two remains to be said about the manner in which Rosini has performed his task as editor of the new edition of Tasso's works published at Pisa, from 1826 to This is by no means what it should have been, and not at all equal to his edition of Guicciardini. Great negligence is exhibited, especially in the letters, most of which are without date, some falsely dated, some misdirected, some twice published, and the whole thrown together in shameful disorder. In the poetry, besides his mistake in regard to the canzone "Amor tu vedi," already noted, he publishes a madrigal which is not Tasso's, as Serassi would have informed him, and a sonnet which, by reference to "Rime"

^{*} See the letter of Tasso to Orazio Capponi. Serassi Vita, pages 236, 237, where, under an et cettera, the precise character of Maddald's bowsts is concealed. This letter was probably a copy preserved by Tasso, written in his own hand, or possibly an original, not sent from abundant caution. Serassi alludes to both letter and treatise as existing in the Albani library. Ser. Vit. 537.

† Madrigal 34. vol. iv. p. 167. Ed. di Pisa. See Serassi, p. 323, n. 1.

of the Academy of the "Eterei," is found to be Guarini's.* With respect to the latter, he merely remarks in his notes, that the ninth line does not seem worthy of his author. Sonnet 209, vol. iii., "Due donne in un di vidi," he supposes, both in his essay and his annotations, to have been composed for the Countess of Scandia and Countess of Sala. MSS. of Ferrara, in Tasso's own hand, and dedicated to the Princesses, inscribe it to Madama Lucrezia and Donna Marfisa d'Este. There are some other similar errors which ought to be corrected, and we humbly suggest to the learned professor that the value of his edition would be greatly increased by a supplemental volume, containing the "Trattato della Dignità," and letters disinterred by Gazzera; a disquisition on the Falconieri and Alberti MSS, with the insertion of such of the latter already published, or accessible, as may appear to be genuine; the letters to Luca Scalabrino, printed by Gamba, at Venice; and above all, a copious index of errata. If he would complete his duty by fixing as far as practicable the dates of the minor poems and letters, by evidence and comparison when possible, and when not, by reasonable conjecture, he would render a service to his author and the public. A future edition might then be arranged chronologically, perhaps the best and most intelligible arrangement of The difficulty would be great, but not insuperable. The "Rime" of Atanagi published in 1565, those of the Eterei in 1566 or 1567, the Ferrara MSS., and the various editions of his poems during his life-time, would afford some indications of the period when many of the sonnets and canzoni were written, and his correspondence, or the subject and person, would settle that of others. A careful study of Serassi and Manso, a comparison of MSS., and the letters themselves, would in many instances, as we know by experience, determine very nearly when the latter were written, and though many might continue uncertain, the epoch of many would be rendered unequivocal. But the learned professor, we fear, is too busy, and the reward of literary labor in Italy too scanty and precarious, for such an undertaking.

The researches of the Marquess Gaetano Capponi, of which the first number only has fallen under our notice, are directed to establish, as an incontrovertible fact, that the secret negotiation for Tasso's abandonment of the Duke of Fer-

Rime degli Eterei, p. 25: "Eran le chiome d'oro all'aura sparse." Published by Rosini as Tasso's, vol. iii. p. 201, sonnet 391.

rara's service, and his entrance into that of the Medici family, was the sole cause of all his misfortunes. This heinous offence the noble author seems to think quite enough to account for the severity of poor Torquato's punishment, and while repelling as an atrocious calumny on the poet's morals that he made love to his patron's single sister, he plainly as-

serts his passion for the married one.*

In bestowing so many pages on the efforts made by the Medici, through Gonzago, to detach Tasso from the house of Este, the Marquess has wasted his time. They were never denied, to our knowledge, and so far from being an original discovery, as the noble author intimates, they are dwelt on by Serassi and Black, and referred to by many others, as one of the reasons of Alphonso's displeasure. On one point, however, the marquess is quite original. He alone has justified the interception of Tasso's correspondence.† Except this defence, there is nothing new, in his first number, but the letters of Canigiani to the grand duke, and part of the latter's answer, now first published from the archives of the Riformagioni. ‡ Nor are these particularly curious, otherwise than in so far as they create, at first sight, an impression that rumors of Tasso's infirmity were current in January, 1576, though Serassi gives no hint of it so early. The duke, and his ambassador, however, doubtless used the Florentine style, while the Abate followed the Roman one. January, 1576, of the former, is 1577 of the latter, and this removes the apparent discrepancy.

The marquess takes incredible pains to destroy Tasso's supposed prophecy of his own madness in the Aminta. only wonder is, how it should ever have been credited. is doubtless an interpolation made afterwards; yet this, the most reasonable explanation, is precisely the one that has escaped him. Until it shall be ascertained that these lines

* "Prende a dimostrare, che questo Grande Infelice ingiustamente accusato di

lascivi amori con la sorella del suo benefattore, non dovè le sue sventure alla vio-lazione del più sacro dei diritti, l'ospitalità?"—Introd. iv.

"Chè Torquato amò la Principessa d'Urbino, lo chè in quell' età della nostra apparentemente più corrotta, osavasi affidare anche alla stampa; ne pare che Lucrezia sgradisse l'omaggio de versi, e dell'affetuose cure di Torquato."—Sag-

gio, p. 70.

†" Si vorranno forse chiamare nemici del Tasso quelli, che d'ordine del duca, loro sovrano, ne intercettavano le lettre alla Posta ? Si dirà che Alfonso commettesse coll'ordinarlo ingiusta e sleale opera? Ma che? venuto in cognizione che il Tasso voleva senza sua saputa abbandonarlo, e passar al servizio del suo maggior nemico, non si valse quel sovrano di un giustissimo suo diritto per conoscere l'andamento, e i progressi di questa interpresa che tanto a lui dispiaceva ?"—Saggio, 119.

‡ Pages 138—141.

exist in some MSS. of the poem anterior to 1577, this will be sufficient for all sober-minded readers disinclined to the marvellous.

We had intended to say something of Tasso's religious doubts—of his conjectures that he had offended the Cardinal Luigi d'Este by ultra-catholicism—something of the extent to which the cardinal, the duke, and the princesses, may possibly have imbibed some of their mother's Calvinistic opinions—something of the poet's letters to the emperor, and to the nobles, and seggia of Naples, and a greal deal respecting the traces to be found, in his lyric poetry, of a passion for some personage of exalted rank, and the imprudent ecstacies of a favored lover—but we have already transgressed our limits and must forbear. Enough has been written to satisfy our readers how rich a literary mine remains, imperfectly explored, in the romantic and mysterious love adventures, and inedited manuscripts, of Torquato Tasso.

ART. VI. — The Martyrs of Science, or the Lives of Galileo, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler. By Sir David Brewster. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

THE first title of this very interesting volume, seems to have been chosen rather for the purpose of presenting, under a common name, the biography of three of the most eminent men that the history of science can boast of, than from its appropriateness to those to whom it is applied. But although it might have been easy to have found a more appropriate, and a truer appellation, than that by which these three celebrités are here introduced to the notice of the age, it would scarcely have been possible to have brought together three more eventful lives, or three which, at the dawn of modern science, contributed so much to hasten its progress.

Had Carlyle felt as deep an interest in science, as in other subjects, he would have assigned a place among his heroes to the hero as man of science; and in that case the brow of one or more of our martyrs must have been graced with his laurel crown. No one acquainted with the characters of Tycho Brahe and Galileo, could doubt, that in his eyes they must have been heroes, possessing, as they did, in as high degree as any of those great men to whom he gives that rank, those remarkable qualities for which he bestows it—

ardent minds, boundless ambition, determined zeal in the object of their pursuit, and that perseverance which alone can lead even genius itself to great results.

But it is not so evident that they possessed those qualities which make the martyr; and our author himself sufficiently proves, that Galileo, who, of the three, had the best opportunities for displaying them, was not inclined to submit to tor-

ture rather than abjure his doctrines.

Though it cannot be said that the stream of life always flowed on quietly and unruffled to either, thus much must be acknowledged, that if they suffered, it was not because they devoted themselves to science, and proclaimed the truths which their laborious researches revealed to them in the observatory of the astronomer, in the laboratory of the natural philosopher, or in the study of the mathematician. Far from it: never were individuals more honored by their contemporaries, more respected and rewarded by sovereigns, nor more venerated by posterity. No one's fame has been transmitted to us, or will be to future times, in more lasting characters than theirs. As long as Jupiter shall move around the sun, and gladden, by his soft and brilliant light, man resting from a summer day's fatigues, in the evening hour, Galileo's name will be engraved on the planet, and will be seen through the feeblest telescope. And so will the name of Kepler be always identified with the planetary system, and Tycho Brahe's with the immensity of the starry sky.

They were not always happy. At the age of fifty, Tycho Brahe wandered, far from his own country, through Germany and Bohemia, where pestilence was then devastating both city and village. Kepler suffered often from real want in consequence of arrears in the payment of his salary; Galileo had to endure confinement at a time when it was particularly injurious to his health. But science was not the cause of the sufferings of either of these great geniuses. Science raised them to a higher elevation than has, perhaps, been obtained by any man, either before or since; science made their fortunes; the foibles they had in common with most men, or the circumstances of the time, occasioned their miseries. Had not Tycho Brahe been the great astronomer he was, his caprices would have been looked upon with much less kindness than they were; and Galileo was certainly treated by the tribunal of the cardinals with an indulgence which no one had ever experienced before; and with regard to Kepler, we may well ask, who of his contemporaries was more favored than himself. The Danish astronomer, the coriphœus astronomorum, as Gassendi calls him,
lived like a king in his splendid Uraniburgh; and even while
travelling through Germany he was followed by his students,
who certainly honored him as they would have honored an
emperor. And what a reception did he find at the court of
the Emperor Rudolph! He had a salary of three thousand
gold florins, besides an extra income of some thousand more;
a house was bought for him at Prague, and the choice given
him between three castles of the crown, in the vicinity of
that ancient city. No imperial minister had been rewarded
for his services with liberality as great as that with which

the emperor rewarded the noble astronomer.

Neither Tycho Brahe, nor Kepler, nor Galileo, can be called martyrs of science. Joining with them a few more names, we might call them "the pioneers of science." Purbachius, Regiomontanus, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo, these are the men who deserve the name of pioneers in more respects than one. When they appeared the region of science was a wilderness, filled with the monsters of prejudice and superstition, unexplored, and without roads; their implements were rude, and few in number. They surveyed the wilderness, opened thoroughfares through the dark forest, projected cities; and if their structures were not entirely retained in following centuries, the sites they had chosen were not changed afterwards, and the materials out of which they were built are still used in the more modern edifices. Purbachius and Regiomontanus brought the seed of the noble plant of science into Germany; Copernicus cultivated the young germ, and saw it grow rapidly under his eyes; Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo, were the gardeners under whose care it opened its blossoms, and fully displayed its whole organization. The time in which these great men lived being characterized, moreover, by some of the most remarkable epochs in the history of civilization—the invention of the art of printing, the discovery of America, and the

^{* &}quot;In many views he was far above his age. And in the same degree he surpassed most of his contemporaries with regard to fortune and happiness."

J. Th. Helfrecht, Tycho Brahe geschildert nach seinen Leben, Meinungen und Schriften, Hof., 1798.

1841.]

reformation—their biography is an illustration of one of the most glorious periods of civilization.

The progress of astronomy, in the interval of time above specified, had such an extensive influence upon the progress of human society in general, that the history of the latter can scarcely be understood without a thorough knowledge of that of the former. It was in astronomy first that the discovery was made that all ideas and theories of the masters were not always test-proof, and that nature was a better teacher than parchments. It seems, that in all times celestial phenomena had a greater exciting power upon the human mind than those which belong to our own planet. It seems as if, in inducing the astronomer to open his physical eve. in accustoming him to avoid optical illusions, the brilliant and silent phenomena of the clear night opened also his inner sense of vision, and gave to the intellectual retina a greater sensibility, which enabled him to distinguish the combinations and degradations of imposition, error, and truth, the shade, demi-tint, and daylight of the inner sense. And then those silent hours of the night, when man is left alone in the immensity of space and of time; when all around him has faded away into a shapeless and motionless mass, a mere pedestal upon which he is placed in the immensity, then or never he must fall into deep meditation, into dreams like the astrologer, or into more positive thoughts like the astronomer. After the astrologer had become an astronomer, the alchemist became a natural philosopher. Tycho Brahe introduced exact measures into astronomical observations, and Galileo made use of weights and scales in his investigations of physical phenomena.

From this consideration, the history in general of astronomy, and especially of its birth amongst the western inhabitants of the old world, derives a great interest, even for those to whom this science presents but little attraction; and as this history of the science is nothing else than the exposition of the labors of a few extraordinary men, and the results to which they led, the early history of the science can scarcely be better found than in their biographies.

This seems to have been deeply felt by the distinguished French philosopher, Gassendi, who himself was one of the illustrations of the times of Galileo and Kepler, when he wrote his biographies of Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, Regio-

montanus, and Purbach, the best biographies of these astronomers ever published, and which have furnished the materials to all authors who wrote since on the same subject. He was a distinguished astronomer and mathematician, and a correspondent of Galileo and Kepler. So all circumstances favored him in the execution of a history of Tycho Brahe, and of Kepler, who is very prominent in the latter part of the life of the former. He wrote the biographies of Copernicus, Regiomontanus, and Purbachius, after the publication of Tycho Brahe's, and so he produced a most valuable history of the progress of astronomy, in which the scientific genealogy of the most distinguished astronomers up to his days is established with great clearness. We think that the following sketch of the gradual development of the science in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, will be interesting to our readers.

It is a very remarkable fact in the history of modern astronomy, that all the astronomers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to whom its progress is exclusively to be attributed, were born or educated in Germany; the more so, if we consider that in this country universities were founded more than a century later than in most others of Europe. At the time when it began to be cultivated, the south of Germany was one of the most flourishing, industrious, and commercial parts of Europe, as the invention of typography and numerous works of art, still now in existence, can sufficiently prove. But toward the north it was quite different. The country on the Vistula was inhabited by a brave but uncivilized race of men, amongst whom the Christian religion had not yet found its way in the thirteenth century, and who continued even in idolatry to the beginning of the fifteenth century, at which time their last high priest was baptized. The town of Thorn, on the Vistula, in which Copernicus was born, in the year 1473, had been founded about the year 1240, by the knights of the Teutonic order, who, after their return from the Holy Land, had undertaken a crusade against the uncivilized Prussians.† In reading the history of the long struggle between these experienced and well armed warriors, who had gained their spurs in Palestine, against those half wild inhabitants of

^{*} Tychonis Brahei, Equitis Dani, Astronomorum Coryphæi vita, auctore Petro Gassendo, Regio Matheseos Professore. Accessit Nicolni Copernici, Georgii Purbachii, et Joannis Regiomontani, astronomorum celebrium vita. Parisiis:

MDCLIV. And also vol. v. of his opera.

† Weber, Ritterwesen, iii. 56.

Prussia, retiring to their marshy woods, where they could not be followed, we are forcibly reminded of our own wars in Florida.

In the more civilized parts of Germany, and of Southern Europe, the state of things appears to have been very different from what it is now. With regard to the means of instruction, the difference was immense. When Purbachius studied at the university of Vienna, it was impossible to quench the thirst for knowledge, except by visiting the fountains from which it flowed. The art of printing was not yet invented; books were rare, expensive, and not to be found, except in those cities where students gathered. Universities were the only places where knowledge could be acquired, and professors the only mediums through which it could be imparted. Few students would have been able to pay the sums which books cost, especially in the fifteenth century, when they had become as much works of art, as repositories of knowledge. "A Lancelot du Lac was sold for three hundred gold crowns; a Livius, one hundred and twenty; Antonius Beccarellus sold an estate, and bought a Livius with the proceeds.* A few books were sometimes given to the daughters of noblemen as dowries, and deeds were written at the sale of manuscripts, as at the sale of lands. The largest library of the time, the one which the great Pope Nicolaus V. collected, contained five thousand volumes. cost probably more than any of the largest libraries of modern times."† At the universities the number of works was very small too. At Bologna, an individual derived his income from twenty volumes, which he lent to the students - from this scarcity of books resulted the necessity of resorting to the universities, and even to visiting most of these institutions, partly in order to hear the most learned men of the day, partly with a view to examine the most celebrated works, then scattered through numerous places. Hence a general custom with students to visit the celebrated universities of Paris, Bologna, and several other places in Italy. The Latin, in common use as a vernacular language, among students, smoothed all the difficulties which now-a-days a young man would have to overcome if he had to pursue the same course. The expression, "respublica artium liberalium," republic of letters, was not a mere figure of rhetoric, but the

• Meiner's Vergleichungen, etc. ii. 388. No. XVIII.—VOL. IX. 57

† Id. 387.

denomination of a vast association existing in reality. Any body had a right to attend lectures, or to lecture himself, at least in the beginning. No differences were made with regard to citizens and aliens; the universities of Paris and Bologna were frequented by as many foreigners as Frenchmen or Italians. In returning from a foreign university to his own country the master, or bachelor of arts, would stop sometimes on his way for months or years, and make his début as a professor. It was not a rare thing to see in Italy a German professor, or an Italian teacher in Germany. Germany, one of the first poets, as were then called the revivers of ancient literature, who taught the Greek language, and explained the admirable books which were then propagated over Europe, was an Englishman returning from Italy. The latter country was then the centre of the intellectual world, or perhaps the focus, toward and from which radiated all learning; it was then for philosophy, what it has since become more especially for fine arts. Purbachius, Regiomontanus, and Copernicus, visited her most flourishing institutions, and brought from them, to their own country, new lights, which grew afterwards into luminaries of the greatest splendor.

This state of things, showing the difficulties which the student had to contend with, is to be borne in mind in the appreciation of the merits of a man who distinguished himself in those days. Modern astronomers find it difficult to discover the reasons of the high reputation which Purbachius and Regiomontanus enjoyed, not only in their own country, and among their contemporaries, but in most parts of Europe, and as late as the seventeenth century. Delambre, in his celebrated history of astronomy, does not give much credit to Purbachius, and closes his investigation of the works of Regiomontanus with the following remarks: "Regiomontanus was, without doubt, the most learned astronomer Europe had as yet produced. But, if we except some observations, and his researches in trigonometry, we may say, that he had scarcely the time to do more than to show his good intentions. As an observer, he does not certainly surpass Albategni; as a calculator, he did not go as far as Ebn-Jounis, nor as Aboul Wefa.".

But, if we consider, that in those times there was scarcely

Delambre Astronomie du Moyen-age, 365.

any thing known about astronomy in Germany, and that since that country produced Copernicus, Tycho, and Kepler, the fathers of modern astronomy, the two astronomers above must be considered as having exercised the most beneficial influence upon the progress of the science. Gassendi shows this to be his opinion, when, in his life of these men, he says: "With regard to Purbachius, it is but just to state, that he revived astronomy, which was almost extinct, and that, besides his own labors, he deserves credit for having almost produced the great Regiomontanus, through whom the study of astronomy was raised in Germany to such a height that it attracted the eyes of Copernicus and Tycho Brahe; and we may not merely presume, but almost assert, that had Purbachius not existed, we should have had neither Copernicus nor Tycho Brahe."*

Purbachius was born, in the year 1423, in Austria, on the frontier of Bavaria. From his childhood he showed a great ardor, and the most happy disposition for study. He studied the humanities and mathematics, that is to say, as much as was taught under those names, which appears to have been very little, for, in speaking of the latter, Gassendi says, that he very soon knew it entirely. After having been created (insigni cum laude) a master of arts, at the university of Vienna, he started on his visit to the institutions of learning through Germany, France, and Italy. In the latter country he seems to have increased his knowledge in astronomy. He found there a friend in Bianchini, the most distinguished astronomer of the day, and was induced by him, on account of his great facilities in teaching, to deliver lectures on astronomy at Ferrara, Bologna, and Padua. He returned, however, very soon to Vienna, having left the university of that city only to prepare himself, by a visit to other academies, to do honor to his alma mater. Shortly after his return he was engaged, by all who knew him, to teach mathematics. His reputation as a learned professor was spread, in a few years, over all Germany. was, at that time, at the university of Leipsic, a young man, or rather a boy, of about fourteen years old, whose family name was Müller, and who became afterwards distinguished as Johannes Regiomontanus. He was born at Konigsberg, in Franconia, in the year 1436, about thirteen years after

^{*} Georgii Purbachii et Joannis Regiomontani, vita, 57.

Purbach. The little which was taught about astronomy at Leipsic was just enough to give to this gifted student a desire to learn more. When Purbachius' reputation came to his ears, he thought that this distinguished professor was the man who could satisfy his desire, and determined at once to leave Leipsic for the capital of Austria. Immediately after his arrival in this city, he went to Purbachius, to whom he explained the reasons which had induced him to the step he had taken, adding that he felt confident that the learned professor would return his own confidence with kindness, and not send away a boy entirely devoted to the liberal arts, and who had concentrated all his hopes in the result of this undertaking; that he would place himself entirely at the disposal of his master, and that for whatever he might learn in the whole course of his life, he would, with the most grateful feelings, give credit to him.

These noble sentiments, which, be it said, by the way, Regiomontanus never changed, moved the professor; he admired the courage of the youth, and discovering in his face the stamp of a genius, born for great things, he received him most kindly, promising that he would not neglect any thing in his power which could facilitate the fulfilment of so praiseworthy a purpose. Nor did either master or disciple ever find any difficulty in keeping the mutual promises made at their first meeting; the latter venerated the former as a father,

and was loved by him as a son.

How consoling it is to find, in the history of times as little distinguished for the purity of morals as for the love of science, two such hearts adopting each other, and two such intellects uniting their strength in a common effort for the increase of human knowledge. From this day, Purbachius and Regiomontanus never separated; all their labors were in common, and even after the death of the master, the pupil never failed to attribute to him the chief merits of what he himself achieved.

Purbachius was at that time occupied with writing an interpretation of the "Magna Composita Ptolemæi," for a guide to the Latin translation, from the Arab text of that work. He had himself never seen the original Greek text, nor was he master of the Greek language, but his astronomical knowledge had convinced him that the existing Latin versions were very inaccurate. He prepared Regiomontanus for the perusal of Ptolemæus by teaching him the spherical theory

of the planets. Besides, he invited him to join in his mathematical researches and in his observations, directing his attention to his most important discoveries, and especially to the accurate determination of the chief points of the ecliptic, and all those stars to which the planets are usually referred.

It was about this time that the study of the Greek language began to be revived in Italy, where lately a great number of erudite Greeks had arrived. Some of these were well acquainted with the works of Ptolemæus. Among them Cardinal Bessarion deserves to be mentioned here, for the influence he had on the future direction of the studies of Regiomontanus. He had come from Greece to the council of Florence, where he established so high a character for talents, as well as for learning, that he was entrusted by the pope with some missions of the most delicate nature. One of these missions brought him to Vienna. Here he became connected with Purbachius and his studies. Desiring most earnestly to contribute to the study of astronomy, and knowing how deficient were the translations of Ptolemæus, he engaged Purbachius to accompany him to Italy, where he would aid him with all his means in the study of the Greek language, provided that young astronomer would undertake a translation of Ptolemæus from the Greek text. bachius accepted the cardinal's proposition on condition that his young friend would go with him, which was readily agreed to. But before he had made his preparations he fell sick, and died in the arms of his beloved disciple, who gives the following as his last words: "Farewell," he said, "farewell, my Joannes, and if the memory of thy master (pii praceptoris) has any power over thee, finish the work of Ptolemæus which I leave unaccomplished."—(Pur. et Reg. Vit. 73.)

These words of the astronomer, dying at the age of thirty-seven years, show, as every thing which we know of him through his disciple does, that he considered himself as designed by God to kindle the study of astronomy in his country. He was buried in the cathedral of Vienna. On his tomb the following lines, said to have been composed by himself, were inscribed:

"Extinctum dulces quid me fletis, amici? Fata vocant; Lachesis sic sua fila trahit, Destituit terras animus, cœlumque revisit, Quæ semper coluit, liber et astra petit."

Shortly after the death of his honored master, Regiomontanus went to Italy, where he devoted himself to the study of the Greek language, the elements of which he had already learned at Vienna in his intercourse with Cardinal Bessarion, and some learned men of the same country, who were in his suite. As his talents were as great as his ardor, he soon became able to read most of the admirable manuscripts in that language, and to understand the treasures contained in them. On his return to Germany he at once resolved to take as many of these works with him as he could procure, and accordingly he bought as many as he could afford, copied others, and engaged persons to copy those which he could not find time to copy himself. Meanwhile he continued his astronomical studies and observations. He visited several places in Italy, and, like his master, lectured in Padua. The subject of his lecture was the elements of Alfraganus. In 1464 he went to Venice, where he composed his book on the doctrine of triangles, and wrote against Cardinal Cusan's (himself one of the best mathematicians of the day) quadrature of the circle.

Afterwards he returned to Rome, where he excited the enmity of Trapezuntius, a Greek, who had made a Latin translation of Ptolemeus, which was full of errors, owing to the translator's imperfect knowledge of the mathematical sciences, and astronomy. Regiomontanus openly condemned its defects, and thereby called forth the hatred, and a desire

of vengeance, in the family of Trapezuntius.

From Rome he returned to Germany with a collection of all the great works on mathematics which were then to be found in Italy. He went first to Vienna, where he professed mathematics for a short time. But he was shortly after induced, by the generous offers of King Matthias, of Hungary, who was a great lover of astronomy, to abandon his professorship and remove to his court. He received, in the king's service, a salary of two hundred gold pieces, but it was not so much the generosity of the king, as his collection of Greek manuscripts, which induced the young astronomer to leave Vienna. Of the Greek manuscripts which the conquest of Constantinople and Athens had scattered over the east of Europe, King Matthias had collected as many as he could find, and formed a very valuable library, which, as it appears, Regiomontanus arranged. The treatment which the latter experienced while he remained with the king, proves

both the high regard which was at that time paid to men of erudition, and the love for science of the Hungarian sovereign. Joannes was a constant companion of the latter at table and in his moments of leisure; he had the good fortune to cure him of a severe hypochondria, under which he had been suffering for a long time. To effect this, he is said to have resorted to astrology, in which the king had a great belief, and by it to have wrought a moral cure of the disease, while he contributed, by his own liveliness, to the relief of the patient. And it is easy to conceive, that a young man, who at the age of fourteen years had shown so much resolution and character—who had travelled so widely in his country, and spent in the most civilized parts of Europe, and among the most enlightened men of his age, those years in which the deepest impressions are made, should be an agreeable companion, particularly if, in addition to all these advantages, he was justly regarded as the most learned and erudite man of his time.

But the wars in which the king found himself implicated, induced Regiomontanus to ask leave to withdraw to a place where he could devote himself more entirely to the mission he had to fulfil. He retired to Nuremberg in the year 1471, at that time thirty-six years old. The city of Nuremberg was then one of the most opulent and populous in Europe. Besides being a great metropolis of commerce, where merchants from France and Italy, from Holland, and all parts of Germany, as well as from Bohemia, Hungary, and England, constantly met, this ancient imperial town was a kind of centre of science and arts. A great number of inventions originated within its walls, and all those of other countries were soon introduced and encouraged there. Then, as now, the custom prevailed in Germany for the young mechanic and artizan, after his apprenticeship was over, to visit the places in which he might expect to improve himself in his art, and Nuremberg was the city in which the greatest number of such young men met. From the earliest times, its chief resources, as its soil was not fertile, had been in manufactures; no place exhibited greater activity and industry. Foundries, and mills of various kinds, had excited a general taste for those sciences which facilitate the judicious use of mechanical power, while the numerous gold and silversmiths gradually produced artists of a higher order. The year in which Regiomontanus arrived in this wealthy city, is remarkable as that in which the great Albert Dürer was born.

These advantages which Nuremberg presented, determined Regiomontanus to fix his abode there. His object was to publish, besides several works of his own, all the manuscripts which he had taken so much trouble, and spent so much money in collecting. The art of printing began to be known throughout Germany. In that city he felt confident that he would find greater facilities to carry out his intentions than any where else. Besides, there he would be able to find artists to execute the various astronomical instruments, whose construction he had projected for a long time. His reputation preceded him, and his own qualities very soon gained him friends in his new country. Amongst them was B. Walther, a rich patrician, who, being devoted to astronomy, offered to furnish the money necessary for the acquisition of a press, and the projected astronomical instruments. Through the active and generous co-operation of this man, he was enabled to publish, in the year 1473, his first work. It was a German calendar cut in wood, and consisting of twelve leaves, printed on both sides. In the following year he published his "Ephemerides quas vulgo vocant Almanach." He had dedicated it to his former protector, King Matthias, who acknowledged the honor with a present of eight hundred Hungarian gold pieces. In addition to this considerable sum, the sale of the work was very productive to its author. Every copy was sold at the price of twelve Hungarian gold ducats, and carried from Nuremberg to all countries by the merchants who constantly met there. In the space of three years he published four works, besides a list of those he intended to print successively, showing his extraordinary enterprise for the time in which he lived. Besides about twenty works of his own, it contains the titles of more than an equal number of works of Greek mathematicians. The last in the list is "On the Miraculous Art of Making Types."t

Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst, by Dr. Th. Falkenstein, 1840. Doppelmayer, in his "History of the Mathematicians and Artists of Nuremberg," states, that as early as 1472, J. R. published "Marii Manilii Astronomica."

† He advertises it in the following words: "Postremo omnium artem illum mirificam literarum formatricem monimentis stabilibus mandare decretum est,

t'He advertises it in the following words: "Postremo omnium artem illum mirificam litterarum formatricem monimentis stabilibus mandare decretum est, (Deus, bene faveas.) Quâ re explicată, si mox obdormiet opifex, mors accerba non erit; cum tantum munus posteris in haereditatem reliquerit, quo îpsi se ab inopia librorum perpetuo poterunt vindicare."

But unfortunately it was not permitted to him to see his expectations fulfilled. His great fame was the very cause which prevented him from accomplishing his long-cherished plans. He was invited by Pope Sixtus IV. to return once more to Rome. "Having resolved," the pontiff wrote to him, "to undertake the reformation of the calendar, he did not find any one whose assistance and industry could be as useful as his." At the same time he was created bishop of Ratisbonne. Whatever his reluctance may have been, he could but comply with the honorable mission assigned to him by the head of the church. He left Nuremberg in the month of July, 1475, and went to Rome, where he died in the following year, of a contagious disease, or, as it is thought by some authors, in consequence of poison administered by the sons of Trapezuntius. He was but forty years old when he died, in the full strength of his life, scarcely beginning to communicate to the world the treasures of science which he had continued collecting since the day he presented himself with so much confidence before Purbachius. His life, like that of Purbachius, had been too short to enable him to achieve great works, and, like the latter, he was not destined to die altogether. As it had been his lot to continue the scientific life of his beloved master, so others were left after him to continue his. From his first arrival at Nuremberg, to the day on which he left that city, Bernhardus Walther had been constantly about him; had taken a share in most of his occupations, and especially in his astronomical observations, and the fabrication of his astronomical instruments. The influence of his short residence in Nuremberg was never afterwards effaced. He kindled that flame which Walther, Werner, Hartmann, and the two Schoners, continued to watch with the most constant care. He was the creator of the school of mathematicians in Nuremberg, and the remainder of Germany.* Had he died before his short residence at Nuremberg, it is very likely that his existence would have been of but little importance. But now he had gained a reputation which was surpassed by none, and which subsequently stimulated Copernicus to his glorious discovery; the honors which were conferred upon him during his lifetime, and the respect which were paid to his memory, could not but have a most encouraging influence upon all those who

[•] See Doppelmayer's Nûrembergische Mathematici. Preface. No. XVIII.—VOL. IX. 58

afterwards felt a taste for the science in which he had been so distinguished.

Copernicus was born in 1473, two years previous to the death of Regiomontanus. But now, thanks to the invention of printing, for which the latter had done so much, science could not die with her votaries, and the professor might hope to find disciples, in all parts of the world, years after his retreat from the cathedra. By this invention the voice of Regiomontanus may be said to have been still heard in Germany, when Copernicus became able to listen to it.

The early history of Copernicus resembles those of most students of his time. The academical studies had, since the days of Purbachius, taken a much wider extent. The Greek language had now become a matter of study almost as much as the Latin, and even private teachers were to be found in places where there were no higher schools. Copernicus studied the two ancient languages in his family before he went to the university of Cracow. Here he devoted himself to the study of medicine and philosophy, in conformity to the wishes of his parents. Meanwhile be attended the lectures on mathematics and astronomy, for which he had always evinced a decided taste. He took the degree of doctor in medicine before he left the university; but his preference led him to devote much of his time to astronomy. The reputation of Regiomontanus excited him to follow his footsteps, so that when in his twenty-fourth year he visited Italy, he was received by Dominicus Maria rather as an assistant than as a scholar. He spent several years in Italy, some of which as a professor of mathematics in the pontifical city. After his return to his own country, he was admitted as a canon in the cathedral of Frauenburg, of which his uncle, L. Watzelrode, was the bishop. Teutonic order, under whose protection the country had been settled, and most of the cities been built, opposed, as it seems, his nomination for some time. At last, however, the influence of the bishop prevailed, and the young canon was permitted to devote his time to the three objects which he had promised never to lose sight of during his future life, viz. the practice of his medical profession in favor of the poor, the observation of his duties as a canon, and, above all, the study of astronomy, and the related branches of mathematics. And this plan he seems to have prosecuted to his last hour. His integrity and information distinguished

him soon in the body to which he belonged; and whenever subsequently the bishop was absent, or his situation vacant, Copernicus performed the functions of his office. So it seems that his life was divided between active duties and

contemplation.

It was about the year 1505 that he began to form the admirable system of the world which is now generally known by his name. But he never published any thing about it previous to his work, "De Revolutionibus orbium celestium libri sex," which appeared in Nuremberg in 1543, the very year of his death. It seems, however, that he communicated his opinions to his friends, both in his daily intercourse and his epistolary correspondence. So much is certain, that in the year 1539, Rheticus, then a professor of mathematics at the university of Wittenberg, which Luther had rendered so famous, lest his professorship in order to visit Copernicus, whose reputation had reached him, and to be initiated in his new doctrine. To this Rheticus we are indebted for the most we know about Copernicus. In his "Narratio" to Schonerus, his first preceptor, he speaks with an unusual veneration and enthusiasm of his new master, from which we think the following extracts will not be found uninteresting. Besides their value as regards Copernicus, they are specimens of the veneration which in those times the scholar paid to his professor, even after he had become himself a teacher. The "Narratio" begins as follows: "Clarissimo viro D. Joanni Schonero ut parenti suo colendo, C. Joachimus Rhaeticus, S. D." He first complains of an interruption in his studies, and then continues:

"In order, however, to keep my promise, and to satisfy your wishes, I shall show, as briefly and clearly as possible, what I know about the opinions of my preceptor. And first I want you to know, most learned Schonerus, that this man whose works I peruse now, is, in all sciences, and astronomical knowledge, by no means inferior to Regiomontanus. But I would rather compare him to Ptolemæus, not because I think Regiomontanus inferior to the latter, but for the reason that my master accomplished, like Ptolemæus, with the aid of divine goodness, the reform of astronomy, whilst Regiomontanus, most unfortunately, departed from life before he had raised its pillars."

And then, in another part, he adds:

"God has thus given to my master an unlimited power in astro-

nomy, that he might govern, protect, and increase it, for the restoration of astronomical truths."

And then a little further:

"I stated briefly to you, most learned Schonerus, that he has written a complete treatise on the motion of the moon, and the other planets, as well as of the fixed stars, and the sun; thus you may conceive what utility there will flow from the books of my preceptor, as from a most abundant spring, to the students of mathe-

matics, and posterity in general."

"When last year I was with you, and saw your works, and those of other erudite men—of Regiomontanus, and his master, Purbachius, for the correction of the heavenly motions, I began, for the first time, to understand how much labor and pains would be required to replace, in her palace, astronomy, this queen of mathematics, and to restore the form of her empire; but since, by the will of God, I became a beholder and eye-witness of the labors which my master performs with a light heart, and has already for a great part achieved, I found that I did not even dream of the shadow of such a mass of work."

The following passage shows that Copernicus, in substituting his theory for the Ptolemean, was far from being impelled to do so by a love of innovation.

"Moreover, I wish, that with regard to my master, you would be satisfied and convinced, that there is nothing more venerable and holy to him, than to walk in the footsteps of Ptolemæus; nor did Ptolemæus do differently; he followed the ancients, and his predecessors. But when he understood that the garrousra, which govern the astronomer, and the mathematics forced him to assume certain things against his will, he thought that it would be enough if he directed his own arrows with the same aim, and with the same skill shown by Ptolemæus, no matter if his bow and projectiles were made of very different materials."

It deserves to be noticed, that when Rheticus wrote this, he had already been professor of mathematics at a celebrated university; there was, to be sure, a difference of age between him and Schonerus, he being about twenty-six years old, and Schonerus seventy-three; but it is not less honorable for Rheticus to pay so much respect to his old master; in more modern times he would have thought himself far superior to him.

In the year 1543 Nicolaus Copernicus died, about the time

when the only work which he ever published appeared at Nuremberg. It begins with a letter to Pope Nicolaus III., in which the great astronomer explains that the six books on the "Revolutions" are the fruit of the constant meditations of his whole life. He would have followed the example of the Pythagoreans, who, as appears from a letter of Lysis to Hipparchus, did not communicate the mysteries of philosophy to their friends by letters, but by their hands. But his friends, the Cardinal Nicolas Schonberger, and Bishop Tideman Gisius, at last persuaded him to overcome his aversion and to publish his work for the common benefit of the students of mathematies.

He goes on then explaining the reasons which induced him to abandon the universal opinion about the heavenly motion, and states that his principal reason was the discordance amongst the mathematicians.

"And in order that both learned and unlearned may see that I do not shun the judgment of any body, I thought it better to dedicate my lucubration to your holiness, rather than to any other, especially because, in this remote corner of the world where I live, you are most highly considered for the dignity of your situation, and your love for letters in general, as well as mathematics, and that by your authority and judgment you may easily repress the bite of calumniators, though it is proverbial, that against the bite of sycophants there is no remedy."

The following passage, still more than what precedes, was calculated to procure the pope's assent to the publication of the book.

"Having there found an occasion, I also began to think about the mobility of the earth. And though the opinion seemed absurd, I thought that, since others before me had had the liberty of imagining all sorts of circles to explain the phenomena, I might be allowed also to try whether, in supposing a certain motion to the earth, it would not be possible to find stronger demonstrations of the heavenly revolutions than those of my predecessors."

Thus the work is dedicated to the head of the church, who is flattered for his liberality and science, at the same time being presented as a mere mathematical inquiry, nothing can be found in it against the scriptures.

Nor did the publication of the "Six Books on the Revolutions" encounter any obstacle in the church. And still more,

as it is seen from what we quoted from Copernicus's preface, the publication would not have taken place had it not been for the counsels of two influential members of the church. This system, which afterwards was condemned as containing dangerous doctrines, was thus the production of a priest, and published under the auspices of the head of the Romish church. But Copernicus took care, as far as possible, to show that his system could present nothing contradictory to the Mosaic history, and some other parts of the Old Testament; and besides, that the idea of the earth's motion around the sun was not new. In relation to this he says: " For this reason I took the trouble to examine the works of all the philosophers I could get, in order to discover whether any one ever expressed other opinions about the planetary motions than those which are professed in schools. found in Cicero that Nicetas had thought that the earth was moving. Afterwards I found in Plutarch that some had had formerly the same opinion. I transcribe his own words, that every one may see them." Then he gives the Greek text without translating it. The literal sense of the Greek quotation we understand as follows: "The others (think) that the earth is motionless; but Philolaus the Pythagorean, thinks that it is carried, in a circular motion, around the fire, in an oblique circle, like the sun and the moon; while Heraclides of Pontus, and Elephantos the Pythagoreau, also suppose the earth to move, though not in an orbit, but in the manner of a wheel, around her own centre."

The editor of the edition of the work of Copernicus, before us, Nicolas Muler, professor at Groningen, has given a Latin translation of the passage quoted from Plutarch, which we here transcribe:

"Alii quidem philosophi terram stare et non moveri sentiunt: Philolaus vero Pythagoricus terram in orbem ferri volebat circum ignem, (i. e. Solem,) circulo obliquo, qualis solis motu annuo lunaeque menstruo describi putatur esse."

He adapts the translation, as exactly as possible, to the Copernican hypothesis, translating the word $\pi v q$, by sun, and introducing the verb *putatur*, of which there is nothing in the Greek text. He adds then a Latin quotation from Aristotle. (Lib. 2. cap. 13. De Coelo.)

"Ithalici Philosophi quos Pythagoricos nuncupant, ignem in medio

mundi statuunt, terram vero stellarum numero adscribunt, quæ circa medium (id est, circa Solem) acta annum efficiat et dierum noctiumque discrimina."

The words (id est, circa Solem) are again introduced by Muler, as it seems. If he had been acquainted with the little which is vaguely known about the philosophy of the Pythagorean school, he would have found that fire and sun are not the same thing; that the quotation from Plutarch, as well as that from Aristotle, is as explicit as possible. The sun himself was nothing but a mirror which reflected the

light and heat of the central fire.

Muler, it would seem, did not entertain the least doubt about the identity of the general features of the Copernican and the Pythagorean systems, and it could only be from this preconceived prejudice that he could have found in the different passages of Plutarch and Aristotle what he actually read there. In this opinion, however, he was not alone; a great many mathematicians, from his time to our own, have held the same. So we find, in the "Narratio" of Rheticus,* the following remark by Kepler, who edited the work: "This order and disposition of the spheres of the world, was not first imagined by Copernicus. It was handed down from the ancient philosophers, as appears from a passage in Archimedes' book, 'de Arenæ Numero,' in which it is said, that 'Aristarchus of Samos, in refuting what had been written by the astrologers, (about the immobility of the earth in the centre of the world,) established certain positions from which it follows that the world is composed of several worlds. He states that the fixed stars, and the sun, remain motionless, but that the earth turns in a circle round the sun." This is the literal translation of the Latin text of the translation of F. Commandinus.† It is, of all the passages in the ancient writers, the one on which the opinion that the Copernican system was known to some ancient philosophers, may be most solidly founded.

It is not the less surprising, however, that men who wrote on the history of astronomers, should express themselves as the author of a German work published in 1792, who says: "It is the more to be wondered, that a system which the

^{*} Mys. Cos. In Kep. ad. Nar. G. T. Rhetici, additio, p. 11.
† Archimedis opera nonnulla a F. Commandino Urbinati nuper in Latinum conversa, et commentariis illustrata. (P. 49.) Venetiis, 1656.

ancients taught so clearly, should have been named after a modern; Pythagoras, Philolaus, Nicetas of Syracuse, Plato, Aristarchus, and many others, have mentioned this opinion in a thousand places."

We have seen to what the Pythagorean system amounts, and how far it differs from the Copernican. The reader will find, in the works of the modern German moral philosophers, who have studied the Pythagorean philosophy most thoroughly, a much brighter light upon this subject. It results from their researches that the ideas of these philosophers, who remain still now surrounded by a cloud, in parts opaque, in others half-translucent, in none perfectly transparent, were a mere corollary of one fundamental idea about the world. The following is an analysis of the opinions of Philolaus, the only one of the first Pythagoreans whose works were partly handed down to us:

"Unanimously with most ancient philosophers, who supposed the world, as a whole, to be limited all around, he supposed it to be spherical. In the centre of the sphere an eternal fire is burning; it is the source of heat and light, and thus of the vivifying and forming force for all other bodies of nature. Another fire surrounds the heaven, and constitutes its limit. Around the central fire ten divine bodies are moving in harmonious relations of distance. Their circumvolution produces the most perfect harmony, the music of the spheres, which we do not perceive, because from our birth it penetrates constantly our ear, since sound and silence can only be distinguished by us through the succession of their contrast. At the greatest distance from the central fire is the heaven of the fixed stars, which are merely one of the ten bodies of the world. (Weltkorpern.) Then follow the five planets, then the sun, under him the moon, lower down the earth, and last the asti-terra. (αντιχθων.) The sun is a glass-like disk, which receives the rays of the central fire, and sends them to the earth and the moon. The earth, with the $\alpha r i \chi \theta \omega r$, performs her motion around the central fire in twenty-four hours; the alternation of day and night is produced through this revolution in the following manner: the anti-terra turns parallelly and concentrically to the earth around the said fire; and the two bodies have with each other the same relation as two unseparated hemispheres, with the only difference that they are separated. Hence the anti-terra can never be seen by us. During one half of her revolution, our earth is turned toward, while in the other half she is turned from the sun. In the first

[•] See Hegel, Ritter, Reinhold, Geschichte der Philosophie, Pythagerische Schule.

case, the anti-terra, which is suspended between her and the central fire, hides only the latter, while in the other it prevents us also from seeing the light emitted by the sun."*

This passage, which is taken by the German author partly from Philolaus, partly from Aristotle, shows how little connection there is between the mystical reveries of the ancient philosophers and the well-founded theory of Copernicus, which leaves scarcely a single known fact unexplained. The passage we quoted before from Commandinus's translation of Archimedes' book, " De Numero Arena," remains thus alone of some value in favor of Muler's opinion, though he does not seem to have been acquainted with it. Whether Copernicus ever saw that passage or not, we cannot ascertain. But had he seen it, his discovery would not have been less original; for, without having himself meditated upon the subject, the assertion of Aristarchus, standing alone as it does, would have been without meaning to him, as it had been to thousands before him. Delambre, in his great work, remarks upon this: "Thus, it seems, that notwithstanding some assertions, or rather conjectures, without support, attributed to the ancients, we may believe that Copernicus was the first who meditated seriously upon this fundamental point of the system of the world, or that if others began to do so, no one has been able to show his grounds in any plausible way; for, if they had done so, it would be astonishing that not a vestige of them should be left us."

To Copernicus, then, belongs the undisputed glory of having established a theory which in his time explained so satisfactorily the heavenly motions, and which, with some changes since introduced, either by Kepler himself, or by others who made use of his discoveries, has become the best grounded of all theories in the sciences, the only one which no one ever undertook to overthrow. That he had heard of a motion of the earth around her axis, and also of one around a distant centre, he mentions himself, as we have seen above, but nowhere could he have discovered the least argument in favor of these opinions.

^{*} Ernst Reinhold Handbuch der All. Gesch. der Ph. v. i. 155.

[†] Delambre, Hist de l'Astr. mod. i. 91.

[‡] In the Almagestum of Ptolemeus there are some arguments against the diurnal revolution of the earth around her axis, and which indicate what might be said in favor of it. Vid. Halma's Translation, vol. i.

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There is not a doubt that he was fully aware of the circumstance that the church to which he belonged might find his new doctrine dangerous; the precaution he took to dedicate his book to the pope, to publish the letter written to him by a prelate, and to present his theory as a mere hypothesis, leading to interesting investigations, sufficiently indicates his apprehensions. Perhaps the reformation preached at the same time by Martin Luther, in a neighboring country, induced him to believe that the head of the church would manifest greater sensitiveness than in former times. it is much more surprising that Copernicus' work was published without opposition on the part of the papal see, than that Galileo was persecuted for his, unless we suppose that even more than twenty years after the open act of revolt of Luther against the pope, the reformation did not seem of the importance which it had acquired in the time of Galileo. At the time when Galileo published his works, which he had afterwards to retract, one of his disciples, Gustavus Adolphus, the king of Sweden, destroyed for ever the power of the pope in the greatest part of Germany, at the head of an army, making use of what Lichtenberg considers as a most powerful argument.

It is very difficult to discover the fate of the Copernican system in the interval which elapsed between the year of his death, and the appearance of his work, and the publication of Kepler's Prodromus, in 1596-7. In Gassendi we read, however, that as soon as the work was published it was received with cheers by the learned, while the inexperienced, that is to say, those who did not understand the subject, not only thought the opinion absurd, but were amazed how a man could fall into such a folly. But all those who were able to discuss and understand the theory, either adopted it entirely, or at least gave its author great credit for it. So Ramus, while writing against the system, calls its inventor an unequalled astronomer. Walther Reinhold, the most distinguished astronomer between Copernicos and Tycho Brahe, wrote a commentary on the book of Revolutions; Moestlinus, the master of Kepler, taught the system at Tübingen in Germany, and also in Italy. Gassendi, who never declares, but most evidently shows himself a Copernican, at the close of his biography of Copernicus, has the following passage: "It would seem that some of his principal adherents should here be mentioned, but their names are not given, in part, because they are sufficiently known, and in part, because they are unwilling to be named, in order that they may not appear to pay too little regard to the decree by which the sacred congregation of the cardinals (cardinalium inquisitorum) is said to have condemned the system in Galileo twenty years ago.

Gassendi was a catholic priest, and a royal professor in the *Collège de France*. He could not have been more explicit in his opinions about the Copernican system, or the inquisition.

We cannot determine at what time the Copernican doctrine began to be considered as dangerous to the Romish church. Moestlinus seems to have taught it in Italy between the years 1570 and 1580, without being restrained. But, from the first sentence of Kepler's "Prodromus," published, as we have seen, in 1596-7, it is evident that there were persons who considered the new theory as opposed to the sacred writings. He begins in the following manner: "Though it is proper to see, in the beginning of this disputation on nature, whether nothing is said contrary to the sacred writings, Ithink it unnecessary to start that controversy. I premise, in general, that I shall not say any thing contradictory to the Bible." This may allude to the opinions expressed by Tycho Brahe in his letters, and most likely in his conversations. following passage from a letter of the Danish astronomer to Ch. Rothmann, was written in 1589, seven or eight years before the Prodromus of Kepler appeared. "What you say, in order to show that there is nothing in the theory against the sacred writings, cannot be admitted. For the holy records have, and ought to have, a greater authority, and command a greater respect, than to admit of being stretched in the manner of a Cothurnus. Though Moses, in speaking in the first chapter of Genesis, of the creation of the world, does not explain the secrets of astronomy, because he wrote for a rude people, he does not, however, say any thing which astronomers may not concede."*

But from the letter which Galileo wrote to Kepler, (1597,) and in which he thanks him for this very book, which the author had sent him, it follows that at that time the Copernicans were not at all molested by the church.

[•] Tychonis Brahe Dani, Ep. Ast. lib. Uraniburgi, MDCX.

"I have not yet seen," he writes, "any thing of the book but the preface. In this, I could, however, somewhat discover your intention, and I congratulate myself for having so valuable an associate in the investigation of truth, and such a lover of truth himself. Many years ago I adopted the opinions of Copernicus. I have written down many reasons, and many arguments, which overthrow those which have been made against it. I have not dared, however, to publish them as yet; I was frightened by the fate of Copernicus, our master, who, though with some he acquired an immortal fame, seemed, to an immense number, (so large is the number of fools,) to deserve to be laughed at and hissed. I would publish my meditations if there were many like yourself, but as there are not, I refrain from so doing."

The first act of authority from the church against the Copernican system, was occasioned by the publication of the letter of the R. P. Maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini, the Carmelitan monk, and which is mentioned in our author's biography of Galileo. It is dated the fifth of March, 1616. The new system is called, in the act, "Falsa illa Doctrina Pythagorica." Four years afterwards was published, "An Admonition to the Readers of Copernicus, and a Correction." It says, that the inquisitors thought that the work of the noble astrologer, N. Cop., should be prohibited. But that, containing a great many things useful to the republic, it would be allowed to circulate, on condition that those passages in which he does not speak in a hypothetical manner, but positively, should be corrected. Then follow the corrections, which amount to almost nothing.

For further details about this subject, we must refer the reader to Riccioli's "Almagestum Novum," where it is treated at great length, and all the documents are to be found, with those concerning the trial of Galileo.† Riccioli, who was a Jesuit, wrote the history of the Copernican doctrine with as much justice as could be expected from any one. In expounding at length the fulse doctrine, before making any objections, and giving afterwards all that could be said against it, either by astronomers, or authorities of the church, he enables the reader to judge for himself. The greatest strength of his opposition is weak enough to let the reader see that it does not come from the heart. He presumes what he sup-

* Epistolæ ad Joannem Keplerum, Ep. lv.

[†] Delambre, in his History of Astronomy, in his chapter on Galileo, gives a franslation of the greater number of these documents.

poses himself to have said in favor of the anti-Copernicans, in the following words: "So it is proved, first, because it is against the sacred writings, taken literally; secondly, because it has been condemned by the delegates of two popes; thirdly, because it does not agree with known phenomena, and

some physico-mathematical demonstrations."*

Sir David Brewster, in the volume before us, gives an extract from the work for which Galileo was persecuted, in which the Italian philosopher relates the manner in which he became acquainted with and converted to the Copernican system. Our readers can scarcely have a doubt about the accuracy of this statement, if they remember what was said at the beginning of this paper about the usages of those times. As, however, we there alluded to the state of universities, about a century and a half previous to the times of Galileo, we here give the following extract from a letter of the celebrated Bishop Caramuel to two of his friends. It was written in the year 1664.

"I come to the studies. This whole year I spent at Naples, prosecuting a lawsuit which my neighbors had with the bishopric, and for which I had to study Justinian against the bent of my genius and my mind. (Genii et Ingenii.) Meanwhile I frequented the investigating academy, in order to escape ennui. This academy, which was established a century ago in the palace of the marquess of Arena, is now most flourishing, and frequented by crowds of superior geniuses. There are bishops, abbots, prelates, princes, dukes, marquesses, counts; royal counsellors, judges, lawyers, theologians, orators, physicians, philosophers, politicians, foreign noblemen from all parts; Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, and numerous Spaniards. They do not occupy themselves there with rhetoric or rhythmic, as in most places in Italy, but with philosophy, as in few places in Europe. All facts which are stated, are proved by experiments made before the audience. Prejudices are ordered to stay away, for experience teaches that great geniuses are seduced by them, that the soul is sometimes troubled and led astray. We see with regret our universities divided into sects, and hence into factions. 'We are for Thomas,' say some, and 'we for Scotus,' say others, and 'we for Ochamus,' says a third party. Our academy thinks that it has found a remedy, or will find it soon, to cure the suffering philosophy. It is known, that formerly Aristotle cried out, ' Plato is my friend, but truth is more so.' So we say now, Aris-

[•] Riccioli Almagestum Novum, t. i. pars ii. p. 500.

totle, S. Thomas, Scotus, Ochmans, are our friends, but a better friend is truth."

This precious document shows, that what had been a custom for more than two centuries previous, was still retained. If formerly universities were resorted to from necessity, they continued to be so now from a custom, which had lasted too long to be abandoned at once. Moreover, there was a great deal to be gained in a place where men of science assembled from all parts of the world, less as students than as associates of a learned body, with a view of mutually communicating, exchanging and correcting their knowledge. It is most evident that a discovery like that of Copernicus, could not remain long unknown in a country where there were institutions like the one which Caramuel describes.

The influence of Copernicus on the progress of astronomy, justifies us, we think, in having dwelt so long upon the history of his new doctrine, which has brought us down to the age of the three extraordinary men whom our author calls the "martyrs of science." With Copernicus commences a new era in the science of the heavenly revolutions. bachius and Regiomontanus, though evidently gifted with essentially progressive minds, did not go out of the high road which had been laid out by Ptolemæus. Their merit consists in having restored what had fallen into decay under the Arabs; in having made the way easier, and especially in having pointed it out to their own countrymen. Before them astronomy was unknown in Germany; by their labors it was elevated in that country to a loftier eminence than in any other. But still, these two astronomers, who died in the prime of their lives, partook of the spirit of the age in which they lived; they were not free from its errors and prejudices, although they were by no means insensible to its improvements, to the revival of ancient literature, and to the newlydiscovered art of printing. Copernicus, on the contrary, seems to have risen far above his contemporaries. There is nothing which indicates that he was a believer in astrology. His life was spent in activity and meditation; he never appears as a However near his system might have been to that which is called the Pythagorean, it does not present the least trace of the mysticism which characterizes the latter.

[•] Joannis Caramuelis Mathesis Biceps, pp. 712, 813.

the exception of a few scholastic demonstrations against the scholastics, his work might be supposed to have been written by an astronomer educated in the modern schools of natural philosophy. His great superiority over his age is the more striking, from the fact that Tycho Brahe, and especially Kepler, fifty years afterwards, showed much more of the astrologer than he did.

Astronomy was not far enough advanced to allow him to give to his system that simplicity which it subsequently acquired. His glory was sufficiently brilliant. He had fulfilled his task. The work which he left behind him shows a faithful use of his intellectual gifts. Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo, earned laurel crowns in the same field which he had cultivated with so much success—the first by his accurate observations; the second by his matchless perseverance in the investigation of the laws which bear his name;

the third by his discoveries with the telescope.

All three contributed equally, though in very different ways, to give the character of a theory to what might still be considered as an ingenious hypothesis; and Tycho Brahe as much as his two juniors, though he attempted to substitute another hypothesis for that of the Prussian astronomer. From the day Galileo made his first discovery with the telescope, the hypothetical character of the Copernican system vanished. As soon as it had been shown that the moon's surface was covered with inequalities similar to those of our own globe, with mountains and valleys, isolated peaks and extended plains; that Venus had her phases, like our satellite; that Jupiter was surrounded by planets of an inferior order moving around him, as the moon moves around the earth; the supposed motion of the latter around the sun lost all its boldness, it became an almost directly observed physical fact. What had heretofore been considered as the strongest objections against the Copernicans, became now the strongest proofs in their favor. The planets, which had been, until now, mere brilliant points in the heavens, became measurable bodies, which all appearances assimilated to our own globe.

This explains why Galileo was persecuted for opinions which had been known for more than half a century, and circulated freely in Italy, as well as in Germany, during that time. But the Italian philosopher, by writing his dialogues in the national language, and giving them a more popular

form than either the work of Copernicus, or those of Kepler could claim, must have appeared much more dangerous in the eyes of the Romish church, than either of the others.

We may seem to our readers to have lost sight of our subject, we have said so little of the work under examination, and if the foregoing view of the progress of astronomical science shall be found to have less interest than the critique expected from the title of this article, we must submit to the condemnation. Our object has been to supply what we consider a deficiency in our author's volume, and glance at the earlier history of the science of which it treats. Moreover, in speaking of Copernicus, we thought it proper to show how little justice is done to this great man by those who call him "the reviver of the Pythagorean system."

To this we may add, that while numerous biographies have been written of the "martyrs of science," and especially of Tycho Brahe and Galileo, but little attention has been paid to their predecessors. The reasons are obvious. Besides the claims they had in their scientific researches upon the attention of the astronomer, and the natural philosopher, the former have attracted the attention of the literary reader and the historian; the one by his most romantic life, the other by his celebrated condemnation, his admirable Italian style, and a kind of mystery, in which the loss of his papers still leaves many circumstances of his life and his scientific discoveries. Mr. Libri, the distinguished Italian savant, now a member of the French academy of sciences, in a series of articles in the Journal des Savants, (1840, September, and the following months,) has given a critique upon the life of Galileo in Lardner's Cyclopedia, twhich the reader may consult on this subject. Mr. Libri, as a Tuscan, as a mathematician, as a linguist, and as a bibliophile, possessing one of the best scientific libraries in the world, and as the historian of the sciences in Italy, is perhaps the most competent, if not the most impartial judge, whom Galileo could find. It would be too long to enumerate here all the biographies of Galileo which the Italian savant makes known.

Though there are fewer biographical works on Tycho Brahe, little remains to be said about him, with the excep-

[•] In the work just published, "Pantology," by R. Park, we read, page 352, the following sentence: "Copernicus, of Thorn, next revived the true solar system about 1530, and he shares with Pythagoras the honor of giving it his name."

† Supposed by Mr. Libri to be by Dr. Brewster.

tion, perhaps, of his labors in alchemy, which are still covered with the darkest cloud. Besides the excellent work of Gassendi, which contains also the funeral sermon of Jessenius, we find biographies of the learned Dane in all the histories of astronomy, and in Bayle's dictionary; we have also Von Weistritz's notices on his life, and Helfrecht's biography, which we mentioned above. Of these, Gassendi and Von Weistritz may be considered as sources from which subsequent writers drew the materials of their works. There are, however, other original sources, such as the works of the celebrated astronomer himself, and especially his letters, in which we see something of the nobleman, and a great deal of the astronomer; the works of Kepler, particularly his correspondence. Original details on his life and residence in the isle of Huen, are found in several Danish works.

With regard to Kepler we are no less rich. Besides the information concerning him, obtained from the biographers of Tycho Brahe, his own letters, and those of his most distinguished contemporaries, furnish abundant materials relating

to his life.

If, in speaking of Purbachius, Regiomontanus, and Copernicus, we have scarcely mentioned one of their works, either in theoretical or practical astronomy, and confined ourselves more to their private life than to their scientific pursuits, it is because our limits did not allow us to enter upon a scientific inquiry, which would have demanded a survey of the state of astronomy before the time of Purbach. Our object in this article has been principally to trace the most important steps in the progress of astronomy in the west of Europe down to the time of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo; and thus enable the reader of their biographies in the volume before us, more clearly to discover their relation to each other, and to the science which they so gloriously cultivated. By thus connecting men of extraordinary genius with those who preceded them in the same career, we diminish, perhaps, the apparent height of the elevation on which the former are placed, but we increase, in the same proportion, that to which man, as a progressive being, is raised; and if it tends to weaken our belief in the unattainable superiority of particular men, it serves, at the same time, to strengthen our faith, in a most consolatory degree, in the improvable capacity of the human race.

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ART. VII.—System of National Defence.

- Report of the Secretary of War, April 7, 1836. Senate Document, No. 293. Twenty-fourth Congress, First Session. Vol. IV.
- 2. Letter of the Secretary of War, transmitting, in compliance with a Resolution of the House of Representatives, a System of National Defence, etc., May 12, 1840. House Document, No. 206. Twenty-sixth Congress, First Session.

THE present age is essentially pacific. It very justly holds in abhorrence all wars of mere ambition, waged for personal or national aggrandizement. The feelings that prompted the conquests of Alexander and Napoleon, are no longer harbored in the minds of sound thinking men. Some good reason is now required by public opinion for the wholesale sacrifice of human life. Even the absolute sovereign must allege some excuse or justification for a resort to arms, before he can venture to command the lives and services of his subjects. After all the discussions that have taken place on this question, the opinion of the age seems finally to have settled down upon the conviction, that "war is to be considered as a mere choice of evils, and is only to be resorted to when forced upon us by actual hostilities, or by aggravated injustice deliberately inflicted and obstinately persisted in." This conclusion results from enlarged views of public policy, a knowledge of the true principles of political ethics, and a fuller recognition of the divine precepts of Christian morality. Certainly such a state of feeling holds out strong hopes to the philanthropist; he must see in it much to encourage him in the establishment of such institutions as tend to harmonize the conflicting interests of nations, and he may justly anticipate that in time much will result from it. Still it can hardly give rise to the expectation of a long-continued universal peace. The lessons of experience, the deductions of reason, and the more sure word of prophecy, teach him that the earth must yet be swept by severe and desolating wars.

No nation, then, can expect that others will always act towards it on the principles of justice and benevolence, or that it can for ever escape the destiny which has thus far awaited every great social community. Justice and mercy will generally be reciprocated; but, by avoiding every encroachment on the rights of others, we cannot always secure quiet to ourselves; whilst the world continues to be filled with beings of passion and interest, conflicts of nations must be expected. No matter how powerful a nation may be, nor how isolated a country, or how pacific the policy of its government, and the habits of its people, it will nevertheless be continually exposed to war. Sometimes it will be compelled to fight in self-defence, war being actually forced upon it, and proper preparations for such an event cannot be neglected with

impunity.

But the United States are urged to adopt measures of defence by stronger reasons than mere abstract principles of national policy. Our geographical position, and ordinary foreign relations, are not such as to offer any strong guarantee of security. Europe looks, with distrust and fear, at the rapid dissemination of our liberal principles. The unsettled governments of Texas and Mexico, and the new republics of the south, cannot be regarded without concern. The recently emancipated population of the West Indies naturally feel a strong sympathy with the slaves of our southern states, and are ready to embroil us in a servile war. Our restless population are pushing their settlements towards the Pacific, among numerous warlike tribes of Indians, and into contact with the colossal power of Russia. Our relations with Canada, always full of difficulty and danger, have now become a subject of intense solicitude, and call for the utmost prudence and circumspection. In our intercourse with the British provinces we seem continually treading on halfsmothered embers, that are ready to burst forth into a con-The published misrepresentations of travelsuming flame. lers, the base slanders of a corrupt press, the unjustifiable interference of a portion of our citizens in the recent Canadian revolt, and the difficulties resulting from the arrest and trial of McLeod, have tended much to alienate the two na-All these things, taken in connection with the British government's persisting in her claims to a portion of our territory in the northeast, and the complicated difficulties of our possessions in the far west, render it not improbable that we may soon be plunged into the horrors of a severe and bloody

To avoid this calamity no preventive means should be

neglected. Diplomacy should be exerted to the utmost. All proper concessions should be made, all doubtful points of etiquette yielded. But, above all, constant attention must be paid to the measures of defence. To prevent an attack, we must show ourselves able to meet it. So long as men are influenced by interest, the surest guarantee of peace is

an abundant preparation for war.

The usual means of national defence may be divided into active and passive; the latter consisting in fortifications, and the other in men, field artillery, ships, and floating structures of every description. In other words, the measures resorted to for protection from foreign force, are, 1. The maintenance of a large standing army. 2. A superior naval force. 3. The construction of a system of fortifications on the frontiers and interior strategic points of a country. Some countries, on account of their geographical position, or the character of their people or institutions, are weak in one of these elements of defence. But in the same proportion that the strength of any one of these is diminished, should that of the others be increased.

We have no large standing army; our regular force consists of a very few troops, commanded by well-educated officers, who are capable of constructing all temporary means of defence, and qualified to organize and discipline, if necessary, a larger army raised from the militia. The aggregate of our regular army, as authorized by law, is twelve thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, including officers, noncommissioned officers, musicians, artificers, and privates, which is divided into a general staff; medical, pay, and purchasing departments; a corps of engineers; a topographical corps; an ordnance department; two regiments of dragoons, four of artillery, and eight of infantry. The general staff is composed of one major-general, two brigadiers-general, one adjutant-general, and six assistants, two inspectors-general, one quartermaster-general, with four assistants and deputies, four quartermasters and twenty-eight assistants, one commissary-general, with one assistant and six commissaries. Each of the other corps and departments is placed under the direction of its chief, and the regiments of the line are each commanded by a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and a certain number of subalterns. This small body of men is charged, in time of peace, with most arduous and important duties,

and in the hour of danger, by its skill and experience, will impart confidence and efficiency to the undisciplined recruits.

But, however high the character of this regular army, it cannot, from its number, be relied on as an adequate defence against the inroads of the powerful and jealous nations with which we are every day liable to become engaged. If we had a large and well-organized force, capable of contending hand to hand with any that could be brought against it, our troops might at any time be concentrated on a decisive point without compromising their safety, and, consequently, but slight provision would be required for any other means of security. But where the defence of the state is mainly dependent upon the private citizens, where the farmers and tradesmen are suddenly called out as soldiers, to repel an invader, and protect their own firesides, it is necessary to provide some means of holding the enemy in check till the discipline and organization of the new troops will enable them to meet him in the open field upon more equal terms.

Fortification is defined, the art of disposing the ground in such a manner as to enable a small number of troops to resist a larger army the longest time possible. If the work be placed in a position of much importance, and its materials be of a durable nature, it is called permanent; otherwise it receives the appellation of field, or temporary. Field works are properly confined to operations of a single campaign, and are used to strengthen positions which are to be occupied only for a short period. Generally these works are of earth, thrown up by the troops in a single day. They are intimately connected with a system of permanent fortifications, but, from the facility of their construction, no provision need be made for them before the actual breaking out of war. Indeed they could not well be built before hostilities commenced, as their locality in each case must be determined

by the position of the hostile forces.

From the nature of the case, permanent fortifications are the most safe, economical, and efficient means of defence for this country. They possess most of the conservative properties of a large standing army, with none of its objectionable features. They require but little expenditure for their support; in time of peace they withdraw no valuable citizens from the useful occupations of life; they can exert no influence corrupting to public morals, or dangerous to public liberty. But in time of war they offer a strong obstacle to

the invader. The most warlike nations have uniformly shown a reluctance to attack a country that was well fortified. But before illustrating the use of permanent military works, we must give a summary of their general advantages, which are applicable alike to all countries.

1. They are superior to the other means of defence in the economy of their support, and their perfect safety in time of

peace.

2. In all military operations time is of the highest importance. An equilibrium can never long exist in the open field between forces that are nearly equal; such a contest can seldom be kept up more than a few hours. But even where they are very unequal, and the weaker party is supported by fortifications, an equilibrium may be sustained for many months, and, time being allowed for deliberation, such new schemes may be devised as to cause the scale to preponderate on the side of the smaller force.

3. Troops in a fort may select their opportunity for fighting. If in the field, with a strong place of retreat in their rear, they can offer, or refuse battle, according to the probability of success. Moreover, when once engaged they are less influenced by fear, having a safe retreat behind them.

4. If an invading army pass a line of forts, it is exposed to an attack in rear, and a reserve larger than the garrisons of this line must be left to observe it. But being separated from this reserve, and also from his magazines, the invader will, in all probability, be subjected to the horrors of a partizan warfare. It is therefore estimated, by the best military writers, that an army, supported by forts properly arranged, can repel a force six times larger than itself. Where a country is invaded, a large number of undisciplined troops are suddenly called into action. Probably only a small number of these will meet the invader, and, from not knowing his designs, much time will be lost in marches and countermarches, exposing their stores and magazines, and inevitably destroying much property in the country through which such troops pass. Moreover, without places of resort, a whole defensive army of inexperienced troops would most likely be cut off. Under these circumstances, the expenses of a single campaign would be sufficient to place the country in a tolerable state of permanent defence, and any one of these permanent works would enable a small force to hold out till succor could be obtained elsewhere. One portion of the army could be separated from the main body without being permanently cut off, and even might be able to attack the enemy with superior advantage, whereas, in an open country, division usually compromises the safety of the

army.

6. Fortifications serve as safe depôts of arms, and the immense quantity of material, and military munitions, so indispensable in modern warfare. Artillery stores, consisting of cannon, carriages, caissons, powder, and the various kinds of projectiles, constitute the military wealth of a nation, and should be so secured as to prevent them from becoming an easy prey to the enemy. Many of these munitions require much time, skill, and expense, in their construction, and if so placed as to be exposed, the state may receive a greater injury than in the defeat of all her armies.

7. Strong works arranged for the defence of seaport towns, serve to protect the public maritime arsenals, and the vast amount of private wealth which a commercial people always collect at these points. They cover the merchant shipping, and facilitate naval operations against the enemy's transporting ships and convoys. A hostile squadron may be repelled by a well-directed fire from a land battery, and her troops being thus compelled to land in unfavorable posi-

tions, may be the more easily conquered.

8. River fortifications have an important bearing on the manoeuvres of an invading army. They not only serve as magazines of provisions, and military munitions, but also hold the enemy in check, by intercepting his lines of operations, and endangering his communications. Fortifications placed on the two banks of a river, and properly connected, not unfrequently prove of greater advantage in the defence of a state, than the strongest frontier fortresses. Bridgeheads, situated on the larger interior streams, contribute most efficiently towards the security of a retiring force, and the embarrassment of the pursuers.

9. In mountainous portions of a country, fortifications play a still more important part. A few pieces of artillery, placed on some inaccessible point, covering a passage, will enable a very small force to arrest the progress of large armies. These mountain passes are usually on lines of operation, and, if closed, may have an important bearing on the results of a campaign. In a military point of view they are the keys of a country. During the last war of Grecian inde-

pendence, in a narrow defile between Corinth and the plain of Argos, a small party under Niketos and Demetrius Y psilanti, intercepted a large army of Turks. In a few hours the little band of Greeks slew six thousand, and completely routed the remainder. Afterwards the Moslem army accomplished the passage, but with an additional loss of several thousand. Had Napoleon secured with forts the passages of Mont-Cenis and Simplon, he might have escaped some of the disasters of 1814.

10. To the army of defence, fortifications are of the greatest importance as points of repose. Those upon the frontier assist in sustaining the first shock of the invasion, and render it dangerous for an enemy to advance. But if the defensive army be driven from the front line, and beaten in the field, it can fall back upon the military works placed on the interior strategic points of the country, and there shelter its sick and wounded, collect its scattered troops, repair its material, and draw together a new supply of stores and provisions. There, also, new forces may be assembled with safety, and an army be prepared, in a few days, again to meet the enemy in the open field. But, without these defences, undisciplined and inexperienced armies, when once put to flight, can seldom be rallied, and almost inevitably fall an easy prey to their enemies.

In commenting upon these general principles, we shall not confine ourselves to the order in which they are here arbitrarily arranged, as our remarks and illustrations will be applicable, at the same time, to several of these divisions. our fortifications must necessarily be in the possession of the people, the most jealous sentinel over their rights cannot object to them as in the least endangering popular liberty, and the most superficial observer cannot fail to be convinced, that the expense of their support is very inconsiderable when compared with that of either of the active elements of defence. It is true, that for some years past a large item in annual expenditures for fortifications, has been under the head of " repairs." Much of this sum is for alterations and enlargements of temporary and inefficient works erected anterior to, and during the war of 1812, and much of it for modifications required to prepare for new and improved gun-carriages. Some of it, however, has been for actual repairs of decayed or injured portions of the forts, these injuries resulting from the nature of the climate, the foundations, the

use of poor materials, and poor workmanship, and from neglect and abandonment. But, if we include the risk of abandonment at times, it is estimated, upon data drawn from past experience, that one third of one per cent. per annum of the original cost, will keep, in perfect repair, any of our forts that have been constructed since the last war. Whereas the cost of repairs in our navy is more than seven per cent. per annum of the first cost of our ships. The cost of constructing forts is about four thousand dollars per gun; of constructing ships, six thousand dollars per gun; of steam vessels, seventy-five thousand dollars per gun! Compare the expense of repairs, per gun, from these data, and who can, with this before him, doubt the economy of fortifications as a national defence.

The ancients fortified places by enclosing them with walls, about two feet thick, formed into towers and curtains. Sometimes several tiers of loop-holes were arranged, and battlements formed on top for the use of archers and others in the defence. The strength and form of these works varied with the nature of the arms that, at different times, were brought against them. A most important change was made in the plan of fortifying, by the invention of gunpowder in the fourteenth century. This effected an entire revolution in the plan of military works, in the arrangements for their armament, in the dimensions of the walls, and in the position and form of towers and battlements; but it did not in the least diminish the general importance of fortifications, or reach the general principles of military operations.

The fundamental principles of the military art were deduced from experience, and are as applicable to modern wars as to those of the Greeks and Romans. The minor operations by which these principles are carried out, of course, have very much changed; but the relation of strategic lines and points, the rules for the composition of armies, the order of marches, and the lines of battle, have ever remained the same. As walled towns were formerly of the highest importance to the safety of the country, and exerted a controlling influence upon the grand operations of an army, so now do permanent fortifications constitute the most important means of national defence. As a line of military works, strong enough to resist the arms that could then be brought against them, once saved Rome from being destroyed

by a Carthaginian army, so now, perhaps, might a few NO. XVIII.—VOL. IX. 61

strong maritime fortresses, and smaller interior forts, save this country from European domination.

Numerous illustrations of these principles might be adduced from the military operations in ancient times, but it will be more to our purpose to select a few from those which

modern history supplies.

For a long period previous to the thirty years' war, its strong castles and fortified cities secured the German empire from attacks from abroad, except on its extensive frontier, which was frequently attacked, but no enemy could penetrate to the interior, till a want of union among its own princes opened its strongholds to the Swedish conqueror; nor then did the cautious Gustavus Adolphus venture far into its territories till he had obtained possession of all the military works that might endanger his retreat. Again, in the seven years' war, when the French neglected to secure their foothold in Germany by placing in a state of defence the strong works that fell into their power, the first defeat rendered their ground untenable, and threw them from the Elbe back upon the Rhine and Mayne. They afterwards took the precaution to fortify their positions, and secure their magazines, under the shelter of strong places, and, consequently, were enabled to maintain themselves in the hostile country till the end of the war, notwithstanding the inefficiency of their generals, the great reverses they sustained in the field, the skill and perseverance of the enemy they were contending with, and the weak and vacillating character of the cabinet at home, which directed them.

The importance attached to the fortifications in Belgium, in military operations, is well known. When the strong places of Lille and Valenciennes held the Austrians in check so that the French could leave the frontiers of the north to fight the Prussians on the Meuse, the base line in Belgium was sustained till the French could return and relieve it.

Flanders has generally been well fortified, and in the long and bloody wars to which she has been subjected, the conquering enemy has only been able to get possession of a portion of the territory, which he was obliged to surrender on the restoration of peace.

It is thought by some, that permanent fortifications became less important, as a means of national defence, during the brilliant campaigns of Bonaparte; but, upon a close examination of the military history of that time, we shall find that,

although he trusted mainly to his veteran and disciplined troops in the field, and his own superiority over all enemies in a knowledge of strategic operations, still, in the arrangement of his plans, he did attach high value to lines of fortified places, and, as is well known, mostly depended upon these for the security of France during his expedition into Russia. As the principal military strength of France was withdrawn to accompany its emperor on this disastrous expedition, the people were much alarmed at the threats of an invasion by their enemies near home. But Carnôt partially allayed these fears, by assuring France that no hostile army could penetrate her well-fortified frontier, if her military works were defended by the new system of curvilinear fire. Although this engineer carried too far his notions of the impregnability of fortresses arranged after his plan, yet we must agree with him that the works on the frontier of France, if well garrisoned, might have held in check an invading army till Napoleon could have returned to their aid.

Bonaparte well knew the value of strongholds to the countries which he attacked, but he was also well aware that his enemies were ignorant of their proper use in strategic operations, and, consequently, so manoeuvred as to render them of little importance to his opponents. He evidently paid much attention to them in the arrangement of his own lines, using them to cover his reserve, and to secure his mili-Among other examples we may mention the tary stores. consideration he gave to the fortification of Western Germany, laying out extensive works at Passau in order to render it a grand depôt against Austria; Torgau was also well fortified under his direction; and a large amount of money ordered to be expended in placing the town of Saare-Louis in a good state of defence, to serve as an interior shelter for magazines. His expenditures upon fortifications during the nine years previous to his return from Russia, amounted to twenty-four million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which nearly equals the estimated cost of our whole projected system of sea-coast defence.

Those who doubt the influence of fortifications on the military operations of Bonaparte, should attentively read the history of the conquest, and, finally, repulse of the French from Spain. The Spanish soldiery were so corrupt, cowardly, and disorganized, that but little was to be feared from them; the main obstacles were the walls of the strong towns

and castles of that country. Some were obtained by bribing the commanders, some reduced by force, but many others, a part of which were situated exactly on the French lines of operations, could not be taken, and in time became the cause

of many disastrous results to the invaders.

Napoleon, also, found the fortifications of Portugal a great obstacle to his operations there. The new works erected. during the war, by Colonel Fletcher, of the royal engineers, were, on the other hand, of the highest importance to Wellington; and his lines, thrown up to cover Lisbon in 1809-10, formed a barrier from which the invading army was forced to recede. In 1809, the main works of this line were commenced at Torres Vedras, Monte Agraça, and Oeyras. In the following year they were connected together, and also with other independent forts, by numerous field works, such as redoubts, and emplacements for artillery, and the flanks of the whole line sustained by strong fortresses of support The French army lay before them for five or six months, but finding the line too strong to be reduced, they retired from that portion of the field, leaving in the hands of their opponents the most important point in the theatre of that war. These fortifications undoubtedly contributed largely to the saving of Portugal.

In the instructions given by Napoleon to his brother, and to the French generals in Spain and Portugal, we find him continually calling their attention to the importance of being in possession of those fortifications that had a bearing upon their bases and lines of operations, and not unfrequently re-

proving them for neglecting or losing these works.

Fortifications were particularly valuable to Spain and Portugal, as most of their troops were new and undisciplined. For active military operations an army becomes valueless, unless it can be perfectly managed and held in order. Its discipline is the power of its chief to move at will all who are under him. Although they may neither love him, nor singly fear him, "yet they have to obey him, to go hither and thither, to march and halt, to give death, and even to receive it, as if fate had spoken; and the word of command becomes, almost in a literal sense, a magic word." This state of rule and obedience can be acquired only by time and experience, and not until an approximation be made to this, can success in a pitched battle be expected from any military force. There are instances in which inexperienced

generals have led on a disorganized and frantic mob to the most brilliant victories. Here, however, extraordinary circumstances supplied the place of order, and produced an equilibrium between forces that otherwise would have been very unequal; but in almost every case of this kind, the loss in the undisciplined army has been unnecessarily great, human life being substituted for skill and order. What an instance of misrule does a large army become when stricken by a panic! Numbers only add to the disorder. Its very strength becomes weakness. The uncontrolled fire rages the more from the quantity of material it has to consume. How much more liable to these panics are newly-raised troops, in the open field, than when placed behind a parapet, or covered in rear by some fortress. Without these defences they will retard, or actually defeat, all military ope-The movements of an army, like the motions of a clock, become irregular and useless when any of its parts are disordered. To prove that we cannot trust to militia to repel, without fortifications, as an auxiliary means of defence, the attacks of an enemy, we may cite the following remarks of Washington on the total inefficiency of this kind of force in the active operations of the field, from his correspondence with the president of congress, December, 1776:

" My first wish is, that congress may be convinced of the impropriety of relying upon the militia, and the necessity of raising a larger standing army than what they have voted. The saving in the article of stores, provisions, and in a thousand other things, by having nothing to do with militia, unless in cases of extraordinary exigency, and such as could not be expected in the common course of events, would amply support a large army, which, well officered, would be daily improving, instead of continuing a destructive, expensive, and disorderly mob."-" In my opinion, if any dependence is placed on the militia another year, congress will be When danger is a little removed from them they will not turn out at all. When it comes home to them, the well-affected, instead of flying to arms to defend themselves, are busily employed in removing their families and effects, whilst the disaffected are concerting measures to make their submission, and spread terror and dismay all around, to induce others to follow their example. Daily experience, and abundant proofs, warrant this information."— "The militia are not to be depended on, or aid expected from them, but in cases of the most pressing emergency. Indeed, their lethargy, of late, and backwardness to turn out at this alarming crisis, seem to justify the apprehension that nothing can bring them from their

homes."—"It is needless to add, that short enlistments, and a mistaken dependence upon the militia, have been the origin of all our misfortunes, and the great accumulation of our debt."—"The militia come in, you cannot tell how; go, you cannot tell when; and act, you cannot tell where; consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment."

These remarks of Washington seem fully justified by the conduct of the militia during the revolution. We give a few of the many instances of this that may be found in our

history.

In January, 1777, two British regiments falling in, near Princeton, with the van of General Mercer's army, "the advanced party of the Americans, composed chiefly of militia, soon gave way, and the few regulars attached to them could not maintain their ground." Washington afterwards came up with the main body of the regulars and turned the scale in our favor.

In March, 1779, General Ash, with a detachment of fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, and about sixty continentals, was attacked by the British in a well-chosen position, near the confluence of Briar Creek and the Savannah River. Most of the militia threw away their arms, and fled in great confusion; the continentals bravely stood their ground, but being unsupported, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Immediately after this, a small portion of the militia under General Moultrie, fell back upon Charleston, and, a breast-work being thrown up, cannon mounted, abattis planted, and the obstacles destroyed that could cover the enemy within cannon range, the militia and citizens were so encouraged by these defences, as to defy the superior forces of Prevost, and to hold out against his attacks till relieved by General Lincoln. And the next year, when besieged by a large military and naval force under Sir Henry Clinton, they bravely defended themselves, with the assistance of these military works, and a detachment of, at first, only eight hundred regulars, till the want of provisions, and the discovery to the enemy, by means of an intercepted letter, of the actual state of the garrison, took from them all hope of compelling him to raise the siege.

When the army of General Gates met the enemy in the open field at Camden, the Virginia militia, at the first appearance of their adversaries, fled in the greatest confusion, "few discharged their guns, and fewer still carried them off the

field." Most of the North Carolina militia followed the example of the Virginians, and by thus exposing the left wing of our army, forced the devoted regulars to yield their ground, after a brave resistance of three quarters of an hour.

The American commander has been much censured for needlessly exposing his men at the battle of Cowpens, and certainly the position which he chose appears objectionable in a scientific point of view. But the slight dependence that could be placed on the militia for manoeuvres in the field, forced him to make dispositions that would have unnecessarily exposed a disciplined army. The result proved the wisdom of his plan. In justification of the selection of his ground, General Morgan says: "I would not have had a swamp in view of my militia on any consideration; they would have made for it, and nothing could have detained them from it." "As to retreat, it was the very thing I wished to cut off all hope of. I would have thanked Tarleton had he surrounded me with his cavalry. It would have been better than placing my own men in the rear to shoot down those that broke from Had I crossed the river, one half of the militia would immediately have abandoned me."

At the battle of Guilford Court House, the North Carolina militia, having "no riflemen in their rear to confine them to their ranks," precipitately fled. "It is said that some fired once—that there were those who fired twice; but of one fact there can be no doubt, most of them threw away their arms loaded—knapsacks, and even canteens, followed." A writer of that time says: "Had the North Carolina militia done their duty, the victory would have been certain and easy. But they deserted the most advantageous post I ever saw,

without scarcely firing a gun."

How different the picture presented in the defence of Fort Moultrie! Here, a small newly-raised and undisciplined force, covered by a breast-work of palmetto logs, with only a few pieces of ordnance, withstood, for ten hours, a bombardment from the British shipping of two hundred and seventy guns, and at last completely discomfited Sir Peter Parker's fleet, and compelled the re-embarkation of his troops. Again, at the taking of Fort Washington, November, 1776, the militia, and inexperienced regulars, bravely contended against a force six times as large as their own, and yielded only when the British so out-manoeuvred them as to take

away all hope of success. A loss of eight hundred men by the enemy, sufficiently shows the steadiness and valor of the

Americans, and the accuracy of their rifles.

If, in the last war with Great Britain, our militia failed to maintain their ground at Sacket's Harbor, Bladensburg, and some other places, WHEN DRAWN UP IN THE OPEN FIELD, we can point with pride to their brave and successful defence of the forts Boyer, Niagara, Moreau, McHenry, and their glorious sortie at Fort Erie. When the attack was made on Plattsburg, in 1814, the militia sent out to harass the enemy's column on the Beekman-Town road, fled in the greatest disorder, without awaiting the enemy's fire, and could not be prevailed on to stand when reinforced by a detachment of regulars under Major Wool. But when supported by temporary breast-works formed of the planks and timber of the bridges, or brought within cover of forts Moreau, Brown, and Scott, and the two fortified block-houses, they recovered their tranquillity, and fought with great bravery, repelling the enemy at the ford and "upper bridge." A few days after this battle, the militia and regulars, under Major Armistead, acquired great glory at the bombardment of Fort McHenry. This bombardment continued twenty-five hours, more than fifteen hundred shells being thrown into the American works. During most of this time the enemy's ships were beyond reach of our light batteries. But so bravely did the militia withstand this tremendous shower of shells that the British were finally compelled to retire.

At the sortie of Fort Erie, a combined force of regulars and militia fought with the greatest order and valor, completely defeating the enemy, destroying his works, and diminishing his effective force by nearly a thousand men.

In the defence of New-Orleans, an undisciplined force, covered by field-works of earth, and bales of cotton, poured forth a most murderous shower of balls upon the British, and drove back a greatly superior number of veteran troops. It is said that many of the enemy were killed by the rifles of the assailed, who kept up their fire without even raising their heads above the breast-works.

These examples from our history most abundantly prove, that a militia force is much more effective, and more to be depended upon, when used in conjunction with military works, than when drawn up to face the enemy in the open field. Here they cannot generally be manoeuvred, or brought to bear on the decisive

points, without exposing them to panic and disorder; whereas, in the defence of fortified places, their superior intelligence and activity not unfrequently render them even more valua-

ble than the troops of a regular army.

In reading the strictures of Washington, Greene, Morgan, and others, upon our militia, and in searching for the causes of their several defeats in our wars with Great Britain, it should be remembered, that we have been almost entirely destitute of important works of defence; and the experience of all other nations, as well as our own, has abundantly shown, that a newly-raised force cannot cope in the open field with one subordinate and disciplined. Here science must determine the contest. Habits of strict obedience, and of simultaneous and united action, are indispensable to carry out what the higher principles of the military profession re-The militiaman is confounded at the evolutions, and strategic, and tactical combinations of a regular army. loses all confidence in his leaders, and in himself, and, moved by instinct, seeks only his personal safety. But, placed behind a breast-work, he even overrates his security. He can then coolly look upon the approaching columns, and, unmoved by glittering armor, and bristling bayonets, will exert all his skill in the use of his weapons.

Notwithstanding the many examples that may be cited of the failure of our militia when drawn up on the battle-field, they have, under the protection of military works, gained victories as brilliant as the most veteran troops. In there awaiting the approach of an enemy, they acquire a confidence which enables them to exert all their skill in the art of war, by giving to their weapons that superior accuracy of aim which the American has obtained by practice from

his early youth.

The moral courage necessary to await an attack behind a parapet, is at least equal to that exerted in the open field, where movements generally determine the victory. To watch the approach of an enemy, to see him move up and display his massive columns, his long array of military equipments, his fascines and scaling-ladders, his instruments of attack, and the professional skill with which he wields them, to hear the thunder of his batteries, spreading death all around, and to repel, hand to hand, "those tremendous assaults, which stand out in all their horrible relief upon the canvass of

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modern warfare," requires a heart at least as brave as the

professional warrior exhibits in the pitched battle.

But, notwithstanding the necessary subordination of a system of defence, to the character of a country, and the nature of its troops, there are certain fixed relations between permanent works, and the operations of hostile armies, which are alike applicable to all. Our limits will allow us to notice but very briefly the general use of lines of fortifications in strategic operations.

We must remember that the enemy can penetrate any of our lines, and no physical obstacle short of a continuous wall, can prevent him. The invading army will, at first, be superior both in numbers and character to the force that can be brought against it, and, besides, will have the advantage of the first attack. But the enemy will generally be under the necessity of leaving a reserve on his base line to watch the troops that may occupy the system of fortifications, and, moreover, he should get possession of the works bordering his line of operations, to prevent it from being cut off. the force thus left to guard his rear, and to observe the troops assembled in the different forts, must be superior to the fromtier army of defence, he will now act under the disadvantage of a divided army, and, unless the besieged act the part of Wurmser in Mantua, allowing the interior division to be destroyed, without timely sorties to assist it, he will be in great danger of being cut up into still smaller bodies, and whipped in detail. We should so arrange our lines of works as to compel the enemy's attacking column to penetrate by new and inconvenient roads, which will render his movements less decisive, and allow us more time for organizing new forces, and fixing plans of operation which will restore an equilibrium. Our own troops should be immediately concentrated into masses sufficiently large to move with freedom and effect upon the enemy's rear, and to endanger his communications. If possible, we should bring our forces to bear upon his flank, and thereby cause him to change the direction of his front. A labyrinth of frontier places, near together, would, by distributing our masses, effectually take from us the power of making these manoeuvres, and confine us to our lines of natural and artificial obstacles. But distant permanent places, susceptible of a long and vigorous defence by a small garrison, will, with the assistance of intermediate field-works, render our army effective, and easily

provisioned. This arrangement will, by moral, rather than by physical means, retain the enemy on the frontier a long time, and thus preserve the interior till a larger army may

be raised to repel him.

But suppose that we should be driven from our system of frontier defence, like Napoleon in 1814, into the interior of the state, without any fortresses to sustain us, or to shelter our magazines; suppose that a Canadian army, driving us before it, should penetrate to our unprotected arsenals at Rome and Watervliet; we should then learn the absurdity of crowding all our works on the extreme frontier, and leaving the interior without the defence of fortifications, and, moreover, we should then see that a few thousand dollars might have been advantageously expended in securing Lake Champlain, and the inlets further west. Will congress never awake to the importance of making appropriations for increasing our means of resistance? When the enemy's fires are again blazing in the capitol they may consider how his approach might have been prevented.

The general principles of fortification which we have here attempted to develop, are not considered as strictly applicable to the defence of our western frontier. The great length of this line, the nature of the border population, their number doubling and trebling every year, and, more than all, the character of the enemy, and the arms he can bring against us, render it unnecessary to resort to regular and permanent fortifications. A proper defence will here rarely call for any thing more than barracks and store-houses, suitably combined with such field-works as may be requisite

to protect them from the attacks of a savage foe.

The plan for lines of military works on this frontier, recently drawn up by the chief engineer in behalf of a board of officers, partakes of much of the spirit of a regular system of defence, and seems to us a most judicious arrangement. Beginning near the southern extremity of this line, they would establish two advanced posts on the Sabine, at points where the Opelousas and Natchitoches roads, leading to Texas, strike that river. Each of these positions would be occupied by barracks for two or three companies, defended by light field-works.

Between the Red River and the Missouri, there are numerous tribes of Indians, "some of whom have been sent hither by coercion, with smothered feelings of hostility rank-

ling in their bosoms, which, probably, waits but for an occasion to burst forth in all its savage fury." This portion is, therefore, considered of the greatest importance, and is to be defended by two lines of posts of considerable strength. The advanced line will consist of Fort Towson, on Red River; Fort Gibson, on the Arkansas; a new fort, at the head of navigation, on the Kansas, and another on the Missouri, below the mouth of the Big Platte. The secondary line, intended to protect the border settlements, and, in times of danger, to serve as rallying points for the neighboring militia, will include Fort Smith, on the Arkansas; Fort Wayne, on the Illinois; one on Spring river; another at Marais de Cygne; Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri, and also one or two intermediate posts between the Arkansas and Red Rivers, at suitable positions near the state line.

On the frontier, north of the Missouri, they would have, in the first line, a new fort at the upper forks of the Des Moines River; Fort Snelling, on the Mississippi River, and a new post near the western extremity of Lake Superior. In rear of these there will be a second line of works, consisting of Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien; Fort Winnebago, at the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers; and Fort

Howard, at Green Bay.

Besides these lines of posts, it might be well to retain Fort Jessup, and place a few other interior works on the main rivers and roads, which, with good quarters, would

serve as healthy cantonments.

The cost of these forts, and their necessary appendages, would be small compared with their vast influence on the maintenance of our peace. Besides the protection of the frontier inhabitants, they will also tend to preserve peace between the Indians, which we have driven from their homes in the east, and the native tribes that already occupied that country. And, moreover, by restraining the intercourse between the whites and Indians, and preventing, as far as possible, the introduction, by the traders, of ardent spirits, they will do more towards the security of our citizens, than by the terror that can be inspired with any force of arms. Can our government be so disregardful of the true interests of the country as to neglect these means of security, and through false economy refuse the small expenditure of money required, till plunged into all the horrors of a merciless savage war, which will cost millions to support it? We hope that the councils of

our nation contain men of sufficient clearness of vision to enable them to see beyond the exigencies of the present hour, and that commercial embarrassments will not longer be allowed to impede the accomplishment of this important

object.

We have not room to enter fully into the military details of that part of the report of the board of officers on national defence which relates to the defence of the northern frontier; we can only specify the works recommended, which are, forts, barracks, etc., at the Falls of St. Mary; at Michilimackinac; on Lake Huron; at Detroit; at Buffalo; at Niagara; at Oswego; at Sacket's Harbor; on Lake Champlain; at Plattsburg, and at Calais. Besides these works, the board give it as their decided opinion, that "there should be a great central station at some position in the interior, at which troops might be assembled for instruction, and where they would still be within supporting distance of the more exposed parts of the frontier." Albany is the position selected for this purpose. The estimated expense of the purchase of land, construction of forts, barracks, etc., for the whole northern frontier, is two million one hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

One of the most important of the applications that have been made of permanent fortification, is in the defence of water frontiers. The modern improvements in this branch of military science render it a subject of vast interest to the United States, on account of our extensive sea-coast. Our attention is now called to the comparative advantages of permanent fortifications, and an exclusive naval defence. This subject is most fully and ably discussed by Colonel Totten, chief of the engineer corps, in his report on a system of national defence, which was laid before the house of representatives in May, 1840, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Poinsett, then secretary at war, of the following purport:

"After a careful and anxious investigation of this subject, involving, in so high a degree, the safety and honor of the country, I fully concur in the opinions expressed by the board, of the superiority of permanent works of defence over all other expedients that have yet been devised, and of their absolute necessity, if we would avoid the danger of defeat and disgrace—a necessity rather increased than diminished by the introduction of steam-batteries, and the use of hollow shot. It would, in my opinion, prove a most fatal error to dispense with them, and to rely upon our navy alone,

aided by the number, strength, and valor of the people, to protect the country against the attacks of an enemy possessing great naval means. To defend a line of coast three thousand miles in extent, and effectually to guard all the avenues to our great commercial cities and important naval depôts, the navy of the United States must be very superior to the means of attack of the most powerful naval power in the world, which will occasion an annual expense this country is not now able to bear; and this large naval armament, instead of performing its proper function, as the sword of the state, in time of war, and sweeping the enemy's commerce from the seas, must be chained to the coast, or kept within the harbors.

"It has been clearly demonstrated, that the expense of employing a sufficient body of troops, either regulars or militia, for a period of even six months, for the purpose of defending the coast against attacks and feints that might be made by an enemy's fleet, would exceed the cost of erecting all the permanent works deemed necessary for the defence of the coast. One hundred thousand men, divided into four columns, would not be more than sufficient to guard the vulnerable parts of our maritime frontier, if not covered by fortifications. This amount of force, which would be necessary against an expedition of twenty thousand men, if composed of regulars, would cost the nation thirty millions of dollars per annum; and if militia, about forty millions of dollars; and, supposing only one half the force be required to defend the coast, with the aid of forts, properly situated, and judiciously constructed, the difference of expense for six months would enable the government to erect all the most necessary works. This calculation is independent of the loss the nation would suffer by so large an amount of labor being abstracted from the productive industry of the country, and the fearful waste of life, likely to result from such a costly, hazardous, and harassing system of defence.

"It must be recollected, too, that we are not called upon to try a new system, but to persevere in the execution of one that has been adopted after mature deliberation, and that is still practised in Europe on a much more extensive scale than is deemed necessary here; so much more so, that there exist there single fortresses, each of which comprises more extensive, and stronger works, than is here proposed for the whole line of our maritime frontier. We must bear in mind, also, that the destruction of some of the important points on our frontier, would alone cost more to the nation than the expense of fortifying the whole line would amount to; while the temporary occupation of others would drive us into expenses to recover them far surpassing those of the projected works of defence.

"Although it would appear, on a superficial view, to be a gigantic, and almost impracticable project, to fortify such an immense extent of coast as that of the United States, and difficult, if not impossible, to provide a sufficient force to garrison and defend the

works necessary for that purpose, yet the statements contained in the reports of the board remove these objections entirely. The coast of the United States, throughout its vast extent, has but few points which require to be defended against a regular and powerful attack. A considerable portion of it is inaccessible to large vessels, and only exposed to the depredations of parties in boats and small vessels of war; against which, inferior works, and the combination of the same means, and a well-organized local militia, will afford sufficient protection. The only portions which require to be defended by permanent works of some strength, are the avenues to the great commercial cities, and naval and military establishments, the destruction of which would prove a serious loss to the country, and be regarded by an enemy as an equivalent for the expense of a great armament. It is shown, also, that the number of men required, on the largest scale, for the defence of these forts, when compared with the moveable force that would be necessary without them, is inconsiderable. The local militia, aided by a few regulars, and directed by engineer and artillery officers, may, with previous training, be safely trusted with their defence in time of war. It cannot be too earnestly urged, that a much smaller number of troops will be required to defend a fortified frontier, than to cover one that is entirely unprotected; and that such a system will enable us, according to the spirit of our institutions, to employ the militia effectually for the defence of the country. It is no reproach to this description of force, and no imputation on their courage, to state what the experience of two wars has demonstrated -that they cannot stand the steady charge of regular forces, and are disordered by their manoeuvres in the open field; whereas, their fire is more deadly from behind ramparts."

General Cass, when secretary at war, in his report to congress, maintained certain positions, which Colonel Totten discusses, and proves to be untenable, the principal of which were the following: first, that the navy should be our chief reliance for the defence of our sea-coast; secondly, that floating batteries are preferable to fortifications; thirdly, that extensive fortifications are entirely unnecessary, we being in no danger from large expeditions.

If we had but one sea-port, our fleet might stay within it to await the enemy, and if our force be equal, or superior to his, there would be a strong probability that we should be victorious. But, instead of attacking our fleet, he might employ himself in destroying our commerce on the ocean, while we could do nothing in its defence without exposing the object for which, according to the supposition, our navy is established. If our ships go without the port they will be

exposed to the tempests equally with the enemy's. If his fleet be lost, the loss is limited to itself; whereas, in the loss of ours is involved our only means of defence, and in consequence our seaport falls into the enemy's hands. If we suppose our fleet to be inferior, there would, of course, be no reason to expect a successful defence, and our captured navy would be turned against us.

We are next to consider, that the maritime nations likely to be hostile to the United States, have fleets at least equal to our own, and also strongly fortified harbors; while our ports are scattered along our whole coast without strong works of defence. In relation thereto the report remarks:

"Being thus relatively situated, the first difference that strikes us is, that the enemy, believing all his ports to be safe, without the presence of his vessels, sets at once about making our seas and shores the theatre of operations, while we are left without choice in the matter; for if he think proper to come, and we are not pre-

sent, he attains his object without resistance.

"The next difference is, that while the enemy (saving only the opposition of Providence) is certain to fall upon the single point, or the many points, he may have selected, there will exist no previous indications of his particular choice, and, consequently, no reason for preparing our defence on one point rather than on another; so that the chances of not being present and ready on his arrival, are directly in proportion to the number of our ports; that is to say, the greater the number of ports, the greater the chances

that he will meet with no opposition whatever.

"Another difference is, that the enemy can choose the mode of warfare, as well as the plan of operations, leaving as little option to us in the one case as in the other. He can concentrate his force upon a single port, or disperse it into small squadrons, and make simultaneous attacks on numerous points. As we cannot indicate the spot the enemy may select for his attacks, our fleet cannot be so arranged as to meet those enterprises. If we go out to cover our harbors and cities, we must sweep our whole coast on the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico—a distance little less than that to be passed over by the enemy from his own port to the selected point of attack—and thereby almost entirely lose our chance of intercepting him.

"On the practicability of covering even a small extent of coast, by cruising in front of it, or, in other words, the possibility of anticipating an enemy's operations; discovering the object of movements of which we get no glimpse, and hear no tidings; and seeing the impress of his footsteps on the surface of the ocean—it may

be well to consult experience.

"The Toulon fleet, in 1798, consisting of about twenty sail of line-of-battle ships and frigates, about twenty smaller vessels of war, and nearly two hundred transports, conveying the army of Egypt, slipped out of port and surprised Malta. It was followed by Nelson, who, thinking correctly that they were bound for Egypt, shaped his course direct for Alexandria. The French, steering towards Candia, took the more circuitous passage, so that Nelson arrived at Alexandria before them; and, not finding them there, returned by way of Caramania, and Candia, to Sicily, missing his adversary on both passages. Sailing again for Alexandria, he found the French fleet at anchor in Aboukir bay, and, attacking them, achieved the memorable victory of the Nile.

"When we consider the narrowness of this sea; the numerous vessels in the French fleet; the actual crossing of the two fleets on a certain night; and that Nelson, notwithstanding, could see nothing of the enemy himself, and hear nothing of them from merchant vessels, we may judge of the probability of waylaying our adver-

sary on the broad Atlantic.

"The escape of another Toulon fleet in 1805; the long search for them in the Mediterranean by the same able officer; the pursuit in the West Indies; the evasion of him amongst the islands; the return to Europe; his vain efforts subsequently along the coast of Portugal, in the Bay of Biscay, and off the English channel; and the meeting at last at Trafalgar—brought about only because the combined fleets, trusting to the superiority that the accession of several reinforcements had given, were willing to try the issue of a battle—these are instances of many that might be cited to show how small is the probability of encountering, on the ocean, an enemy who desires to avoid a meeting; and how little the most untiring zeal, the most restless activity, the most exalted professional skill and judgment, can do to lessen the adverse chances."

On the proposition that our ships remain at home for the purpose of guarding the coast, the report goes on to say, that—

"Instead of lying in harbor, and contenting themselves with keeping a few more of the enemy's vessels in watch over them than their own number—instead of leaving the enemy's commerce in undisturbed enjoyment of the sea, and our commerce without countenance or aid—they scattered themselves over the wide surface of the ocean, penetrated to the most remote seas, every where acting with the most brilliant success against the enemy's navigation. And we believe, moreover, that in the amount of enemy's property thus destroyed, of American property protected or discovered, and in the number of hostile ships kept in pursuit of our scattered vessels—ships, evaded, if superior, and beaten, if equal—they rendered benefits a thousand fold greater, to say nothing for NO. XVIII.—VOL. IX.

the glory they acquired for the nation, and the character they imparted to it, than any that would have resulted from a state of passiveness within the harbors.

"Confident that this is the true policy as regards the employment of the navy proper, we doubt not that it will, in the future, be acted upon as it has been in the past; and that the results, as regards both honor and advantage, will be expanded commensurately with its own enlargement.

"In order, however, that the navy may assume and maintain that active and energetic deportment in offensive operations, which is at the same time so consistent with its functions, and so consonant with its spirit, we have shown that it must not be occupied with

mere coast defence."

But, it is said by some, that we could have a very proper substitute for this service in gunboats, floating batteries, and steam ships, without resorting to fortifications, which are mere relics of a barbarous age, which have altogether been left behind by the rail-road velocity with which military science is now progressing. But before implicitly putting our whole reliance upon these as a national defence, it will be well to look at the results of the trials of power that have been made between guns affoat, and guns on shore. The following are the most important ones that have taken place within the last half century.

In 1794, a Martello tower, armed with one heavy gun only, beat off one or two British ships of war, without sustaining any material injury from their fire. (Pasley's Course,

vol. iii.)

On Cape Licosa, in the year 1806, a barbette battery of two guns beat off a British eighty gun ship and two frigates. The carriage of one of these land-guns failed on the second shot, so that, in fact, only one of them was available during the action.

In these two cases, one gun upon land proved more than equivalent to fifty guns affoat, and this, too, according to the estimates of the vanquished party. (Jones' Journal of Sieges.)

In 1782, the land batteries of Gibraltar, mounting eighty-five guns, were attacked by floating batteries that mounted one hundred and forty-two guns on the engaged side, with seventy in reserve to replace any that might be dismounted. Every precaution was taken to make them shell proof, by giving an additional thickness to the sides, and covering the decks with roofs of sloping timbers. Nevertheless, they

were entirely destroyed, while the works on shore received

no material injury.

At the battle of Algeziras, in 1801, if we suppose the same number of English and French guns afloat to have been equivalent, (which certainly is a fair estimate for the English, considering the circumstances of the case,) we shall have one hundred and ninety-six English guns afloat, opposed by twelve French guns in battery. Nevertheless, the former were most signally and completely discomfited.

In 1836, six armed steamers, and two gunboats, attacked Fuenterabia, which was defended by only one large and two small guns. Here, a water force of more than ten to one on land, completely failed in their attack. (United Service Jour-

nal, August, 1836.)

In 1776, a fleet of two hundred and seventy guns attacked Fort Moultrie, Charleston harbor, which mounted only twenty-six guns. In this contest the British were entirely defeated, and lost, in killed and wounded, more than seventy men to every ten guns that were brought against them; while their whole two hundred and seventy guns killed and wounded only thirty-two men in the fort. (Holmes' Annals.)

In 1814, a British fleet, consisting of two ships, carrying from twenty-four to twenty-eight guns each, and two brigs, one mounting eighteen guns, the force of the other not known, attacked Fort Boyer, Mobile bay, which was a small, inefficient work, but very slightly armed. The enemy was completely repulsed; one of his ships was entirely destroyed, and eighty-five men were killed and wounded on board the other. Our loss was only nine in killed and wounded. (General Jackson's Despatches, dated the seventeenth of September, 1814.)

At Stonington, in the last war, a barbette battery of one four-pounder, and two eighteen-pounder guns, repelled a British fleet of one hundred and thirty-four guns. During the engagement the Americans exhausted their ammunition and spiked their eighteen-pounders, and only one of them was afterwards used. Two of the enemy's ships, one hundred and twelve guns, were engaged during the whole time of attack, and during much of this time bombarded the town from a position beyond reach of the land battery. They were entirely too far off for the four-pounder to be of any use. Supposing the two eighteen-pounders to have been employed during the whole action, and also all the guns of

the fleet, one eighteen-pounder on land must have been more than equivalent to sixty-seven guns afloat, for the ships were so much injured as to render it necessary for them to withdraw. The British loss was twenty killed, and more than fifty wounded. Ours was only two killed and six wounded. (Perkins' War.)

M. Thiroux, in his Instruction Théorique et Pratique d'Artillerie, gives it as the opinion of artillerists generally, that one gun on shore is equal to twenty-five afloat; in other words, he says, that a land-battery of four twenty-four or sixteen-pounder guns, ought to beat off any vessel of one hundred guns. In some of the examples we have here adduced, the ratio has been more than double this, and still, with this striking inequality of more than fifty to one, the land guns have most successfully repelled the attacks that have been made on them.

Indeed we know of only two instances in history where a floating force, however superior in numbers, has been able to cope with a land battery. These are, the capture of the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, by the French, in 1838, and the reduction of the fortress of Acre, in 1840. Ignorant and soperficial persons, hearing merely that these forts had yielded to a naval force, and taking no trouble to inform themselves of the facts of the cases, have paraded them before the public as proofs positive of the superiority of guns affoat over those on shore, and as the first indications of a new era in military science. This conclusion, however groundless and absurd, has received much credit in this country. The American people are easily attracted by whatever is new and plausible. No other nation was ever more easily carried away with novelty. Old theories and established principles are regarded so much the less from their antiquity, and the proofs and arguments which time has thrown around them. Hence the favor which plans and theories of national defence have received by us, merely from their novelty, without once stopping to inquire into the efficacy or propriety of them. If it were true that the results of these two sieges gave a decided superiority to guns affoat over those on shore, would they justify us in changing the whole system of modern defensive warfare, while the results of all history have been just the opposite? Should we not distrust them from the very fact of their being exceptions to rules so well established by a long train of historical proofs? But we are

not required to draw this conclusion. The sieges above alluded to are no exceptions to the general rules. When rightly understood it will be seen that they have no tendency to change the estimated value of the two kinds of force.

The following facts relative to the attack upon the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, are drawn principally from the report of a French engineer officer who was one of the expedition. When the plan of attack was formed, all the French vessels were towed into their position by two armed steamboats belonging to the squadron. "It was lucky for us," says the reporter, "that the Mexicans did not disturb this operation, which lasted nearly two hours, and that they permitted us to commence the fire." "We were exposed to the fire of one twenty-four-pounder, five sixteen-pounders, seven twelvepounders, one eight-pounder, and five eighteen-pounder carronades; in all nineteen pieces only." If these be converted into twenty-four-pounders, in proportion to the weight of balls, the whole nineteen guns will be less than twelve twentyfour-pounders. And this estimate is too great by full one third, as it allows three eight-pounders to be equal to one twenty-four pounder, and each of the eighteen-pounder carronades to be three-fourths the power of a long twentyfour-pounder, whereas, at the distance at which the parties were engaged, these small pieces were nearly harmless. The French force consisted of four frigates, one hundred and eighty-eight guns, and two bomb-ketches, each carrying two heavy sea-mortars. During the action two of the powder magazines were blown up, by which three of the nineteen guas on the water front of the castle were dismounted, thus reducing the land force to less than an equivalent of ten twenty-four-pounders. If we estimate for only one broadside of each ship, we have opposed to this number, a floating force of ninety-four guns and four sea-mortars. The principal damage in the castle was, in all probability, occasioned by these mortars. Not one of the magazines were bomb-proof.

From the above-mentioned report we learn, that the French were opposed by an equivalent of only about one gun to nine; that the Mexican guns were generally so inefficient that their balls did not pass through the sides of the attacking frigates; that the principal injury sustained by the castle was produced by the explosion of powder magazines, which were injudiciously placed, and improperly secured;

that the eastle, though built of very poor materials, was but slightly injured by the French fire; that the Mexicans surrendered their works when but few of their guns had been dismounted; that, notwithstanding all the circumstances in favor of the French, their killed and wounded, in proportion to the guns acting against them, was upwards of jour times as great as the loss of the English at the battle of Trafalgar.

We have not before us all the details of the attack upon the fortress of Acre, but data enough have been given to convince us that no argument can be drawn from it against the usually estimated superiority of guns upon land. The English fleet that made the attack consisted of eight ships of the line, carrying six hundred and forty-six guns, six frigates and sloops, carrying one hundred and fifty-eight gurs, four steamers, carrying eighteen guns, and three other vessels, whose force is not given. We do not know the armament of the water front of this fort, but from the plans we bave seen, it could have borne no comparison with the attacking force; besides, the work was so constructed that its guns could not be depressed enough to reach the main portion of the enemy's squadron. As in the preceding case, the principal loss which the garrison sustained, resulted from the explosion of powder magazines, which had been carelessly left exposed; the arsenals were improperly constructed, and, moreover, the gates were left open. In this case, also, the fortress was surrendered when its walls had sustained but little injury, and nearly all its guns were still effective.

In connection with this attack, we may here introduce an extract from a speech of the Duke of Wellington in the bouse of lords, on the fourth of February last, of much importance to our subject:

"He had had," he said, "a little experience in services of this nature, and he thought it his duty to warn their lordships on this occasion, that they must not always expect that ships, however well commanded, or however gallant their seamen might be, were capable of commonly engaging successfully with stone walls. He had no recollection, in all his experience, except the recent instance on the coast of Syria, of any fort being taken by ships, excepting two or three years ago, when the fort of St. Juan d'Ulloa was captured by the French fleet. This was, he thought, the single instance that he recollected, though he believed that something of the sort had occurred at the siege of Havanna in 1763. The present achievement he considered one of the greatest deeds of modern

times. This was his opinion, and he gave the highest credit to those who had performed such a service. It was altogether a most skilful proceeding. He was greatly surprised at the small number of men that was lost on board the fleet, and on inquiring how it happened, he discovered that it was because the vessels were moored within one third of the ordinary distance. The guns of the fortress were intended to strike objects at a greater distance, and the consequence was, that the shot went over the ships that were anchored at one third the usual distance. By that means they sustained not more than one tenth of the loss which they would otherwise have experienced. Not less than five hundred pieces of ordnance were directed against the walls; and the precision with which the fire was kept up, the position of the vessels, and, lastly, the blowing up of the large magazine, all aided in achieving this great victory in so short a time. He had thought it right to say thus much, because he wished to warn the public against supposing that such deeds as this could be effected every day. He would repeat, that this was a singular instance, in the achievement of which great skill was undoubtedly manifested, but which was also connected with peculiar circumstances which they could not hope always to occur. It must not, therefore, be expected, as a matter of course, that all such attempts in future must necessarily succeed."

The reasons given for the superiority of land batteries, are equally applicable, no matter what the size or kind of vessel—whether it be moved by wind or steam. The ship is every where equally vulnerable, and the men and guns are much concentrated within her, and, consequently, much exposed. On the other hand, in a properly constructed fort,

"It is only the gun, a small part of the carriage, and now and then a head or an arm raised above the parapet that can be hurt; the ratio of the exposed surfaces being not less than fifteen or twenty to one. Next, there is always more or less motion in the water, so that the ship's gun, although it may have been pointed accurately at one moment, at the next will be thrown entirely away from the object, even when the motion in the vessel is too small to be otherwise noticed; whereas, in the battery, the gun will be fired just as it is pointed, and the motion of the ship will merely vary to the extent of a few inches, or at most two or three feet, from the spot in which the shot is to be received. In the ship, there are, besides, many points exposed that may be called vital points. By losing her rudder, or portions of her rigging, or of her spars, she may become unmanageable, and unable to use her strength; she may receive shots under water, and be liable to sink; she may receive hot shot, and be set on fire; these damages are in addition to

those of having her guns dismounted, and her people killed, by the shots that pierce her sides and scatter splinters from her timbers; while the risks of the battery are confined to those mentioned above, namely, the risk that the gun, the carriage, or the men, may be struck. That the magazines should be exposed, as were those of the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, must never be anticipated as possible."

It has been thought by many, who are entirely unacquainted with the facts, that the reduction of the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa, and of Acre, has been wholly due to the use of the newly-invented Paixhan gun and shells. character and influence of this invention is entirely misunderstood. The influence which this must have upon the relative force of ships and battery, is the very reverse of what is usually believed by the community. By the profession it is thought that the Paixhan shells have no advantage whatever over solid shot in attacks upon fortifications; whereas, the liability of a ship to be sunk and destroyed by these shells thrown from shore, is greatly increased. Indeed this was the object had in view by Paixhan in the improvements he made in his gun. Walls can be breached only by several shot, having great penetrability, fired in the same position. Breaching guns are always loaded with charges one third heavier than for ordinary service. Whether the shot used be solid, or hollow, it is manifest that the requisite precision of firing for breaching in this way, is wholly unattainable in vessels; and, if it were attainable, hollow shot could not be used, because every one of them would break to pieces against the wall. This will take place even where the charge is much less than in common service. European experiments, which recently have been most fully and satisfactorily repeated in this country, prove that every hollow shot thrown against the stone, or brick walls of a battery, if fired with a velocity sufficient to give them any penetration, will be broken into frugments by the If the rupture of the shell should happen to explode the powder it contains, still the wall could receive no material injury from this explosion, if the penetration by the bollow shot had not been considerable. In the experiments before alluded to, the damage done by the solid thirty-twopounder ball was much greater than that by the hollow shot thrown from the Paixhan gun.

But the action of a hollow shot thrown from a land battery against a vessel, is an affair of very different character. It is not broken by the wooden sides of the ship, but, besides penetrating the bulwarks, and scattering splinters, it is sure to augment many-fold, the ordinary damage done by a solid ball, in exploding on the decks, or in the ship's sides. By these shells the timbers are torn piece-meal, and the fragments scattered around, dealing out death in all directions; and the vessels themselves are either deprived of their means of mobility, are set on fire, or exposed to be swallowed up by the element on which they float. All the facts of history fully accord with these deductions of theory.

The preceding remarks on a subject of vital importance to the security, honor, and welfare of our country, will, we think, be read with more than ordinary interest at this time, when the aspect of our foreign relations is at best not pacific, if not positively threatening, and it is hoped they will assist in arousing public attention to our present unprotected condition, and to the adoption of an efficient system of defence.

ART. VIII.—Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home. By the author of Hope Leslie, etc. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo.

WERE we speak of these volumes as mere literary critics, it would be with almost unqualified commendation, but no one needs to be told that Miss Sedgwick is an elegant and delightful writer, as that has long been known to all the world, and this last production of her pen will, in that respect, fully sustain her reputation. Still less is it our object to notice the work as a mere book of travels; to that character, as it is commonly understood, it evidently lays no claim, the author, as she informs us in her preface, purposely avoiding all details upon the hackneyed subjects of professed tourists; with great good taste, and in kind compassion to her readers, she has spared us another term in the infinite series of descriptions of the Rhine and the Danube, the Alps and the Appenines, the Eternal City and the bay of Naples. But it is for another, and a vastly more important reason, that out attention has been attracted to these letters from abroad. We were very curious to know what impressions the social and political institutions of the old world had made upon a

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person of superior intelligence, all whose modes of thinking, and views of society, had been formed in the new—one, too, deebly imbued with a belief in the self-governing power of man, and in the doctrines of the reform school in general. Holding many of these opinions to be false, and some of them, especially in the ultraism to which they are carried, to be dangerous to the welfare of the human family, we have been highly gratified to find that the effect, upon one of their ablest and most popular supporters, of a comparison of the conditions of man under various forms of government, has, on the whole, been so favorable to conservatism.

Miss Sedgwick is a person of the very character to whom travelling is of the highest advantage; she needs only to see with her own eyes to see aright. Look, for instance, at her picture of England; notwithstanding her democratic prejudices were outraged at every step, she has painted it as it is, the most delightful home in the world, to all except such as are oppressed by pinching poverty. How much of this favorable account may be owing to the kindness with which she was received we pretend not to judge; such things have an influence upon the most honest-minded, and, therefore, it is not unfair to suppose they may have had some upon her.

It is pleasant to follow her over this most beautiful and favored island, and to observe with what fairness she portrays its distinguishing features—the cordial hospitality and friendly courtesy which are shown when rightly claimed the smiling brightness of the country—the excellence of the inns, roads, and all other appliances of travelling-and the universal neatness in the grounds, dwellings, and dress, even down to the cottage and the beggar. The direct avowal which is made in relation to Captain Hall, in the following exclamation, "What a host of prejudices and false judgments had one day's frank and kind intercourse dispersed to the winds for ever," might, we think, with equal truth, have often been made by our warm-hearted traveller in her European tour-that it was a predominant feeling with her we have abundant evidence. And here we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing a short passage relating to this said monster, Captain Hall, who has, perhaps, been as much "sinned against as sinning. Such an instance of his kindness to a party of Americans may serve to soften the indignation which his book excited against him here; at any

rate, it will prove that he does not harbor malice prepense against the whole Yankee nation.

"We left Southampton this morning, feeling much, when we parted from Captain Hall and his family, as if we were launching alone in the wide world. He told us, at the last, if we got into any difficulty, if we were at Johnny Groat's, to send for him. As far as the most thoughtful kindness and foresight can provide against difficulties, he has done so for us. Both he and Mrs. Hall have given us letters of introduction, (unasked,) and a score, at least, to their friends in London and Scotland, people of rank and distinction. To these they have added addresses to trades-people of all descriptions, and all manner of instructions as to our goings-on; a kind of mapping and charting inestimable to raw travellers like us. He has even had lodgings provided for us in London by his man of business, so that we shall find a home in that great, and, to us, unknown sea.

You will smile at all our letters running upon this theme of Captain H., and you may perchance fancy that our preconceived opinion of this gentleman is rather bribed by personal kindness than rec-But remember that we had no claim upon his kindness. is not our personal benefits (though heaven knows we are most grateful for them) that I am anxious to impress upon you, but to give you the advantage of our point of sight of a character that some of our people have misunderstood, and some misrepresented. I have no such crusading notions, as that I could set a whole nation's opinion right, but I should hope to affect yours, and perhaps half-adozen others. Captain H. has a mind wide awake, ever curious These qualities have been of infinite service to him as and active. a traveller, and to his charmed readers as well; but it is easy to see how, among strangers, they might betray him into some little extravagances. Then he is a seaman and a Briton, and liable on both scores to unphilosophic judgment. With the faults that proceed from an excess of activity, we, of all people, should be most patient, and certainly we might have forgiven some mistaken opinions in conformity to preconceived patterns, instead of imputing them to political prostitution. We might, indeed, had we been wise, have found many of his criticisms just and salutary, and thanked him for them, and have delighted in his frankness, his sagacity, and his vein of very pleasant humor; but, alas! our Saxon blood is always uppermost, and we go on cherishing our infallibility, and, like a snappish cook, had much rather spoil our own pie, than have a foreign finger in it. It is an old trick of the English bull-dog to bark at his neighbor's door, but let him do so if he will caress you at his own."—Vol. i. pp. 42-44.

The closing sentiment of the passage is a bad one, but we will not stop to quarrel with it.

Other passages from these volumes might be selected to prove the incorrectness of the common notion prevailing among our countrymen, that England is wanting in courtesy to strangers, and justify the assertion, that no one who visits it, properly introduced, and remains there a sufficient time to receive attentions, can justly complain of being neglected; indeed it is hardly possible to be many days an inmate of an English family, particularly in the country, without feeling, as Miss S. says she did when she left a friend's lodge near Southampton, "warmed to the heart's core with the realization of the old poetic ideas of English hospitality." picture, however, is not without its shading; she is offended by the strong contrasts in the condition of man which England presents—the lofty elevation of the few, and the deep abasement of the many. The distinction of ranks, and all the usages which grow out of it, are abominations in her eyes; the servant's touch of the hat to his master she regards as a degrading acknowledgment of "the gulf between" them, and that "any of God's creatures should look up to a station behind a lord's coach as a privileged place," a proof that something must be "rotten in the state." We fully believe in Miss Sedgwick's sincerity in these strong expressions of her dissatisfaction at the deformities, as she considers them, in the constitution of society in England; at the same time, we do not understand how a person of her excellent sense can be so misled by names and appearances. Political institutions have an undoubted influence upon the manners and customs of nations, but they do not change the human heart, and a feeling common to that, the world over, is the aristocratic one, which is no where stronger than in our free republic. In the absence of the distinctions of rank, and the privileges of birth, we gratify the passion by the means which fortune, or talent, or temporary power confers, and in spite of the progress of the democratic principle, and of the levelling effect of the modern modes of travelling, by which human beings are heaped together like their trunks and carpet-bags, the limits in our society are as definitely marked, and the system of exclusion as rigorously enforced, as ever. He who thinks it will ever be otherwise while man's moral being remains unchanged is a dreamer; he may sooner expect to see the mountains fade away from the face of nature, and melt down into the valleys. Nor do we think that we have any great cause for self-complacency in the

view of our freedom from those little ceremonials which were so annoying to Miss S.; we are beginning to discover that we have stripped the social fabric a little too closely; that some of the decorations which hung upon its walls were useful, as well as ornamental, and that republican familiarity may be carried so far as to become rudeness and impudence. Who does not feel more kindly disposed towards an acquaintance, after exchanging salutations with him, than if he had passed him in the street without notice, and just as this courtesy begets the kindness, does the external sign of respect in the servant keep up the inward feeling of it. It seems to us, that the error in regard to all these things lies in supposing that individual independence is a possible condition of human existence; the relation of man to man is one of mutual service, reaching through all the gradations of society, and uniting them all by the bond of mutual interest. As to standing behind a lord's carriage in a liveried coat, we confess it does not strike us in that supremely ludicrous light in which it appeared to Miss S.; it is a service rendered for an equivalent, and what is there in it more degrading than in a vast many of the services required in life, or more restricting "to the circle of half a dozen ideas," than in standing all day behind a counter waiting upon purchasers? The same thing is true of a great majority of the occupations of mankind which are not of an intellectual character, and have no direct influence in improving the mind, but they are indispensable to the general welfare, and ought not to be discredited.

But, after all, the people of England have great reason to be satisfied with the good that is said of them by our traveller, when they consider, that having taken as a standard of comparison her own utopian and ideal commonwealth, she has found nothing to complain of but political evils, and these, no doubt, greatly magnified in her eyes by being new to her. We have passed, without comment, her account of the many distinguished individuals whose acquaintance she formed, as it was our intention to confine our remarks to the points before specified—the general moral impression produced by the state of things in Europe upon an American mind of uncommon intelligence, unsophisticated, as we may say, by the conventional usages, and long-transmitted opinions existing there. We have seen what she found to admire, and what to condemn, in the first transatlantic country with which she

became acquainted. A short passage from her book, written on the eve of her departure, will show with what feelings she left that country; we extract it as a parting testimonial, alike creditable to the traveller, and to the land that had so kindly received her.

"To-morrow we leave England, having seen but a drop in the ocean of things worthy to be examined. We mean next year to travel over it; to see the country, to visit the institutious of benevolence, the schools, etc. We are now to plunge into a foreign country, with a foreign language, and foreign customs. It seems like leaving home a second time. If any thing could make us forget that we are travellers, it would be such unstituted kindness as we have received here. You cannot see the English in their homes, without reverencing and loving them; nor, I think, can an Anglo-American come to this, his ancestral home, without a pride in his relationship to it, and an extended sense of the obligations imposed by his derivation from the English stock. A war between the two countries, in the present state of their relations and intercourse, would be fratricidal, and this sentiment I have heard expressed on all sides."—Vol. i., p. 120.

Miss Sedgwick passed rapidly from England through Belgium to the banks of the Rhine, and limited her excursions in Germany to the borders of that beautiful river. A delightful season, an enchanting country, pleasant acquaintances formed at Wisbaden and the neighboring water-places, and the personal civilities received there, must have produced the most agreeable impressions upon her mind, judging from the high encomiums she bestows upon Germany and the Germans, saying of the former, "I leave this country with an interest, respect, and attachment, that I did not expect to feel for any country after leaving England;" and of the latter, "I feel richer for the delightful recollections I carry with me of the urbanity of the Germans; on the whole, they seem to me the most rational people I have seen. They enjoy the present, and with the truest economy of human life, make the most of the materials of contentment that God has given them. Is not this better than vague, illimitable desires, and ever-changing pursuits?" We unhesitatingly answer yes, and in the sentiment find a sufficient explanation for the fact, which Miss S. repeatedly recognizes, that "the German peasant, in his pent-up village, has a look of contentment and cheerfulness that our people have not." That, however, we may not do her injustice, we must add,

that she does not place Germany, or any other country, before her own in her estimate of the happiness enjoyed by its inhabitants, but considers this as the happiest in the world " for the general interests of humanity—the favored land;" a point which it is very fair for an American to insist upon, but one which other nations will claim a right to doubt. It will be seen that our author's account of Germany contained in these volumes, is drawn from a knowledge of a very small portion of it; still we do not think it would have been less favorable had she known it more widely, and dwelt longer within it. No country on the continent grows upon one so much by acquaintance as this; like its own delicious wines, it becomes pleasanter, and increases in favor, the better it is Apropos of Rhine wine, what a pity it is that Miss S. did not stop at the chateau of Johannisberg as she was passing, and taste a glass or two of Prince Metternich's old cabinet; it would surely have softened her heart towards him, and spared him some of the opprobrious epithets which now mark him as the object of her peculiar abhorrence; a distinction, by the way, we cannot think he deserves. As a minister of an absolute sovereign, it was his duty to struggle against the encroachment of liberal opinions, and he has done nothing more than the faithful performance of it required of him; his hand may have fallen very heavy upon many excellent men, and some of them friends of our author, who were charged with no crimes but political ones, but these, it should be remembered, are regarded as the most dangerous to the state by the government he had sworn to protect. When a nation wants a revolution, they rise in the majesty of their strength and effect it; but the resistance of individuals to the sovereign power, whatever may be the form of government, has always been accounted a conspiracy, and proceeded against as such. The government of Austria is an odious despotism, and we have not a word to say in defence of it, but while it remains so, we know not how Prince Metternich can be blamed for so administering it.

We see enough in these volumes to convince us, that persons of candor cannot long retain their prejudices as travelling companions; they leave them on the road with their worn-out garments; the heart grows by travelling, as Miss S. very happily expresses it, and it is really delightful to observe how very capacious a naturally big heart like hers

becomes under its influence. It is a lovely spot, that upper valley of the Housatonic, in which her fine fancies have been nurtured, and one full of sentiment and poetry, but we do not believe that it could ever have imparted as truly catholic a spirit as that which breaks forth in the following beautiful passage; the mists of puritanism still hang too heavy upon it

"I cannot but sigh as I look back upon the delight we had yesterday in seeing surely the most exquisitely beautiful of all cathedrals, the Cathedral of Freyburg, and in joining in the vesper-service there in the twilight of the preceding evening; yes, joining, for surely dull must be the spirit that does not allow free course to its devotional instincts in such a place, and at such an hour, while people of all conditions are kneeling together. You do not ask or think by what name their religion is called. You feel that the wants of their natures are the wants of your own, and your worship is spontaneous, which it is not always in our pharisaical pews, amid a finely-dressed congregation, and while listening to a sermon written for the élite of the élite. Dear C., let us see things as they are; depend on it, the old faith, with all its corruptions and absurdities, is, in a few of its usages, nearer to the Christian source than the new."—Vol. i. p. 233.

We meet with a similar passage afterwards in the second volume, when speaking of a visit to the chapel of St. Francis, near Viterbo, which she "entered just as a procession of Franciscans went in to their vesper-service. Our little guides dropped on their knees, and joined in the service, and so did we in our hearts. How skilfully the Catholics have made many of the offices of their religion to harmonize with the wants and spontaneous feelings of man. A vesper-service is the very poetry of worship."

If we had not taken up these letters with the exclusive view of considering them as a report upon the social institutions of Europe, we should be tempted to extract a few very striking descriptive passages, and especially those relating to Swiss scenery; but we must not deviate from our purpose, and we can, therefore, only tantalize those who have seen neither Switzerland nor Miss Sedgwick's description of it, with two short sentences of interrogation and exclamation uttered by some of our traveller's party, as its majestic snow-clad summits first broke upon their view—" Why did not they tell us? How cruel, how stupid, to let one live and die without coming to the Alps!" Such a burst of feeling speaks volumes.

There are some countries in which the charms of nature and art obtain an ascendency over our feelings of benevolence, and our interest in humanity; such an one is Italy; in the midst of its romantic scenery, its historic recollections, its ancient ruins, its modern churches and palaces, and its varied treasures of art, man is almost forgotten; the present is the shadow, the past the reality. The Alps seem to form the boundary between the real and the ideal world, and once beyond them we become mere creatures of imagination and We have a striking illustration of this truth in the second volume of Miss Sedgwick's letters from abroad, which is wholly devoted to Italy; and we see how powerfully its enchantments operate in allaying the political spectres that so much troubled her vision in other parts of Europe. in Milan, where she was daily associated with friends who had been sufferers from the severity of the Austrian system, and which is withal the most unpoetic of all Italian cities, there is nothing but the sight of an Austrian cannon which can call back the spectre. But it was not until after she had visited Venice, and Bologna, and Florence, and Rome, that we see the full power of the fascinations of Italy; she then makes a confession of their mastery over her. In a letter from Rome she says:

"I cannot convey to you what I have enjoyed, and am enjoying, from painting, sculpture, and architecture; and when I involuntarily shudder at the idea of leaving all these magnificent and lovely forms, I doubt the wisdom of the new world people coming here to acquire hankerings which cannot be appeased at home. I would advise no American to come to Italy who has not strong domestic affections, and close domestic ties, or some absorbing and worthy pursuit at home. Without these strong bonds to his country, he may feel, when he returns there, as one does who attempts to read a treatise on political economy after being lost in the interest of a captivating romance."—Vol. ii., pp. 193, 194.

And, again:

"There are objects in Rome that indescribably surpass your expectations, which, indeed, I honestly confess, scarcely entered into mine; among these are the scenery of Rome, and its surroundings; the obelisks, and pillars, and the fountains, which almost realize your fancies of Oriental adornment. As to art in Rome, antique and modern, as you may imagine even from my very inadequate NO. XVIII.—VOL. IX.

expression of our pleasure, it creates for us of the new world a new life."—Vol. ii., p. 217.

Were the question of travelling in Europe to turn upon the sole point of individual happiness, there is no doubt as to what should be the decision; if Americans wish to be contented at home, they had better never go to Europe, for, in spite of "puritan blood," and of "republican breeding," they will there acquire tastes and notions too much at variance with our usages and institutions to admit of contentment here. But another view of the subject changes the preponderance of the argument; it is not enough for men to be contented, they must seek to enlighten their minds, and enlarge their knowledge, and as this is done most effectually by visiting foreign countries, the risk must be run by those who have the means and opportunities. It is better to go and satisfy one's self by personal observation, as Miss Sedgwick has done, that the peasantry of Europe, ground down and oppressed, as they are supposed to be, and burdened, as they certainly are, have some compensations for their suffering, some blessings in their lot, than to sit at home lamenting the imagined miseries of their condition.

In commenting upon these volumes of our distinguished compatriot, we have confined ourselves to the single point of their bearing upon one of the great questions of modern times, because it is in this view, we think, that their highest value consists. Her opinions on the subject have justly grent weight; she is known as the eloquent advocate of the rights of the laboring classes, and her testimony shows us that she has not found them in Europe such wretched, abject, disheartened beings as we are accustomed to consider them. We do not infer from this that the condition of the corresponding classes in our country is not a higher and a more desirable one than theirs; we believe it is so decidedly; but we do not believe the superiority is owing wholly to our political institutions; we have an immense advantage on our side in the cheapness of land, and the consequent abundance of the necessaries of life; until the two countries are more nearly equal in population no comparison of the influence of their respective forms of government upon the happiness of the people can justly be instituted. Much is now said of the democratic spirit of Christianity, and an argument is drawn from it in favor of the universal extension of democracies.

but before it can have any force, the injunctions of Christianity must be the recognized laws of every commonwealth, and the Christian principle the rule of conduct in every heart; when the dominion of Christianity shall be universal, none other will be requisite, universal peace will be established, all evil passions will cease, and the millennium will commence. But at present political reform is advancing much more rapidly than moral, or rather, we should say, whilst political freedom is every where extending, moral restraints are every where losing their force, and thus these beautiful theories of the pari-passu progress of human happiness and virtue with democracy, of man's moral elevation with the exercise of self-government, are in great danger of

being practically discredited.

We have derived much more gratification from the perusal of these volumes, than if they had been taken up with labored descriptions of the wonders of nature and art which the author saw in her tour. If her route had been less familiar to us, we might, perhaps, have wished for more of the descriptive, as all readers who travel only around their own parlors will be likely to do; still, we think that her off-hand sketches are more spirited and graphic than most elaboratelyfinished paintings. We have noticed a few errors of fact in some of her details, and we do not adopt all her particular opinions, but we have found little to dissent from in her general views; they strike us as just and discriminating, and remarkable for the clear impressions they produce in relation to all that she saw. We are very much pleased to learn that the work has had a rapid sale; it will be profitable to our countrymen " for reproof," if not " for doctrine," and check, we hope, some of our vain-glorious boasting, by showing us "THAT GOD ALMIGHTY HAS HAD A HAND IN MAKING OTHER COUNTRIES BESIDES OURS."

ART. IX.—The Life and Times of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket. By WILLIAM L. STONE. New York and London: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

This volume is the last published of a series of works designed to comprise a history of the confederacy of the Six Nations from the time they first became known to the

whites. The present volume brings down the occurrences to the death of Red Jacket in 1830, with notices in the appendix of the condition of the Senecas on their reservation near Buffalo, pending the final determination that may be made under what is known by the name of the Ogden Purchase.

The series in order of time is, first, The History of the Iroquois from the first discovery down to the settlement of Sir William Johnson in the valley of the Mohawk River in Second, The Life of Sir W. Johnson, with his Third, The Life of Brant, with which the author has already favored the public; and, fourth, the subject of this article, which closes the series. When completed, this design will embody the most important matter hitherto collected, or which his further researches may bring to light, illustrative of the history, manners and fortunes of these tribes, during their intercourse, whether hostile or friendly, with their distantly-derived neighbors of the pale face. These nations share largely in the early history of the colony of New York, interposed between the British and French settlements; rivals alike in the new world as in the old, and until within the last quarter of a century of Christian peace amongst the nations, enemies by prescription in the way of adventure and of war, they furnish much of barbaric and romantic incident for the grounds of a winter evening's tale or legendary song; and, impoverished as white men have made them, they may yet enrich our literature. All success is to be wished to the author in the fulfilment of his earnest wishes and plans. The Six Nations, from their long connection with their neighbors as an independent people, stand almost alone amid their red brethren within the limits of the United States, and alone can be said to present objects for the delineation of individual character. None of the great tribes of our southern bounds can, we believe, present such, a few traits here and there excepted.

"I am an orator, I was born an orator," replying to one who questioned him as to his deeds in arms. Such are the opening words of the biography before us; and in councils, and in conferences held with commissioners of the United States, from the first treaty at Fort Stanwix, in 1784, down to the last great council at Canandaigua in 1794, our author has furnished ample proof that he was such. On his presentation and address to General Washington

at Philadelphia, in 1792, the spokesman of a mission of fifty Indian chiefs, his deportment and expression, it seems, would not have misbecome one coming from a stately court. Soon after the treaty of Fort Stanwix, men of speculation and contrivance viewed with an envious and covetous eye the large and golden harvests which might be gathered from the fertile lands reserved to the Senecas in western New York, nor could they, in their dealings with a feeble people, withstand the temptation, nor did they keep within those bounds of honesty and honor which hemmed them in, in transactions with their equals. From the earliest extinguishment of Indian title to the Seneca reservations in the case of Phelps and Gorham, at a council held in 1787, to the latest of those held down to the death of Red Jacket, and there were many; in each and every council the persevering encroachments of the pale faces, their fraudful attempts, and other wrongs alleged to be done upon his nation, were urged by this eloquent asserter of human rights with equal strength of reasoning, invective, and biting sarcasm. [Page 294.]

He who dealt with the Seneca chief must be not only sound in his matter, but likewise right in the manner. ness his reply in council to the address of brother Crane, a young missionary sent out by the Massachusetts society in 1805, when he discoursed to him such a homily as struck dumb the youthful polemic; such is the closeness in the "argumentum ad hominem," and so sly and cutting the irony. Still further look at him when under examination as a witness on the trial of a Seneca chief for murder in 1821, inasmuch as this chief, with his own hands, put to death a woman of the Senecas, who had been so sentenced under their laws for the crime of witchcraft, and when the executioner regularly selected for the occasion drew back from the unhappy task. Red Jacket was questioned as to the laws and usages of his nation; the public prosecutor, who wished to exclude his testimony, put the question, "Did he believe in the existence of a God?" "More truly than one who could ask me such question," with an indignant look, was his instant reply. On his cross-examination, being asked what rank he held in his nation, he answered, with a contemptuous sneer, "Look at the papers which the white people keep the most carefully, they will tell you what I am." When he perceived the national superstition as to witchcraft, which is the very subject matter of

this trial, made the theme of ridicule with the counsel and bystanders, he turned upon them with a burst of indignation, summoning up before their eyes the shades, as it were, of the very days of Salem credulousness. Well might be be roused: many and bitter feelings were struggling at his heart. He became like a buffalo that had ranged the prairie, free as the winds that sweep them, now tethered to the stake,

and gored at by cattle of the stall.

The state of repose enjoyed by the Seneca and other nations from the treaty of 1783 till the war of 1812, afforded no opportunity of redeeming, or of establishing the reputation of a warrior; but in the repulse of the British at Black Rock in 1813, and again at the battle of Chippewa in 1814, Red Jacket appeared, with other Seneca chiefs, and a small band of the nation, upon the war-path, and we have in this work a testimony to his good conduct in a spirited sketch from the pen of one whose sword was not in its sheath in the day of death-blows.

Proceed we now to some consideration of the merits of the Seneca chief as an orator. We are guarded against viewing these as the spontaneous productions of the forest; eloquence was an art and a study in the Iroquois confederacy, and amongst the Senecas especially cultivated; were full credit to be given to narrative, letter, and eulogium, and that from names well known, he fell not short of the image in

the lofty lines of the loftiest of poets:

"When of old some orator renown'd In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence flourish'd, Since mute, to some great cause address'd, Stood in himself collected; while each part, Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue."

There were many accessories of the hour to kindle into enthusiasm, mingled with terror, the admiration of one bred in the intercourses and habits, and fresh from the familiar haunts of civilized society. There was the calumet and wampum belt, there was the council fire; and around dark and stern countenances, figures that wielded the tomahawk and scalping knife, fixed by the charm of savage eloquence in a statue-like gravity and stillness—all ear to the voice of the speaker. All this was not without high influence on the imagination of the mere civilian, and may have somewhat impaired the power of just criticism, even in the men who

had heard undaunted the notes of the Indian war-whoop from ambush, or in battle field. Cold criticism and judgment, regarding the recorded specimens of the eloquence that swayed the councils of his nation, will feel inclined to dim somewhat the lustre of the orator's fame. He stands preeminent amongst his fellows. His strain of reasoning and invective needs no embellishment from polished pens. The quick retorts are his own; they belong to an Indian warrior, keen and rapid as the tomahawk which he dashes to the

brain of a less agile assailant.

Why has this remnant of an almost perished people been thus trodden down in the broad day of modern illumination, and in the midst of a people professing to be Christian? To the friends of justice and truth no answer that will satisfy can be given. Efforts to secure the protection of these tribes, and to ensure their social and civil improvement, have not been wanting on the part of the sincere friends of humanity; but these efforts were either in themselves inefficient, or met with counteracting influences. And here, passing over distinguished individual names, as a class we must name the Quakers as the earliest, most disinterested and persevering friends of the Indians. To the honor of this people of primitive habits, and of all the gentler manners and virtues, they have ever shown themselves without presumption, and without ostentation, amongst the early and steady assertors in every great vindication of the rights of humanity. a speculative philanthropy which delights in proposing as its aim a higher degree of human happiness than any known and existing institutions exhibit. The nations of the Iroquois were changed but little as to modes of life, policy, or national characteristics, since the earliest day they became known to the whites. The proximity of civilization had never, by the contrast, excited emulation, or provoked imitation. Here was the raw material for weaving a web of human happiness, such as was never before seen. The philanthropists delighted themselves for a while in contemplating a pattern of their own devising; but the stubbornness of the stock upon which they were to work, soon turned them from a task, more the choice of the fancy than of the heart.

We meet also another, a better and more honest, a painstaking class of well-wishers; these would crib and cabin in the free spirit of the denizen of the forest, hill and lake. They would transform the hunter and roamer of wood and

plain into the husbandman or the villager; he was to be instructed in all manner of handicraft—and thus were to be wrought out elements for civilized society. Last come the schoolmaster and the missionary—far be it from us to decry or undervalue the arduous and holy labors of those who have gone forth in the right spirit to spread the tidings of the Gospel through the remotest lands, encountering and overcoming obstacles and dangers which have turned back monarchs and conquerors' armies on their march. But the high calling of a true missionary, surrounded as it is now-a-days with so much of worldly accompaniment—boards of mission, treasurers, secretaries, anniversaries, speeches, addresses—such amounts of moneys collected, so much expended-debt incurred, new stations established, fresh moneys called for, reports of missionaries, letters bespeaking humility from every region, Christian, Mahometan or Pagan, from people civilized, barbarous or savage—so much spiritual good, against such amount of the treasures of mammon; from this glare of public display, the humble and pious spirit, and every honest heart that loves and venerates such, is fain to withdraw, and seek repose and refreshment in the simple narrative of the journeyings, labors and sufferings of the first preachers of the gospel, or to contemplate with a sentiment deeper than admiration, the self-renunciation of St. Paul.

The Seneca Reservation, it is readily seen, thus offered a tempting field for missionary labor, and to overlook it or neglect it would be matter of reproach to Christian zeal and duty. A missionary from Massachusetts made, as is already mentioned, his appearance on the ground so soon as 1805. There is no further notice of missionary efforts until 1820, but their cause must have been gradually winning its way, as it forms the subject of the chief's complaints, and bitter reproaches, in that and following years. The first fruits of the tidings of peace was discord at the council fire, and in the very heart of the wigwam the scanty cup of domestic bliss was dashed with gall and bitterness. Wonder is it that the Seneca chief becomes more and more embittered against those that he felt were in every shape adding wrong to wrong? The land agent and the missionary were to him in the same category. The first took from him his land, the latter had driven harmony from the council, and further robbed him of his wife, when he turned her from the worship

of the Great Spirit after the manner of her fathers. and Sa-go-ye-wat-ha reproaches them with his accumulated wrongs, urged with a warmth and strength of reasoning, and set off with a spirit of expression, which shows that not the hardships of Indian life, nor "fire-water," in its maddening influence, superadded to three-score and ten years, had been able to break his strength. He is, to the day of his death, the stern vindicator of what remains to himself and nation of the inheritance of his fathers. Very much is to be abated from the statements and charges of the Seneca chief, if we depend upon the authorities referred to by our author; still, the tone of feeling and truth which pervade his representations, sustained, too, by strong chains of reasoning, lead to the conclusion that other qualifications of head and heart, besides soundness of doctrine and zeal of purpose, go to the making up of men that are to bring benighted nations into the light of truth, such men "as would have been esteemed of Paul."

It would be interesting, were there space, here to consider what should be the qualifications and character of the men who are to communicate to the unreclaimed tribes of our wide territory the advantages we conceive ourselves to derive from Christianized civilization—whether to confederated tribes such as those of the Iroquois, to the single communities seated along the great western rivers, and with some permanency of abode and practice of husbandry, or to the wild and roving bands who seek means of subsistence by running down the buffalo, deer, and elk of the prairie, or by spearing the salmon of the river. Is he a wise reformer and benefactor, that, against all the inveteracy of hereditary habits, would at once seek to shape them by the forms and dimensions of man as found in civilized communities? such as they need a teacher of religion that would urge upon their understandings doctrines, and impose upon them observances, about which they who have held in possession the truth from the beginning have contended amongst one another even to torture and to death? No-of far different stuff are made a Xavier, a Henry Martyn, fathers Marquette and Hennepin, and them of Paraguay. These men, and such as they, go forth in a spirit of humanity and love, which burns within them like a living fire; there is a strength of instinct within them which overrules them, how they know not, but feel it to be so. Impelled by the power within, and

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not equipped and sent out by a missionary board, apostles like these will, in good and appointed time, bring within the pale of Christianity all but the more barbarous hordes. Is the life of the hunter, or the pastoral state, or that of rude husbandry, to be regarded as not susceptible of religious truth? Can they not endure with them for a season? Be it that more is needed; that this middle state between the rudest barbarism and civilization is but a precarious existence, open to sudden and destroying changes, to the visitations of war, famine, and disease. Well, then, the knowledge and sense of Christian truth, in simplicity of doctrine, and the influences of its precepts of charity, is no bad teacher of wisdom and prudence, and will best lay the foundations for a social state exempted from the precariousness and ills of savage life. In the meanwhile, what a glorious spectacle would be the gathering together from tribes of various mark and name, from far-removed regions to some central point, to drink in from the lips of such an apostle as is in our thoughts the stream of divine eloquence, the prairie circled in by heaven's clear arch, the intent countenances of the assembled multitudes with their wild and gay attiretents of the dressed hide of buffalo or elk grouped around, and dotting the prairie, with the neighings and prancings of the fiery steeds—the bustle of parties going forth in chase of the buffalo, and all manner of game, for the subsistence of such an assemblage! What a contrast of wild grandeur and devotional feeling to the religious encampments, with all the exhortations, prayers, and preachings, of the pale dwellers of cities, where the question is so easy to be answered, "What went ye out in the wilderness for to see?"

There is a large variety of matters of information and entertainment, to which no reference has been made. It is time to close. After passing through a variety of troubles and perplexities, national and domestic, the 30th January, 1830, saw the end of the life of the chief of the Senecas. Though pertinaciously to the last adhering to the faith received from his fathers, his remains lie in the burial ground of the Missionary establishment at Seneca village, unmarked by any memorial until the year 1839, when, through the exertions of an open-hearted actor, a marble slab, with simple inscription of name and date, was erected over the grave, where Sago-ye-wat-ha, "he that keeps them awake" no longer, lies in silence side by side with his hearers: "there they rest together—they hear not the voice of the oppressor."

This work will prove no inconsiderable addition to the library of every man who values the memorials of our early The author has freely availed himself of the information collected by those who have preceded him in the path of Indian story, and has diligently sought out what might be elsewhere had. The repeated recurrence of councils, negotiations, treaties, etc., turning on topics very like, renders the perusal at times wearisome. The intention of the author seems to be to render his volume a store-house of all that may be brought together respecting its object and his times, and thus lighten future labors. In the libraries, private as well as public, of western New York, it will be found, at once, a history of our Indian connexions, and the portrait of a character of extraordinary powers, untrained in the schools of civil life, yet expanding and matured by constant engagement and exercise in the scenes and transactions around him; an object deserving the contemplation and reflection of any mind curious in, and seeking out the best modes for the cultivation of the human faculties. The account of the gradual relinquishment of title and possession, in the Indian reservations, will render clear and plain to many residents in that part of the state, matters closely connected with the early settlements of the country, which have hitherto come to them by piecemeal, and of which they had but indistinct There is somewhat of Indian tale to engage the attention, and delight the young, and strains of irony, and strokes of wit, and bitter satire, beyond the reach of most men formed in gay and intellectual circles of the most polished society. They are worth marking and remembering. On the whole there is very much to instruct and delight, furnishing subjects for much useful and interesting medita-Short biographies of Corn Planter, and Farmer's brother, follow. They were contemporaries of Red Jacket, whose splendor tended to dim their lustre—they are not satellites, but lesser stars, with each its urn of light. volume is presented in a style recommended by sound typographical taste. The engraving is from a portrait by Wier, to whom the Seneca chief was persuaded to sit by the solicitations of Dr. J. W. Francis. In the becoming costume it presents, the head, countenance, attitude, and whole figure suggest ideas of the dignity and grandeur fitting an Indian councillor and orator. The vignette is of much taste and feeling. In itself it is a lament over the visitations of half a century, and the fallen fortunes of the nation of the Senecas.

ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

 Plain Sermons. By Contributors to the "Tracts for the Times." New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley. In Two Volumes. pp. 336-350.

These two nest volumes of sermons are introduced to the public with the official recommendation of the Right Reverend the Bishop of the Diocese of New York. To those familiar with, and approving of, the "Tracts" in question, they bear on the title-page their own independent guarantee for piety and sound churchman-ship—to those, however, ignorant of them, or prejudiced against them, the name and sanction of Bishop Onderdonk may be of some avail to give them currency. For ourselves, we rejoice alike as critics and churchmen, at their publication, as tending to settle a much-disputed question, by bringing their authors' principles to a practical and conclusive test of truth. It is trying the tree by its fruits. If the root of doctrine in them be unsound, we shall have such "apples of Sodom" as Rome puts forth in her popular teaching; but if engrafted on the true vine, we shall have the sweet and wholesome nourishment of the Christian. Were it but as critics. then, we say we rejoice, as we ever do, in the settlement of all " vexed questions;" as churchmen, however, much more, and, most of all, should it appear, as we think it most clearly will, that there is no leaven of "papacy" in them. Of this, however, let their readers judge. After a pretty careful perusal we at least can find none.

Nor let their readers imagine that this arises from any concealment or keeping back of past opinions. On the contrary, there is evident between the tracts and the sermons a perfect identity of thought and feeling. The same system, in short, of "the gospel in the church," and only varied in language now from the argumentative to the didactic form. The same doctrines, with the same singleness of principles, and directness in their application, the same unpretending simplicity of language, and deep practical piety, in all their conclusions—all this shines forth equally in both publications.

What we mean by our argument is this—that the tracts may be definitively judged from the sermons. If there be evil in the one, it will be but made so much more evident in the other, by being put, as all their doctrinal positions here are, into a practical and tangible shape. We may misunderstand their opinions in their

theoretic teaching, we cannot misunderstand them when exhibited in their practical development. Therefore, again we say, "By their fruits we shall now know them;" and to that test we are willing to leave them, but still not without a little further explanation of our views in respect of them, which we give the more freely, inasmuch as we cannot but think it a judgment of peace and reconcilement.

Whatsoever of human teaching awakens continued opposition in sincerely pious and well-instructed minds, must have in it, we deem, something of error either in show or substance; and until this seat of apparent, or real error, be discovered and distin guished, the true is confounded with the false, and blame is thrown upon the whole instead of the part, and men think they are opposed to that to which, in truth, they are not opposed. Now, the publication of these sermons goes to effect, we think, this needful separation, and to show to those hitherto opposed to the "Oxford Tracts," on how small and unimportant points their objections really turned; and when these "straws" of controversy were separated from the doctrines by their being reduced to a practical form, that they had in truth no real quarrel whatsoever with the authors or their opinions. What that quarrel truly was, on the part at least of sincere churchmen, here appears, we think, as a "residuum" now left behind—the shell, and not the kernel of their doctrine. The novelty and boldness of their tract-teaching, their combined effort, giving it an air of party—the controversial tone necessarily assumed, and occasionally, too, the overstrained language of advocacy for neglected truth, or despised usages,—these will be found we think, to have been the real provocatives to jealousy and suspicion, and these once removed through the simple change of manner into the quiet teaching of the pulpit—their opponents, we predict, will search in vain for the magnified object of their fears and condemnation. In this light, then, do these sermons from Oxford strike us as a happy settlement of angry controversy, at least in the public mind.

They are such sermons as from our pulpits are seldom heard, we might add, never printed—PLAIN—clear to the simplest apprehension—without one word from beginning to end, either needless or rhetorical. Men are here spoken to as by one in earnest—who has a message to deliver to them, of life or death, and no time to waste on "periphrases." They are spoken to as by one also who has a right to speak—"sent"—"commissioned"—"empowered" by their common master to communicate his will to those who are bound to obey it. Now such sermons we like to read and would gladly more often hear, and are therefore pleased to see that lay-readers in the church are by the bishop empowered to use them. We think it will, and trust that it may so familiarize them with their style and manner, that their subsequent ministrations may partake of the same happy influence. For their guidance and encourage-

ment in this matter we would add that the style of these sermons is but one of the fruits of the church system they teach—it is the language that naturally comes to the lips of him who teaches "as having authority, and not as the scribes."

With these views, touching both the style and matter of these

sermons, we cordially commend them to public patronage.

2. A Treatise on the Rights and Duties of Merchant Seamen, according to the General Maritime Law and the Statutes of the United States. By George Ticknor Curtis, of the Boston Bar. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and J. Brown. 8vo. pp. 456.

FROM as thorough an examination of this treatise as the recentness of its publication has allowed us to bestow upon it, we feel justified in saying it is the very thing for the purpose which it is designed to answer. No book relating to the great subject of commerce was more needed, or could be more useful than this; and we feel confident of the concurrent testimony of the whole bar, at which its author practises, when we add that there was no member of the profession better qualified than Mr. Curtis, either by talent or legal learning, to supply the desideratum. Its appearance is particularly opportune at this time, when an unusually deep interest is taken in that class of men, whose rights and duties it defines, and we believe no greater service could be rendered them by the associations formed for their moral improvement, than by providing that one copy at least of this work is placed in the forecastle of every ship that sails from our ports. Every shipmaster and every merchant will certainly find it indispensable.

It is neither our purpose, nor our province, to enter upon the consideration of any of the nice points of law called up in Mr. Curtis' treatise; we leave that to the legal journals; our principal object in this short notice, will be effected if we contribute to make this valuable work known to men out of the profession. To enable them to form a more precise idea of its character we subjoin the heads of its leading divisions, which are—Of the hiring of Merchant Seamen;—Of the internal discipline and economy of the ship;—Of the Master's relation to the vessel, cargo, and freight;—Of the earning and payment of wages;—Of the remedy of Mariners for the breaches of their contract. To which is added an appendix, chiefly of Forms and Sta-

tutes.

As a specimen of typography, we may point to it, as another proof, that the Boston press is still distancing the New York; the latter has sent forth nothing to compare with this beautiful volume.

3. Life and Literary Remains of L. E. L. By LAMAN BLANCHARD. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo.

So many pleasing associations have long been attached to these "mystic letters," L. E. L., connecting the memory of her whose genius has thus immortalized the shadow of a name with so much that is bright and beautiful, we have dwelt with such delight on her pages, and so deeply mourned her mysterious fate, that it was with no ordinary interest we turned to the record of her life by a biographer of her own selection, in the hope of finding a full and accurate delineation of her mind and character, and a faithful narrative of her eventful history. But in this expectation we heen disappointed; Mr. Blanchard has done but little by his own labors to increase the interest before felt in the very remarkable person who is the subject of his memoir, or add to the amount of information concerning her, of which the public was already in possession.

As it is not our intention here to speak of her merits as a writer, we shall touch only upon a few points in her personal history which are particularly treated of in the volume before us. Mr. Blanchard gives a slight, but rather pleasant sketch of her childhood, from which we learn, that she very early discovered a decided taste for books, as early even as when she learnt to read, and that, as is usual with children, she was not satisfied with reading those only that were permitted and prescribed, but contrived means of access to the sweeter fruits of such as were forbidden, so that she had devoured some hundred and fifty volumes of Cooke's poets and novelists before she grew up. This, no doubt, had great influence in inspiring her with a passion for the distinctions of authorship, which must have shown itself very early, for she could hardly have entered her teens when she ventured upon her first literary effort, a narrative of the adventures of her cousin, Captain Landon, during his absence in America; and but a year or two afterwards she appears as a regular contributor to the "London Literary Gazette." At this period her life becomes literary history, and her biographer's account of her in this respect, is drawn chiefly from her letters and other papers. Touching the peculiar caste of her thoughts and feelings, the principal point upon which he dwells, is the error of the general impression that she must have been "consumed by sickening thoughts," or have experienced "baffled hopes and blighted affections," because her harp was generally attuned to sadness. Mr. Blanchard denies that there was any such "heavy weight upon her heart," and accounts for the sadness of her muse by supposing that "she less frequently aimed at expressing, in her poetry, her own actual feelings and opinions, than at assuming a character for the sake of a certain kind of effect, and throwing her thickly-thronging ideas together with the most passionate force, and in the most

picturesque forms. Sorrow and suspicion, pining regrets for the past, anguish for the present, and morbid predictions for the future, were in L. E. L. not moral characteristics, but merely literary resources. The wounded spirit, and the worm that never dies, were often terms of art, or means to an end." But in thus supposing that her sadness was feigned for effect, he forgets that trials are our common heritage, of which she must have had her share, and, like other poets, would most probably make use of her peculiar gift as a "vehicle for revelations of the heart." And who that has read the story of her life, will doubt that she had cause for sadness! Her wit and genius, her youth and personal attractions, her affectionate, generous, ingenuous, enthusiastic, independent, and innocent spirit, and, still further, her great popularity as a writer, made her a prominent object for the shafts of jealous calumny, and offered her as a prey to the "spiders of society,"

"Who weave their petty webs of lies and sneers, And lie in ambush for the spoil."

Surely it was enough to bring sadness upon any pure-minded woman, and particularly one of her sensitiveness, to be made the victim of envious malevolence, and of the infamous rumors which it had invented and circulated. Happily she had something to sweeten her cup of bitterness; her numerous friends among the wise and good offered her their sympathies, and assured her of their undiminished confidence, which made amends for the world's injustice, and enabled her to endure its censure. Society also continued to extend to her its welcome greeting, thus affording her the most satisfactory evidence that a vindication of herself was unnecessary from slanders originally spread by the malicious, and remembered only by those whose own wickedness ever makes them suspicious of others' virtue. But still, to prove that all these marks of affection and attention were merely palliatives, and not cures, and that the whole vista of her future life must have been permanently darkened by these passing shadows, we need only advert to the fact of her voluntary severance of the tie which bound her to one she loved, in compliance with the "dictates of high-minded feeling, and nice sense of honor, and delicate pride."

L. É. I. was a woman of heart, and must have known, when she did violence to her affections, and gave back to her lover his plighted vow, that it would be the wreck of all her earthly happiness, and her subsequent melancholy history proves that it actually was so. In our view it was an unnecessary sacrifice, for which we cannot account; for, supposing her pride to have been a stronger passion than her love, as is often the case in the female heart, it certainly would not have afterwards permitted her to marry a mass whom she did not love, if it had required of her to decline marrying one to whom she had been betrothed, and whom she did love.

Mr. Blanchard's account of both occurrences leaves them alike unexplained and inexplicable. Equally unsatisfactory is his account of her mysterious death; he gives a full detail of all the circumstances connected with it which the several investigations had brought to light, but they lead to no certain conclusion, and, in fact, from the very nature of the case, none can be expected. The most important results obtained from them are the complete disproval of the opinion first entertained, that her death was caused by her own hand, and a full exoneration of the individuals of her household from the suspicions which had fallen upon them. In the absence of all certainty we can only form conjectures as to the cause of this lamentable event, and we know of none more probable than that loneliness of situation, want of sympathy of female friends, and of her usual domestic comforts, and insalubrity of climate, may together have so reduced her moral and physical strength, as to make her fall an easy victim to the sudden attack of some violent malady, which came on in the night. In one of her poems a fictitious character is made to utter a prediction so singularly applicable to herself, that by the aid of a little superstition it might be regarded as a presentiment of what was to befall her; indeed, the actual prophetic power would not have enabled her to foretell her own sad fate more precisely than it is done in this remarkable passage:

> "Where my father's bones are lying, There my bones will never lie;

Mine shall be a lonelier ending,
Mine shall be a wilder grave;
Where the shout and shriek are blending,
Where the tempest meets the wave;
Or, perhaps, a fate more lonely
In some drear and distant ward,
Where my weary eyes meet only
Hired nurse and sullen guard."

4. Remarks upon Usury, and its Effects. A National Bank a Remedy. In a Letter, etc., by Whitehook. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 69.

This is a business-like, well-written letter, on an important subject, by a practical man, but one obviously more familiar with the details than the principles of currency. His argument is, that usury, in some form or other, whether that of interest, commission, or premium, on drafts, has been the leading cause of all the derangement and ruin of the country for the last six years; that the banks have been the chief instruments of that injury, and that for this

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evil a well-ordered national bank is a remedy. Now, holding this, as we do, to be the all-important question before the country, we would wish, even in this our cursory notice, to set this argument in a somewhat juster light than is here done. Two errors are involved in our author's statement. First, in assigning usuar as the cause of the evil; and, secondly, in regarding a well-ordered national bank but as one among many remedies, instead of the sole remedy for this acknowledged evil.

His first error is a logical one. He puts the effect for the cause. High price of money, premium on bills, and all other indications of a deranged currency, which he combines under the name of usury, are obviously in themselves results—the measure of the injury, and not the cause of it; nor can our present evils be corrected, nor future ones avoided, without looking deeper into their origin.

Our author's "primal" error is, however, one of language, the vague meaning which he attaches to the term "usury." This much abused 'erm has obviously three distinct senses, and in all ressoning on it the choice should be made between them, and rigorously held to. There is its "primitive," which is also its "philosophical" meaning, that is, use, or usance of money. This meaning our author gives us in his motto from Shakspeare—

"He lends out money gratis, and brings down The rate of "usance" here with us at Venice."

In this sense all payment for money is "usury." The second is its "legal" meaning, "interest beyond the law." This makes it a penal offence, but whether or not an economical injury to the public, (setting aside the breach of law,) depends on the law itself that regulates it being a wise one. The third is its "moral" meaning, "extortion;" exacting from the necessities, or the ignorance of another, a price for the use of money beyond its fair open market price. Now, our author's argument jumbles together these various meanings of the word, and thus leads him to draw conclusions that are often practically false. "Usury," says he, " is the taking for money more than the use of money is worth." But what, we ask, is the measure of that worth? for he denies it to be "what it will bring," that is, its value in market overt. But if this be not its value, "demand," we mean, as compared with "supply," where else shall we seek its measure? It must be, necessarily, then, either in arbitrary law, or in vague individual judgment, what the money is worth in a man's business. The latter is, in truth, what our author argues, but vainly, we think, for what other practical measure of its value can be found than what men willingly pay for it in open competition? If this measure of value be abandoned, then must we come, necessarily, we say, to the only other alternative, "usury laws," and penalty upon penalty to enforce these Now, it is to guard against this deep-rooted, dangerous error, that

we are here most anxious lest our author's authority should be urged in favor of what, we doubt not, he is in truth opposed to, the vain attempt to put down usury by penal statutes. remedy for these evils, which he too looks to, though, as before said, too vaguely, is a well-ordered national bank, and in this we join with him "heart and hand."

This, and this alone, will cure that portion of the multifarious monied evils of our country, which our author huddles up under the general name of "usury," but which, in stricter language, belongs to "the domestic exchanges of the country." fore, should rejoice to see his remedy in operation-" A national bank, with a capital of fifty millions of dollars, with branches in every state in the Union," and we doubt not its prompt efficiency in regulating, as heretofore, all domestic exchanges, and bringing them down to the "minimum" rate admissible by the laws of trade. But here, too, we have a criticism on this point. Of the necessity of " some rate" of exchange between distant commercial points, our author is in obvious error. He confounds "exchange" with "currency," and concludes, therefore, that "a uniform currency" involves, necessarily, "equality in the exchanges," and with this view he is for withdrawing from the national bank "the privilege of charging a premium for domestic exchange." But this is obviously absurd, and would but increase the evil it seeks to amend. The evil marked by "premium on bills," when currency is uniform, is overtrading, and the "premium" is its natural check and remedy. But forcibly to cast off this penalty on unwise speculation, would obviously be to encourage it, and thus to do harm instead of good to the sound commerce of the country.

We commend this view of the question to our author should his work pass to a second edition, and also beg him to moderate his " tirade" against banks in general, or rather so far to qualify it as to show that this abuse of the chartered monied institutions of our country, is but the natural and necessary result of their being left

without a national regulator.

THE autobiography of Colonel Trumbull presents itself to our notice with a strong claim upon our indulgence as a production of venerable age. But that consideration apart, it has great interest as the personal narrative of one, who, by his patriotism, his revolutionary services, his talents as an artist, has acquired a title to the

^{5.} Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull, from 1756 to 1841. New York and London: 1841. Wiley and Putnam. New Haven: B. L. Hamlen.

honors and gratitude of his country, and as a rich mine of curious and valuable reminiscences of the men and things of former days. The eye-witnesses of our great struggle for independence are reduced to a very few, and every new revelation they disclose is so much rescued from oblivion; the true spirit of history attaches great value to any source that furnishes even but one new fact; in this volume of Colonel Trumbull we have many hundreds.

It is, however, more with the events of his career as an artist, than as a soldier, that his pages are filled; a point of military pride induced him to send in a resignation of his colonel's commission early in the year 1777, which, after some debate, was accepted by songress, and he never resumed his connection with the army except as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Sullivan, for a short time, during his attack upon Rhode Island in the summer of 1778. His passion was his art, to which he had devoted his intervals of leisure from early life, and which became his steady pursuit after the year 1780, when he placed himself under the instruction of Mr. West in London; but this relation was soon interrupted. In the autumn of the same year, information was lodged with the government against him as a rebel and a traitor, on which charge he was committed to prison, and kept in close confinement for seven months, and then liberated by the intervention of Edmund Burke,

on condition of leaving England within thirty days.

After the peace Colonel Trumbull returned to London for the purpose of pursuing his profession there. Mr. Burke's former act of kindness to him was gratefully remembered, and he called on him to express his father's, and his own acknowledgments, for the service he had rendered him. The great orator received him courteously, and spoke to him of the pursuit he had chosen; from the part of the conversation reported by the colonel, Mr. Burke seems to have foreseen in our country a want which our present experience is strikingly exhibiting. "Do you not intend to study architecture?" asked Mr. B. Colonel Trumbull replied that he thought he knew enough already for his purpose in back-grounds, etc. "I do not mean that, Mr. Trumbull," said Mr. B.; " you are aware that architecture is the eldest sister, that painting and sculpture are the youngest, and subservient to her; you must also be aware that you belong to a young nation, which will soon want public buildings; these must be crected before the decorations of painting and sculpture will be required. I would, therefore, strongly advise you to study architecture thoroughly and scientifically, in order to qualify yourself to superintend the erection of these national buildings-decorate them also, if you will."

We have found several passages of extraordinary interest in this work, which we would gladly cite would our limits permit; as they do not, we must content ourselves with recommending the entire volume to the perusal of our readers, and to their especial attertion for the important information they communicate upon subjects

of great moment—the conversation with Lafayette in 1789, in chapter ten, relative to the then approaching revolution—that at Mr. Jefferson's table with Mr. Giles, in chapter eleven, on the Christian religion, and the account of Jay's treaty in chapter sixteen.

 Lectures on Spiritual Christianity. By ISAAC TAYLOR. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co. 12mo. pp. 244.

This is a handsome, well-printed volume, got up with the usual good taste of the publishing house, to whom the religious public is already so largely indebted. Thus much is due to the external character of the work. Its internal demands more space than our present limits of brief notice admit. The merits and defects of the works, mind, and religious system of Isaac Taylor, is an inquiry deep as well as broad, and also much needed, and at some future time may be independently entered on by us. At present we confine ourselves to the leading outlines of the work before us.

The volume contains "four lectures," (further enlarged, and with notes,) as delivered at the instance of the "London City Mission," and may be considered in its substance, as a popular chapter appended to the "Ancient Christianity" of the same author, and in its object, as a covert attack upon the "Oxford Tracts." This is, in truth, its eventual, and, perhaps, most studied aspect, though one not always openly displayed. The under-current of thought, however, it is easy to perceive is always setting that way. The subjects of the four lectures are as follows: "The exterior characteristics of spiritual Christianity"-" The truths peculiar to spiritual Christianity"-- "The ethical characteristics of spiritual Christianity"--"Spiritual Christianity the hope of the world at the present moment." These are all treated by him with that peculiar force of thought, but, at the same time, peculiar vagueness of conclusion, characteristic of this well known writer-like an artist bold in outline, but timid in detail, and, therefore, failing to convey individual impressions. In this singular feature of Taylor's mind and style, lies, we think, both his power and his weakness—his power in appealing to the broad lines of humanity, the universal religious sympathies of our nature, so that no reader but recognizes in them the truth and force of his individual impressions; they come home to him as identical with his own thoughts. This is his power, as a writer, and he has used it boldly and skilfully; so boldly, indeed, as almost to constitute an abuse of power—an abuse, we say—because, as his correspondent weakness unfits him for that which he constantly aspires at being-a religious teacher-practical error is the This weakness ever is a want of definiteness—a want of

that which, in the religious teacher, is (after truth) the primary element that constitutes him a safe teacher, or, in other words, a practical guide. Whether it arise from nature or education—whether an intellectual or a moral defect—certain it is that it exists, and that Isaac Taylor is, therefore, in his writings, no practical guide to the inquirer in religious truth. He pulls down the visible teacher of truth, and substitutes nothing but a vague ideal in his stead, and could he make others all that he states himself to be, it would amount only to being a Christian after his own fashion. "I have never been used," says he, " to speak the language of any one section of the religious commonwealth." Now, in these few words, we read not only his condemnation as a teacher, but the secret, too, of his theological prejudices. How can he be a teacher at all, we ask, who rejects all specific truth? Would be have his bearers follow him, or not, in his opinions ! If not, then he teaches them not; or, if aye, then do they at least speak the language of " some one section" (small though it may be) "of the religious common-wealth, and, therefore, not follow his example." But in this boast our author much over-boasts. He does speak the language and that of no small section, at least in modern days, of the religious world; and that is, of ALL those who deem themselves wiser in religious matters than all ages that have gone before them, and who prefer, therefore, the light of their own individual judgment to that which Christ established for his disciples, as "the pillar and ground of the truth," the voice of the church catholic. We may well note, too, Taylor's levelling term here used as partaking of the same leaven—" the religious commonwealth." "Commonwealth," forsooth—"kingdom" Christ had termed his church on earth, but this gospel term is contrary, it seems, to that " equality" of teacher and taught which is demanded as the cornerstone of modern independency. In short, if all were such as Taylor boasts himself to be, " of no church," where, we ask, would be the unity of Christ's body ! where the church " of one mind !" or where the meaning of the innumerable passages of scripture that pre-suppose or declare it? Surely there must be some error in a theological system that militates with so much of the word of God as that necessarily does which puts out of sight the Teacher of that word, the visible church of Christ, an apostolic ministry, and authoritative sacraments. This the theological teaching of Isaac Taylor does, and, therefore, however deep, eloquent, or just, (and we acknowledge him to be all.) he may be in his wide views of spiritual Christianity, we yet hold him to be an inadequate teacher, and, therefore, an unsafe guide to whoever is asking for the specific way of salvation in which he should walk.

7. Incidents of a Whaling Voyage. To which are added Observations on the Manners and Customs, and Missionary Stations of the Sandwich and Society Islands. By Francis Allyn Olmsted. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

Ir we are right in our estimate of the merits of the "Incidents of a Whaling Voyage," its author has mistaken his talent; it bespeaks for him no promise of success as a narrator of the adventures and perils of the sea. This is a department of literature that has been chosen as the field of labor of some of the most popular writers of the day, and it has now become a favorite one with the public, but it is one in which it is no easy matter to succeed. Mr. Cooper, in his romances of the sea, and Mr. Dana, in his real narrative of "Two Years before the Mast," have established a very high standard for works of this character. If Mr. Olmsted compares his book with the last mentioned, he will be satisfied that a sailor is never made by getting in at the cabin-windows, and satisfied, also, that in such narratives the "part of which I was," is vastly more interesting than the "all that I saw." We could not more precisely mark the difference in the character of the two books, than by saying that the author of the one talks like a passenger, of the other like a sailor.

The latter half of Mr. Olmsted's volume is devoted to the description of the Sandwich Islands, from which a great deal of valuable information may be gathered concerning the character and condition of the inhabitants of this mid-ocean group. It exhibits, in a most favorable light, the civilizing influence of Christianity, and of the missionary exertions generally; we cannot, however, say much for their improvements in architecture, judging from the drawings of their churches contained in this work. A more barnlike looking fabric than that designated as "the new native church," was never seen; we trust that it is not emblematical of like deformities in the Christian faith and worship which these messengers of the cross are planting amid the isles.

8. Address delivered at Jefferson College, St. James's Parish, Louisiana, June 20th, 1841, on assuming the Functions of President of that Institution. By ALEXANDER H. EVERETT.

Before saying anything of this address, we must express our congratulations to the friends of thorough education and sound learning in the southwest, upon their good fortune in having a scholar like Mr. Everett, placed at the head of one of their principal literary institu-

tions. We anticipate the happiest results from the labors of the learned and accomplished gentleman, in his new sphere of usefulness.

This address of Mr. Everett, on assuming the duties of his office, is in fine taste, and might be taken as a model for addresses on like occasions; its object is to give a general survey of the progress of knowledge and its influence on human happiness, which naturally leads him to speak of the various institutions devised for advancing it. It is marked throughout by beauty of diction and soundness of views, and if it can lay no claim to brilliancy, it certainly can to the higher merit of original and independent thought. We would not call up the subject of party politics in speaking of Mr. Everett in his present office, which necessarily divests him of the feelings of the partizen, but we may without impropriety speak of him in relation to great principles, and how he now thinks upon some leading ones, we may judge from the following passage in a note to his address.

"It is singular that so great an admirer of the British Constitution as Macaulay, should maintain that the study of moral science has produced nothing but mere words. The British Constitution, which has never existed in the form of mere words, is, or, at least, has been—for its present condition is rather uncertain—a pretty substantial thing: having exercised directly, and indirectly, a more extensive and beneficial influence upon the fortunes of the race, than any other one thing that has ever existed, excepting the Christian Religion. Whether this form of religion be also, in the view of Macaulay, nothing but empty words, he has not yet distinctly told us: though I am afraid that such, if he were to express it, would prove to be his opinion. At least, his views of practical morality, as developed in his article on Machiavelli, to which I allude in another part of the text, are far from agreeing with those of the New Testament."

9. An Oration delivered at Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 17, 1841, in commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. By GROBGE E. Ellis.

The battle of Bunker Hill is an oft-told tale, but no where, to our knowledge, is it better told than in the oration delivered by Mr. Ellis at a late anniversary commemoration of the event. We have room but for a few words of comment upon this production, and a few will suffice to express our opinion of its merits—it is a fine chapter of recited history—a careful statement of facts in beautiful language, with enough of rhetorical ornament to give it the spirit and interest of a public address. It is glowing with patriotism, but its patriotism is Christian, not Punic; it earnestly enjoins upon us to love our country, but it requires of us no oath of eternal hatred to any other.



10. Leather-Stocking Tales—Volume I. The Deerslayer, or the First War-Path. By the Author of the "Last of the Mohicans," the "Pathfinder," the "Pioneers," and the "Prairie." Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard.

THESE volumes complete the life-picture of "Leather-Stocking," a character equalled only by "Long-Tom Coffin" in the throng of Mr. Cooper's brilliant creations, and we cannot forbear to express our conviction that these two personages, which place him beside the highest masters of romance, would have alone sufficed for his glory, and, at the same time, our regret, for his sake and for the cause of letters, that any thing should have occurred to disturb the harmony of his relations with a press too often the exponent of personal jealousy and animosity—too seldom the monitor, or even the

interpreter of public opinion.

The difficulties of Mr. Cooper's task in striving to depict the early life of so striking an individual as Natty Bumpo, in such a manner as to preserve the truth and harmony, as well as the peculiarities of so universal a favorite, must be evident to any one who is at all conversant with the mechanism of literary production. To take a being of fancy in his childhood, and as the author numbers fresh years and experience, to carry him through the phases of manhood, and the storms and trials in which its true lustre is revealed, is an undertaking congenial to human nature. The imagination has its affections, and will cherish its offspring with parental solicitude. But it is indeed a bold attempt for an author to sketch, in the maturity of age and experience, the boyhood of one whom he conceived and presented to us as a man, while he himself was comparatively young; and it is with sincere pleasure that we congratulate him upon his success in the present instance.

We think the style of Deerslayer more polished, and the descriptions of natural scenery traced with greater grace of outline, and freshness, and transparency of coloring, than in any of Mr. Cooper's previous works; while the incidents follow each other with the close connection, the graphic power, and the effective brevity of a drama. The scene is hardly varied, and the narrative occupies but five days. Indeed, all the characters and dialogue might be transferred to the stage with very few material alterations. On the waters of one of our loveliest inland lakes, long before civilization had reached western New York, Deerslayer, and his friend Uncas, become the protectors of two lonely women from the savages who lurk around its borders. Our hero is already the cool and unerring marksman whose feats subsequently delight us in Hawkeye. But he is more than this. He unconsciously possesses that undaunted bravery, and that purity and truthfulness of nature, which are the elements of all true greatness, and for which he is so eminent throughout the five acts of the drama that bears his name. A sincerity, childlike, yet stern, en-

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dears the young "pale face" to us, and commands our fervent admiration.

In a word, after the pictures of vice and horror into which most novelists of the day habitually conduct their readers, we feel grateful to Mr. Cooper for the traits of genuine nobleness with which his last delineation is replete; and, vitiated as the public taste unhappily is, by the tinsel, the sophistries, and the impurities, of many undeservedly popular romances, we cannot but believe that our emotions will be heartily shared by those who follow Deerslayer on his "First War-Path."

11. Jack Cadeism, and the Fine Arts. A Discourse before the Literary Societies of La Grange College, Alabama, June 16th, 1841. By Alexander B. Meen. Tuscaloosa: 1841. pp. 31.

The originality of the title which Mr. Meek has affixed to his discourse is not more striking than the boldness of the discourse itself. Surely never before did such a voice sound through the forests of Alabama. The author avows himself of "the straitest sect of our political Pharisees," meaning probably a doctrinaire of the Virginia school, which is all the better for the authority that his opinions will carry with them; but it matters not of what school he may be, a man of his taste and talent and love for the beautiful is necessarily a promoter of learning and the arts in spite of all political heresies. As this production is probably rare among us, we wish to extract copiously from it, and therefore we forbear comment, that we may have room for so doing.

"Any one, who will cast an observant eye upon the pursuits of our people, will find how deeply this spirit of utilitarianism, as by courtesy of speech it is called, is ingrained in the very constitution of our society. All our occupations—professions and trades alike,—have in view only one end. The great study of the farmer, the lawyer, the physician, the merchant, the mechanic, is how to double his profits. Even those in high places,—the legislators of the land,—would not 'patriotically serve the public' a day, if you withdrew their per diem allowance. This inordinate passion is like the lean kine of the dreaming monarch; swallowing up every better purpose. It gives its hue and impress to every phase and feature of life. The parent, in the education of his child, must have him taught only those things, which will be of practical value! Education itself is curbed and fashioned by the influence. After delving in a miserable way, for a few years, over the primary branches of instruction, the hopeful youth, now that he is bearded and built like his father, assumes the full stature of an educated man; with just knowledge enough, neglected as it is ever after, to addle his brain, and engender a spirit of ignorant vanity,—self-chuckling and deaf,—which besets and debases his whole moral nature. The limits, which the law sets up between the man and the minor, being passed, or the Baccalaureal Letters Patent obtained, who ever heard of the student continuing his studies in our country? He at once launches out into all the petty plans and speculations of 'the good old way, in which his fathers

went.' He loses all remembrance of the Pierian fountain, if ever he had knelt at its moss-covered curb-stone; and remembers the beautiful days of his youth, only as so much time squandered in idle pursuits, under tyrannical taskmasters. This is the character of the greater portion of our youth; and verily, it may be said, few of them are likely to die of that disease which Festus thought had affected Paul. The noble race of the olden scholars has never existed in our land. We know nothing of that generous order of intellectual Palestræ, who, from youth to manhood, from manhood to age, with an enthusiasm as deep as woman's love, drank of the golden waters of philosophy in the sacred grove of Academe, or, in a later age, bent, with a fever at the heart, and a hectic flush upon the pallid cheek, over dingy scrolls, in the midnight quiet of a German University."—pp. 8, 9.

"For the secrets of England's happiness, you must look to other sources. The myriad-minded Shakspeare, the gentle Spenser, the mighty Milton, the benevolent Wordsworth, Lawrence, Reynolds, Hogarth, Chantrey, and West, have done more for human happiness and virtue, for fireside comfort and purity, for patriotism and philanthropy, than all the inventions of Arkwright or Bolton, or Watt, or Bentley. The sources of moral purification are most usually silent and imperceptible in their operation. Like the sunshine, they give fragrance, beauty to the flower; sparkle, freshness to the fountain; music, blandness to the breeze; health, bloom to the cheek; and yet the whole process goes on with the calmness and silence of the old, mysterious bounty. There is no creaking of the axle; no stirring of the dust! Thus, for ages, have the benefactions of the arts been poured, like a river, upon the descendants of the old Saxon stock,—the inheritors of Rollo's Scandinavian blood. Who can tell the influence that the architecture of their old Gothic cathedrals, standing all over the island, living proofs of the antiquity, if not the authenticity of their faith, has exerted, for ages, upon the religious character of the English people, from peer to peasant? Has not Westminster Abbey,—that magnificent repository of the illustrious dead, and of glorious historic recollections, from the banners of the Armada to the Round Table of Alfred,—with its high and sculptured arches, its almost speaking statuary,—fashioned much of the manners and literature of the white-cliffed isle? What impulses to patriotism and patriotic valor! He, who can overlook these things in an estimate of the seminal principles of national character, must be blinder than the blind old king of Corinth."—pp. 22, 23.

"If our public buildings were decorated with tasteful creations of art; with noble pictures breathing grand historic recollections; with lofty statues, placing the images of our gallant ancestry continually before the eye, and sending to the degenerate heart, by the mute appeal of a steadfast look, the noble precepts of their sacred legacy; if, instead of that meagre, pinched style of architecture,—the double cabin, with the passage through the centre,—so common in all our towns,—the graceful shafts of the Ionic, or the ornate entablatures of the Corinthian; the massive Doric, or the aspiring Gothic; won the admiring eye, an elegant taste would manifest itself in all the relations of life. The old fabric of humanity has to be disintegrated, or this must be so!

"The beneficial influence of such imaginative culture would demonstrate itself in another respect. The wealthier portion of our youth, instead of wasting their patrimenies in idle follies or flagrant dissipation, would have higher and better objects. So much superfluous wealth, indeed, would not be expended on the favorites of the Turf,—some Leviathan coltor Pacolet filley, or,—to descend in the scale of being,—upon the pas de seul or the pirouettes of a foreign danseuse. All that classical chit-chat about the pedigree and performances of a Bascombe or a Black Maria, or the swimming grace and abandoned voluptuousness of an Elsaler or a Celeste, would be terminated; but other and nobler purposes and phraselogy would engage the mind; purposes and thoughts more worthy of beings who have already commenced the grand march of immortality."—pp. 23, 24.

"It is, however, from our educated young men, that our country has the most to hope: that she has the right to hope the most. Under the bend of a smiling heaven, she has bestowed upon them all the blessings of matchless political institutions. At the wells of olden wisdom, they have been led to drink. The lessings of the best of the wells of olden wisdom, they have been led to drink. sons of philosophy,

'Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose, But musical as is Apollo's lute,'—

have been instilled into their minds. Our country,—by no distorted figure of speech,—may be said to be looking to her sons with an anxious, agonizing look, for a requital of her favors. She has a right to insist that they shall not bend to the particidal doctrines of the day. Many, many, many have yielded to the blandishments of the importunate sybil. Forgetful of all the admonitions of history, they have caught the epidemic of the age: have been content to float with the tide, and pass away, after their little bickerings are over, to swell but the drift-wood of the grave. This is an unhallowed perversion of all the purposes for which they were educated. This is doing violence to the best interests of their great Alma Mater. If our young men; the thousands who are annually poured out from our universities and colleges: were to pursue a different course, how much good might be accomplished for the country! What centres of refinement and instruction might they be! One true, generous, unflinching, uncompromisand instruction might they be! One true, generous, unfinching, uncompromising, right onward, scholar, can make himself to be felt in a whole community. ing, right onward, scholar, can make himselt to be lett in a whole community. Alone and unaided, he can do much to refine the taste, elevate the views, and beautify the structure of the society in which he lives. How much more might the co-operation of many such, do! By the establishment of lyceums and societies, they could easily disseminate better views among the people. The unreading would listen from curiosity, and be unwittingly improved. To such institutions, we may look, as an easy means for the diffusion of the Imaginative Arts. Valuable collections of painting and sculpture, libraries of wholesome books, might be made at little individual expense. Let our educated man attend to these things and we may have, at no distant day, the dawn of an men attend to these things, and we may have, at no distant day, the dawn of an elegant literature, of a refined social state. The South-West will no longer be mapped in the moral geography, as the land of barbarism and Bowie-knives!"—pp. 26, 27.

Note.—We are obliged, from want of room, to omit notices which were prepared for the present number of our journal, of several important recent publications; among which those most deserving to be named and commended, are the Messrs. Langley's neat reprints of Fred. Schlegel's History of Literature, and D'Israeli's Amenities of Literature—two new and well-selected volumes of the series of Tules for the People and their Children—the Miniature Classical Library, and Evans's Evenings with the Chroniclers, from the press of the Messrs. Appleton, and in their best style—Siebold's Manners and Customs of the Japanese, and Dwight's History of Connecticut, forming two additional volumes of the Family Library.— Count Julian, by the author of "Letters from Palmyra and Rome"-Professor Felton's excellent edition of Aristophanes, with English notes, and Professor Park's Pantology, or Systematic Survey of Human Knowledge-of all of which we hope to give a more particular account in the following number.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

(Reprints of Foreign Books are marked with an asterisk.)

AGRICULTURE.

* A Treatise on Sheep, with the best means for their improvement, general management, and the treatment of their diseases. By Ambrose Blacklock. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

Agriculture of the United States. An Address delivered before the American Institute of New York. By Henry Colman. New York: 1841. H. A. Chap-

man & Co.

ANNUALS.

The Rose; or Affection's Gift for 1842. New York: 1841. D. Appleton & Co.

Child's Gem and Token for 1842. New York: 1841. S. Colman. Youth's Keepsake for 1842. New York: 1841. S. Colman.

The Token and Atlantic Souvenir for 1842. Philadelphia: 1841. H. F. An-

Gem for 1842: with plates. Philadelph'a: 1841. H. F. Anners. Little Forget Me Not. 1842. Philadelphia: 1841. H. F. Anners. The Dahlia for 1842. Philadelphia: 1841. H. F. Anners.

BIOGRAPHY.

* Lives of Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy. By Mrs. Shelley, Sir D. Brewster, and others. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard. New York: Collins, Keese, and Co.

Autobiography, Reminiscences, and Letters, of John Trumbull, from 1756 to 1841. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe, Founder of the Colony of Georgia in North America. By Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D. Boston: 1841. For the Author.

Life of General Lafayette. By Ebenezer Mark. Ithaca: 1841. Mack, An-

drus and Woodruff.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BOOKS.

The Sabbath School as it should be. By William A. Alcott, New York: 1841. Jona. Leavett.

The Clouds of Aristophanes, with notes. By C. C. Felton. Cambridge, 1841.

Astronomy for Schools. By R. W. Hawkins. New York: 1841. Robinson and Pratt.

Introduction to the Study of the Greek Language. By Professor A. Kendrick. New York: 1841. Dayton and Saxton.

A new System of Teaching the French Pronunciation in Seven Lessons. By C. Ladreyt. Philadelphia: 1841. J. Crissy.

Arithmetic on the Principle of Hosley and Legging. By the Par W. F.

Arithmetic on the Principle of Hasler and Lacroix. By the Rev. W. F. Walker, A. M. New York: 1841. Alexander V. Blake.

HISTORY AND STATISTICS.

The Life and Times of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket, by William L. Stone. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

The History of Connecticut, from its settlement to the present time. By Theodore Dwight, Jun. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers.

LAW.

A Treatise on the Rights and Duties of Merchant Seamen, according to the General Maritime Law and the Statutes of the United States. By George Ticknor Curtis. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and James Brown.

MATHEMATICAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The Philosophy of Storms. By James P. Espy. Boston: 1941. C. C. Little and James Brown.

MEDICAL SCIENCES.

Homopathia, a Principle in Medicine, and not an exclusive system, in a letter to Alban Goldsmith, M. D. By J. A. McVickar, M.D. New York: 1841. J. S. Taylor, and Co.

Graves' Clinical Lectures, edited by Dr. Gerhard. Philadelphia: 1841. Barrington and Haswell.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Rambles and Reveries. By Henry T. Tuckerman. New York: 1841. James

P. Giffing. 12mo.

Every Body's Book, or Something for all. 1st series. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam. 18mo.

Julian, or Scenes in India. By the Author of Letters from Palmyra and Rome. New York: 1841. C.S. Francis. 2 vols. 12mo.

Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home, By the Author of Hope Leslis, &c. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo.

The Naval Apprentice's Kedge Anchor. By W. Brady, Boatswain of the United States Navy. New York: 1841. Taylor and Clement.

Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home, By W. Brady, Boatswain of the United States Navy. New York: 1841. Taylor and Clement.

Journal of Correspondence of Miss Adams, Daughter of John Adams. Written in France and England, in 1785. Edited by her daughter. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

Lectures on the History of Literature, from the German of F. Schlegel. New York: 1841. J. & H. G. Langley.

Amenities of Literature, consisting of Sketches and Characters of English Literature. By J. D'Israeli. New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley. 2 vols.

 The Idler in France, by the Countess of Blessington. By G. W. F. Mellen, New York: 1841. Dayton and Saxton.
 The Siege of Derry, or Sufferings of the Protestants. A Tale of the Revolution. By Charlotte Elizabeth. New York: 1841. J. S. Taylor. A Tale of the Revo-

Sketch of a Railway judiciously constructed, between desirable points. New York: 1841. Egbert Hedge.

* Facts in Mesmerism, with Reasons for a dispassionate inquiry into it. By Rev. Chauncey Hare Townsend. New York: 1841. Harper and Brothers. The Victim of Chancery, or the Debtor's Experience. By the Author of a Week in Wall street, New York: 1841. S. Colman.

* The Miscellaneous Writings of E. L. Bulwer. Philadelphia: 1841. Cary and Hart. 2 vols. 1200.

and Hart. 2 vols. 12mo.

* Law and Lawyers, or Sketches and Illustrations of Legal History and Biography. Philadelphia: 1641. Carey and Hart. New York: 1841. Carvill and Co.

The Use of Brandy and Salt, as a remedy for various internal as well as external diseases. By William Lee, Esq. New York: 1841. Carvill and Co.

• Pure Gold from the Rivers of Wisdom. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

* The Book without a Name. By Sir Charles and Lady Morgan. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

* Happiness; its Nature and Sources described. By J. Angel James. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

The Secretary of Machiavelli; or, the Siege of Florence. By D. McArthy.

* Proverbial Philosophy. By M. F. Tupper. New York: 1841. Wiley and Putnam.

* Manners and Customs of the Japanese, in the Nineteenth Century, from the accounts of recent Dutch Residents in Japan, and from the German work of Dr.

Siebold. New York: 1811. Harper and Brothers.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Connecticut. Held in Hartford, June 8th and 9th, 1841.

Pantology, or a Systematic Survey of Human Knowledge; proposing a classification of all its Branches, etc. By Roswell Park, A. M. Philadelphia: 1841. Hogan and Thompson.

What Banks are Constitutional?

NEW PERIODICALS.

The American Magazine and Repository of Useful Knowledge. Edited by S. J. Ward and Barnabas Ward. New York: 1841. I. Post. Monthly. The Northern Light. Albany. Monthly.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

The Deerslayer, or the First War-Path. By the author of "The Last of the Mohicans," &c. Philadelphia: 1841. Lea and Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo.

* Evenings with the Chroniclers, or Uncle Rupert's Tales of Chivalry. By R. M. Evans. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

* Joseph Rushbrook, or the Poacher. By Captain Marryat. Philadelphia:

1841. Carey and Hart.

Charles Louis, or how to observe the Golden Rule; with other Stories. New York: 1841. Dayton and Saxton.

* The Secret Foe; an Historical Romance. By Ellen Pickering. Philadelphia: 1841. Carey and Hart.

* Paul and Virginia. Translated from the French of Bernardin St. Pierre. By H. M. Williams. New York: 1841. Edward Walker.

* The Poplar Grove, or Little Harry and his Uncle Benjamin. By Mrs. Copley. New York: 1841. D. Appleton and Co.

* Robin Hood and his Merry Foresters. Embellished with Plates. New York: 1841. I and H. G. Lengley.

1841. J. and H. G. Langley.

* The Arabian Nights abridged, and adapted for Youth. Forty cuts. New York: 1841. J. and H. G. Langley.

* Miniature Romances, from the German. Boston: 1841. C. C. Little and J.

Brown.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Religion and the State, or Christianity the Safeguard of Civil Liberty; an Ora-

Reigion and the State, or Christianity the Sateguard of Civil Liberty; an Oration delivered before the Members of St. Paul's College, and St. Ann's Hall, on the 5th day of July, 1841. By John F. Schroeder, D. D. Oration delivered on the day of the Celebration of the Sixty-fifth Anniversary of American Independence. By Rev. J. Van de Velde. Saint Louis: 1841. Address, delivered at Jefferson College, St. James' Parish, La., June 30, 1841, on assuming the Functions of President of that Institution. By Alexander H. Everett. New Orleans: 1841.

Jack-Cadeism, and the Fine Arts. A Discourse before the Literary Societies of La Grange College, Alabama, June 16, 1841. By Alexander B. Meek. Tuscaloosa: 1841.

A Lecture on Education; delivered before the Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Association of Oswego, July 12, 1841. By James Brown, Esq. Oswego: 1841. Valedictory Oration, pronounced at the departure of the Senior Class from the Society of Brothers in Unity of Yale College. By W. E. Robinson.

Discourse delivered before the Literary Societies of the University of New

York. By Erastus C. Benedict.

An Oration, delivered at Charlestown, Mass., on the 17th of June, 1841, in Commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill. By George E. Ellis. Boston: 1841. W. Crosby & Co.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Poets of America, illustrated by her Painters. Edited by John Keese. Vol. II. New York: 1841. W. Colman.

La Déesse. An Elssier-atic Romance. By the author of "Straws." New York: 1841. Carvill & Co.

Time, a Poem; delivered before the Associate Alumni, at Washington College, on the 4th of August, 1841. By the Rev. J. H. Clinch, A. M. Hartford:

A Token of Remembrance—A Token of Affection—A Token of Friendship. Three volumes; making part of the Series of the Miniature Classical Library. New York: 1841. D. Appleton & Co.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Popular Exposition of the Gospels. By Rev. John G. Morris, and Rev. Charles A. Smith. New York: 1841. D. Appleton & Co.

The Book of Private Devotion. A Series of Prayers and Meditations, chiefly from the Writings of Hannah More. New York: 1841. J. A. Hoisington.

* Lectures on Spiritual Christianity. By Isaac Taylor. New York: 1841.

D. Appleton & Co.

D. Appleton & Co.

Plain Sermons. By the Contributors to the "Tracts for the Times." New York: 1841. J. & H. G. Langley.

The Comprehensive Church, or Christian Unity and Ecclesiastical Union. By the Rev. Thomas H. Vail, A. M. Hartford: 1841. H. Huntington.

The Widow directed to the Widow's God. By John Angell James. New York: 1841. D. Appleton & Co.

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